MINORITY DIALECTS IN CONTACT: PERUVIAN SPANISH IN THE UNITED STATES

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

This study provides the background of Peru's ethnic and linguistic history, leading up to reasons for transnational migration and ultimately the linguistic and social positioning of the Peruvian diaspora with respect to other U.S. Hispanic groups. This project ascertains how Peruvian immigrants in the United States adapt to a new cultural and linguistic setting where their variety of Spanish mixes with others and discusses: 1) What characterizes the Spanish spoken by this group? 2) What is the role of language in maintaining Peruvian identity? 3) To what extent do Peruvians integrate linguistically with other U.S. Hispanics? Through observation of online interactions on social networking sites (SNSs) such as Facebook, and through field research in Paterson, New Jersey where the highest population of Peruvians resides, this study reveals how Peruvians feel about the features of their own language, and what they believe is gained and lost in the migratory process.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Section overview

This is a study of contemporary Spanish in the United States, a topic of growing interest in Hispanic linguistics since the 1970s, which has led to an almost inexhaustible flow of published research since (Escobar & Potowski, 2015; Lipski, 2008; Otheguy & Zentella, 2011; Roca & Lipski, 2011; Sanchez, 1972; Silva Corvalán, 1995; Zentella, 1997). Its novelty resides in the fact that, rather than describing the behavior and experience of the demographically largest Latino subgroups, this study focuses on a subgroup whose numerical impact is almost negligible, namely, the U.S. Peruvian diaspora. By doing so, it helps understand how a microminority group reinforces and/or adapts its national identity to its new environment in the United States through language. The term “microminority” has been used in demographic studies to denote small subsets of a group that are set apart based on ethnicity, religion, age, or culture (Banjoko, 2015; Namgyal, 1997; Panapasa, 2005). For example, Banjoko (2015) discussed his microminority status as a black German in the American south and the various labels of identity that others have ascribed to him, even though he does not identify with these labels. Similarly, Peruvians in the U.S. are often ascribed the “Hispanic” label, along with other Spanish speakers, even though they possess many linguistic and demographic characteristics that make them quite distinct from those other groups. Existing studies on microminority groups do not have a linguistic focus (Banjoko, 2015; Namgyal, 1997; Panapasa, 2005). The purpose of this study is to ascertain whether and how Peruvians in the U.S. express this unique microminority identity through language.

A first approach to the issue came through the study of the Facebook group *Being Peruvian* (Harper, 2017). It revealed that Peruvians in the U.S. “performed” their Spanish dialect

as a way to distance themselves from non-Peruvian Hispanics in the country. In a preliminary study (Harper, 2017), surveys administered to members of the same group revealed that group members demonstrated Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) principles of distinction and adequation. They positioned themselves as distinct from U.S. Hispanic groups such as Mexicans, and sufficiently similar to other groups such as the Colombian diaspora. Such findings provide valuable insight into the linguistic attitudes and behaviors of speakers of a less prevalent dialect, such as Peruvians in the U.S.

The present study was based on data collected from *Being Peruvian* as well as from qualitative interviews with Peruvians living in Paterson, New Jersey. The data were used to address the following research questions: 1) What is the role of language in maintaining Peruvian identity? 2) How do Peruvians in the United States use language to "perform" their identity? And, 3) How do the attitudes and concerns of a physical linguistic community compare with those expressed in the online interactions of the community?

The experiences the participants share reveal how Peruvians in the U.S. feel about the features of their own language and what they believe is gained and lost in the migratory process. In a much broader sense, it will further knowledge of diasporic identity and interaction, especially among micro minority groups in the United States.

The remainder of this section focuses on Peru's ethnic and linguistic makeup and provides a brief historical background that explains both national and international migration. Section 1 also provides a snapshot of Peru's worldwide diaspora and a more detailed description of the population central to this study, namely, Peruvians in the United States. Additionally, this section discusses background information regarding the data collection sites *Being Peruvian* and

Paterson, New Jersey. Finally, this section concludes by summarizing the contents of this dissertation.

1.2 Ethnicity and language in Peru

Peru is one of the most multiethnic and multicultural countries in Latin America, made up of 45% Amerindians, 37% *mestizos*, 15% white, and 3% black, Chinese, Japanese and other (Country Reports, 2017). The highlands, coast, and jungle account for the nation's main geographic areas. Over half of Peru's population resides in coastal areas, while 32% live in the highlands and 13% in jungle areas (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016).

Immigration into Peru since the colonial period has shaped the country's racial, ethnic and class structures (Takenaka, Berg, & Paerregaard, 2010). Before the arrival of the Spaniards in the early 16th century, the area that is now Peru was made up of indigenous groups, of which the largest were the Inca. Once the Spaniards began to establish themselves in Peru, a process of *mestizaje* took place as Spaniards began to intermarry with the local population and have children.

The conquistadors had a detailed system for classifying the place of each member in society, known as *castas* or 'castes', each of which was assigned privileges and obligations by colonial authorities. These social hierarchies were clearly depicted in 18th century *pinturas de casta* or caste paintings, which demonstrated the diversity of New Spain to the Crown (Martínez, Nirenberg, & Torres, 2012). Spaniards of "pure blood" were represented as well dressed with intensely white skin, and they were never depicted performing physical labor. *Mestizos*, the product of mixing a Spaniard and an Amerindian, were depicted in traditional Spanish clothing, but did not appear as regal as the Spaniards. Amerindians, blacks, mulattos, and *cholos* (*mestizo* and Amerindian mix) were represented in tattered clothing and were usually depicted performing

physical labor (Martínez et al., 2012). This process of *mestizaje*, the intense need to classify to prove notions of *pureza de sangre* (purity of blood), and the import of African and Asian slaves all contributed to the racial and class hierarchies in Peru in the time after colonization (Takenaka et al., 2010).

In addition to Peru's ethnic diversity, its linguistic richness is deeply rooted, with over a hundred well-documented indigenous languages (Lewis, Simons, & Fenning, 2017), two of which are official (Quechua and Aymara). These language families predate the Spanish conquest by hundreds of years, with some of the first civilizations in Peru becoming widespread as early as 300 BC, beginning with the Chavin and later the Nazca, Moche, Paracas, Wari, Tiahuanaco, Chimpu, Chachapoyas, and Aymara cultures (Hunefeldt, 2014; Stenner, 2011). Only later in the region's history would Spanish become the hegemonic language, influenced by Japanese, Chinese, and other languages brought by immigrants in the late 19th into the 20th century (Takenaka, 2004).

Linguistically, not much is known about Peruvian civilizations before 300 AD, other than the languages spoken during that time were *Protoquechua* and *Protouru* and are now extinct, with only remnants surviving in modern day Amerindian languages (Adelaar & van de Kerke, 2009; Torero, 2000). Present-day Aymara (also called Aru) speakers can trace their origin back to the Tiahuanaco civilization, dating from 300 to 1200 AD (Hunefeldt, 2014). However, some scholars think that the Tiahuanaco spoke some form of Puquina (Adelaar & van de Kerke, 2009; Brinton, 1890; Campbell & Grondona, 2012), which along with Quechua was considered a *lingua franca* during the time of the Spanish conquest. While now extinct, Puquina lexicon and morphology live on in Kallawalla and Quechua (Adelaar & van de Kerke, 2009; Campbell & Grondona, 2012).

When the Spaniards arrived in what is now Peru, they saw a need for a common language to unite the numerous indigenous languages in the region, a process that was already well underway with the *Quechuafication* imposed by the Inca empire (Mar-Molinero, 2000; Stenner, 2011). The Spaniards' strategy, authorized by the Crown and the Church, was to unite the dialects of indigenous peoples using Quechua, Aymara, and Puquina instead of Spanish. The number of shared structural features across Central Andean languages, many of which are exemplified in Quechua and Aymara, facilitated this goal (Cerrón-Palomino, 1994; Muysken, 2000).

During the early 16th century, the Spanish Crown strategically focused on teaching Spanish only to indigenous nobility so they could facilitate communication between the Spaniards and the indigenous populace (Mar-Molinero, 2000). The encouragement of native languages was not only a control mechanism, rendering non-Spanish speakers subjugated due to their inability to communicate in the language of the elite, but it was also the Church-recommended way to proselytize and spread Christianity to indigenous peoples (Mar-Molinero, 2000). Over time, religious groups such as the Jesuits stood by the plan to spread Christianity in the native languages of the Americas; however, the Crown began to push the "Castilianization" of the Americas. This was officially done first through the decree of Philip IV in 1634 instructing Spanish to be taught to all Amerindians, and approximately a century later through reforms imposed by Charles III (Hunefeldt, 2014; Mar-Molinero, 2000; Stenner, 2011). Cerrón-Palomino (1989) discussed reasons for the push for Spanish in the Americas, beginning with the need to strengthen the connections between the viceroyalties and to centralize power. It was easier for the newly conquered viceroyalties to communicate with each other and with Spain using the standard language of the elite, Spanish. The other reason for the perceived need for a Spanish-

only policy in the Americas was that the Crown believed that indigenous languages were not suitable or complex enough to successfully transmit Christianity or European ideals; in other words, to be truly Christian meant to speak Spanish (Cerrón-Palomino, 1989; Mar-Molinero, 2000).

The varieties of Spanish that began to replace indigenous languages and establish themselves as the *lingua franca* across the Americas were first Andalusian, Canary Island, and Extremaduran varieties, specifically the Extremaduran *cacereño* variety (Cerrón-Palomino, 2010; Garatea, 2010; Mar-Molinero, 2000). Though the specifics of the Spanish varieties spoken in Peru during the 16th and 17th century are not well-documented, it is known that the most salient characteristic of these varieties in Peru and the Americas as a whole was *seseo*, or the pronunciation of <ci>, <ce>, and <z> as /s/. Peninsular Spaniards thought this to be caused "*por vicio o defecto orgánico,*" i.e., out of bad habit or an organic defect (Garatea, 2010). Other general characteristics of the Spanish in Peru and the rest of the Americas are the use of the third person plural pronoun *ustedes* in place of *vosotros,* the distinction of *lo* and *le* for direct and indirect objects, archaisms left over from lexicon no longer used in Spain, and borrowings from languages in contact (Garatea, 2010).

1.3 Modern-Day Spanish in Peru

Over 26 million people in Peru speak Spanish, or about 86% of the country's population of 30.8 million (Lewis et al., 2017). Spanish has been the official language of Peru since the 16th century, with Quechua gaining official status only in 1975 (Cerrón-Palomino, 1989). Almost eight million Peruvians, or a quarter of Peru's population, speak at least one dialect of Quechua, while fewer than one million people speak the second most commonly spoken indigenous language, Aymara (Lewis et al., 2017). The highest concentration of monolingual Spanish

speakers is found on the coast, while Quechua and Aymara speakers are concentrated in the highlands, with Aymara speakers spanning into Bolivia across Lake Titicaca.

1.4 *Motoseo* and linguistic stigma in Peru

The hierarchical relationships between Spanish and the indigenous languages are evident from the stigma attached to speaking Spanish with an indigenous accent. This phenomenon is described as *la motosidad*, a term developed for the salient traits of Quechua-influenced Spanish. Specifically, *motosidad* refers to the way indigenous Andeans speak Spanish using the three-vowel system of Quechua: /a/, /i/, and /u/, where /o/ becomes /u/ and /e/ becomes /i/, e.g., 'Peru' is pronounced as /*piru*/, '*escuela*' as /*iskwila*/.

Attitudes toward this dialect have been shown to be negative through match-guise testing and through observation of *mestizo* and indigenous language speaker interactions. Specifically, attitude surveys in both Cuzco and Lima, areas representing the highlands and coast, showed that inhabitants of both regions perceived indigenous-sounding speakers as less educated, while Lima dialects were considered modern, progressive, and educated (De los Heros, 2001; 2007). The attitudes reported in the surveys are also reflected in the forms of address employed in real-life interactions (Placencia, 2001). Most varieties of Peruvian Spanish use the formal and informal second person pronouns present in other Spanish dialects, *usted* and *tú.* In most Peruvian dialects, *usted* is most commonly used between strangers of the opposite sex, distant family members, and work colleagues, while non-reciprocal *tú* is reserved for house staff or otherwise subordinate parties (Hughson, 2009). Indigenous addressees are exceptions to these general rules, as they are nearly always referred to in the *tú* form regardless of gender or age. In her observations of Bolivian mestizos and indigenous speakers in their requests for information, Placencia (2001) noted that unlike *mestizos*, indigenous persons were addressed with the familiar

tú or *vos,* were not recipients of titles or common politeness formulas, and were asked to perform actions with more directness than their *mestizo* counterparts. As evidenced by these examples of attitude surveys and observations of interethnic interactions, Spanish spoken by indigenous speakers is perceived as inferior and is not valued in Peruvian society (De los Heros, 2001; 2007; Placencia, 2001).

1.5 Migration and transnationality

1.5.1 Internal migration

Peruvian migration in the 20th century occurred mostly within the country, following a rural-urban trend that will be described in detail in the following sections. Throughout the 20th century, intense internal migration took place within Peru (Durand, 2010). This migration was characterized by a shift of rural populations to urban settings, mainly from the highlands to Lima. The migrant populations were mostly indigenous and working-class Peruvians in search of new opportunities for work and education that mining centers and larger cities were able to provide (Berg, 2015; Takenaka et al., 2010). As a result, from the mid to late 20th century, Lima's population increased sevenfold, from 645,000 to 4.6 million people (Takenaka et al., 2010). The rural-to-urban migration trend is part of what has made Lima the fifth largest city in the Americas with nearly ten million inhabitants (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016).

A major push-factor fueling rural to urban migration was the Maoist terrorist insurgent group *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), which was most active between 1985 and 1990. *Sendero Luminoso* unsuccessfully attempted to overturn the government in the 1980s in the name of *indigenismo* from a socialist perspective (Stenner, 2011). The guerillas created violence and engendered fear throughout the country, which led to rural-to-urban as well as transnational

migration (Berg, 2015; Durand, 2010; Solé, Parella, & Cavalcanti, 2007). Specifically, armed conflicts between the Peruvian military and *Sendero Luminoso* left rural populations caught in the middle of the conflicts and caused them to flee the highlands. It is estimated that around 70,000 people lost their lives as a result of the conflicts prompted by *Sendero Luminoso* (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2014).

The economic and political strife that pushed highlanders to Lima created even more difficulties as the capital quickly became overpopulated, leading to unemployment and underemployment (Altamirano, 1990; Berg, 2015; Stenner, 2011). An estimated 6.5 million Peruvians live in a different place than where they were born; of these, most are internal migrants (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016). This migration prompted rapid urbanization of larger metropolitan areas. The existing infrastructure was not prepared for such an influx of migrants, and indigenous peoples found themselves on the bottom rungs of society (Takenaka et al., 2010), many living in *pueblos jóvenes,* or squatter settlements formed on the outskirts of the capital. To date, these areas often lack basic amenities including access to clean water, trash disposal, and electricity (Stenner, 2011).

1.5.2 International emigration

Just as the rural indigenous population migrated to the city, so did the urban middle class emigrate transnationally, and for similar reasons (Altamirano, 2000; Berg, 2015). By and large, the country's international emigration has been characterized by consecutive highs and lows instigated by changes in economic and political cycles (Durand, 2010). Altamirano (1999) describes five phases of Peruvian transnational emigration.

The first phase was defined by emigration in the early decades of the 20th century. During this period, Europe was a rite-of-passage destination for the upper classes, linked to

education, prestige, and power. Peruvians also migrated within the Americas during this time, meeting the demands for workers in textile industries in New York and New Jersey. This initial draw to the Northeastern United States is the reason why this area continues to house the largest population of U.S. Peruvians.

Altamirano's (1999) second phase began in the mid 20th century and was characterized by a reduction in the number of immigrants coming to Peru and an increase in Peruvians leaving the country. Due to economic growth, the United States and Europe became popular destinations for Peruvian immigrants, a trend that continued into the final phases of Peruvian transnational migration.

The third phase of outmigration was fueled by political unrest and economic hardship. Government-controlled banks and loss of commerce were the major push-factors influencing the upper class during the latter half of the 20th century. This trend towards emigration continued into the fourth and fifth phases of immigration beginning in the 1980s. These more recent decades have been characterized by financial crises resulting in an excess of cheap labor and pressure on Lima's labor markets (Durand, 2010). This was also the period in which political violence had the most far-reaching effects, causing Peruvians of all social classes to leave the country. Though the violence began to subside in the 1990s due to President Alberto Fujimori's "iron-fist" approach against terrorism, the country was still experiencing an economic crisis and vast underemployment which led to continuous emigration (Altamirano, 1999; Berg, 2015; Durand, 2010; Solé et al., 2007). After the fears of terrorism finally began to dissipate, financial hardship was the most common reason for out-migration (Altamirano, 1990; Durand, 2010). President Fujimori successfully dealt with *Sendero Luminoso* terrorism, but he was also the center of controversy as allegations of corruption and human rights violations arose against him.

His dictatorial regime left many state employees under a salary freeze, with no retirement, or even no job at all (Escrivá, 2000). In addition, throughout the 1990s, the country's production fell 30% and inflation rose to an all-time high of 7500% (Cerrutti, 2005). This tumultuous political and economic climate pushed more Peruvians out. In 2000, Peru ousted Fujimori and began working toward economic recovery and democracy (Durand, 2010).

Peruvian newspaper *El Comercio* reported through a poll in 2004 that 77% of Lima's inhabitants would leave the country if they had the ability to do so (Durand, 2010). The population of Peruvians living abroad is 10% of Peru's population (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016), and international migration is not expected to decrease in years to come. Over three million Peruvian-born people are estimated to be living abroad (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016). International migration continues to function as an escape from national crises, having increased by 20% between 1990 and 2010.

1.6 The Peruvian diaspora

While Peruvians have formed large communities in few places, even so the diaspora is geographically far-reaching and spans multiple continents, with over 85% residing in the United States, Spain, Argentina, Italy, Chile, and Japan (Altamirano, 1992; Takenaka, 2004). The growing size of the diaspora (over three million) led President Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006) to label it "El Quinto Suyo," meaning "the fifth region". This was based on the Quechua word for the Inca Empire, *Tawantinsuyo*, or "land of the four regions" (Berg & Tamagno, 2006). The discursive naming of the Peruvian diaspora reflects its increasing impact as an international extension of the country.

As described above, several push-factors led to transnational migration. The next sections aim to describe the migration pull-factors from the countries with the highest number of Peruvian

immigrants. They are presented in order of magnitude, from the largest to the smallest contingents, but leaving the United States for last, given its centrality for this study.

1.6.1 Peruvians in Spain & Italy

Europe houses the second largest population of the Peruvian diaspora, only behind North America (Solé et al., 2007). This section is dedicated to the two European countries with largest Peruvian populations: Spain and Italy. Approximately 200,000 Peruvians live in Spain and make up nearly 3% of the nation's seven million immigrants, behind only Moroccans in number of work permits (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016; Merino Hernando, 2000). Nearly 70% of Peruvians in Spain live in two cities, namely, Madrid and Barcelona (Solé et al., 2007). Italy's Peruvian population is about half that of Spain's (100,000), but is also concentrated mainly in two large cities: Milan and Rome (Tamagno, 2006). Italian and Spanish Peruvians are fast-growing populations, both having doubled in under a decade beginning in 1989 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016).

In the case of Spain, a common language (Spanish) and job opportunities explain the size of the Peruvian diaspora. At the end of the 1980s, Spain began lifting restrictions on immigrants from outside of the European Union, which opened the door for Peruvians to work legally in the country (Merino Hernando, 2009). Around the same time, Spanish job agencies were advertising the need for manual labor in Spain, and migrant networks spread the news that Spain was a place to improve socioeconomic status (Escrivá, 2000). These jobs were predominantly for maids, childcare, and elder care (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016). The types of jobs offered account for the higher percentage of Peruvian women in Spain (54%). Over 80% of Peruvians in Spain work in non-skilled positions, construction, or other service jobs (Merino Hernando, 2009). Of these jobs, caring for the elderly is the highest paid and arguably the most

difficult, requiring complete availability with no promise of vacation. Along with other immigrants in Spain, Peruvians are considered second-class citizens and are subject to discrimination and abuse because of their status as non-citizens (Escrivá, 2000). Such abuse usually includes long hours with low or no pay, practices for which undocumented workers feel they have no recourse. In recent years, more Peruvians have become naturalized citizens, but this percentage continues to remain under 35% of all Peruvians in the country (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016).

In Italy, Milan, Rome and Turin are the top destinations for Peruvian immigrants for similar reasons as Madrid and Barcelona (Ferro, 2006). Peruvians began large-scale immigration to Italy in 1989 when the Peruvian inflation was out of control and the political climate was at its worst (Tamagno, 2003). As in the case of Spain, Peruvians came to Italy for work (82%), while the second most common reason was for family reunification.

Italian-Peruvian immigration traces back to the Spanish conquest and colonial period, when emigration to Peru was a strategy to avoid social conflict caused by class disparities in Italy (Tamagno, 2003). In the late 1800s, nearly 7,000 Italians lived in Peru. They found much success in industry and commerce as they became part of the upper middle class, which they continue to occupy today. When Peru began to experience political and economic strife in the latter half of the 20th century, this immigration trend reversed and Peruvians of Italian descent "returned" to Italy (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016; Tamagno, 2003). As a result of the long history of Italian-Peruvian transnational movement, immigration between the countries remains active with both countries acting as senders and receivers.

Most Peruvians are able to be in Italy legally under the statutes of family reunification, which allow legal immigrants to bring family members from Peru to live in Italy legally

(Tamagno, 2003; Velazco, 1998). In qualitative interviews of Peruvians in Italy, respondents reported that the visa process is perceived as easier, Italy pays more, and that overall the country is more willing to help immigrants than other European countries such as Spain (Velazco, 1998).

1.6.2 Peruvians in Argentina and Chile

Nearly two million foreigners live in Argentina, and fewer than half a million in Chile (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016). In these two countries, most foreigners come from other Southern American countries (Paraguay, Bolivia, Chile, Peru). Peruvians account for about 10% of foreigners in Argentina and 40% of foreigners in Chile (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016). Their presence in both places has doubled in the past few decades. In 2001, there were about 88,000 Peruvians in Argentina, and in the most recent decennial census that number had increased to 157,514 (Gómez & Sánchez, 2016). Chile's Peruvian population is similar in size (about 140,000). Over 70% of Peruvians in Argentina and Chile live in the Buenos Aires and Santiago metropolitan areas (Cerrutti, 2005). As in the case of Spain, language facilitates migratory networks between Peru and Argentina and Chile. It is also much cheaper to relocate to these nearby countries than other common destinations such as Spain, Italy or the United States.

Migratory connections were first established in Argentina when it was common for Peruvians to go to Buenos Aires to study in the 1940s (Altamirano, 2003; Benza, 2000; Cerrutti, 2005). These first migratory connections continue today and facilitate a passageway for university students and in more recent decades, unskilled laborers. The preexisting migratory connections to Argentina served as an escape valve in the late 1980s and early 1990s during

Peru's most significant economic decline. During this time Argentina was an attractive option, as it was thriving and had a growing economy supported by the influx of foreign capital and investments to private businesses (Cerrutti, 2005).

Unlike unskilled workers, university students were and continue to be of an upper class background. Non-university students are mostly unskilled laborers that work in construction, the textile industry, retail trade, or in domestic service (Gómez & Sánchez, 2016). Much like Spain and Italy, Argentina and Chile both have demand for unskilled laborers, mainly caregivers of children and the elderly (Gómez & Sánchez, 2016).

Jobs are usually secured before moving to Argentina. Most immigrants already know someone living in the country, though some are "pioneers" and are the first anchor of a new migratory network (Cerrutti, 2005). Peruvians can travel to Argentina and Chile with a passport alone, but are only legally allowed to stay temporarily as tourists. However, many arrive on a tourist visa and overstay it in hopes of working even if they lack documentation (Benza, 2000). Many Peruvians in Chile and Argentina work without an official work permit, since obtaining legal status can be quite costly (Benza, 2000; Cerrutti, 2005). Some marry nationals of these countries with the intention of becoming legal workers, thus bypassing costlier and lengthy ways of obtaining work permits (Cerrutti, 2005).

While Chile has much in common with Argentina in terms of reasons for immigration, its history with Peru creates a social environment tinged with hostility. The tension between Chileans and Peruvians dates back to the War of the Pacific in the late 1800s, which resulted in land disputes near their shared border (Sabogal & Nuñez, 2010). In the wake of this conflict, which Chile won, the presence of Peruvian immigrants promotes a sense of superiority among Chileans and the disparagement of Peruvians who need to leave their own country and look to

Chile for a better life (Sabogal & Nuñez, 2010; Mora, 2008). Mora (2008) hypothesizes that it is because of this social exclusion that Peruvians have been most successful in Chile at creating a large immigrant enclave, one of the nation's few.

In spite of social hostility, Chile is a popular destination for Peruvians because of its proximity to Peru and its lax immigration laws. Proximity allows Peruvians in Chile to be circular migrants, working temporarily in Chile and traveling home frequently (Mora, 2008). This is quite distinct from others Peruvians in the diaspora who are impeded by distance, cost of travel, and visa restrictions to return to their country with any frequency. A second advantage of Chile is that visas are easily obtained. Like Argentina, Chile allows entry with only a passport, and a tourist visa is granted upon arrival. Deportation is reserved only for those that falsify travel documents, not those that overstay visas (Mora, 2008). In addition, children of immigrants are guaranteed the same rights to healthcare and education as children of Chileans. These factors work together to make Chile an attractive option to Peruvians.

1.6.3 Peruvians in Japan

While nearly 10,000 miles from Peru, Japan is home to a sizeable Peruvian diaspora (approximately 60,000), as is Peru to a Japanese diaspora (Lagones, 2016; Takenaka & Paerregaard, 2015). Immigration to Japan is facilitated by the nations' shared history and preexisting migratory networks. Peru was the first Latin American country to establish diplomatic relations with Japan in the late 1800s, and was also the first to accept immigrants from the Asian country (Lagones, 2016). The first Japanese immigrants (a contingent of under 1000 people) arrived in Peru in 1899 as skilled farm laborers; today nearly 200,000 Japanese descendants live in Peru and have even established Japanese schools and communities (Lagones, 2016).

As with other countries with a large Peruvian presence, the greatest number of migrants went to Japan during the political and economic crisis of the late 1980s and early 1990s. In addition, Japan was experiencing a low birth rate and an aging population, leaving a gap in the workforce that Peruvians came to fill (Lagones, 2016). These jobs were described as three-K jobs: *kitsui, kitanai, kiken* (difficult, dirty, and dangerous) (Tabuchi, 2009). To meet the demand for workers in the three-K jobs, Japan passed legislation in 1989 that allowed Japanese descendants, *Nikkei*, of up to the third generation to obtain long-term work visas.

The Japanese government thought the *Nikkei* would be able to assimilate easily because of shared blood and culture (Takenaka, 2009). However, this was not the case for many Peruvian migrants that did not speak Japanese. Language-learning programs and resources were few and the immigrants and their children had to learn Japanese on a “sink or swim” basis (Tezuka, 2005). Only 10% of Peruvians in Japan consider themselves proficient in Japanese (Lagones, 2016; Takenaka, 2009). Though more language programs have become available in recent decades, Peruvian *Nikkei* for the most part do not learn Japanese, as they believe that their stay in Japan will be temporary (Tezuka, 2005).

Though Peruvian *Nikkei* were mostly educated and middle class, they mostly took factory jobs in Japan (Lagones, 2016; Takenaka, 2009). Takenaka (2009) reports that ethnic and linguistic differences keep Peruvians from ascending socioeconomically in Japan, and yet, because of exchange rate differences, these immigrants can still benefit financially from their stints in Japan. Thus, the trend is to work hard for a short period of time to save money to take back to Peru. Peruvians in Japan send back larger remittances per capita than Peruvians in any other country (Takenaka & Paerregaard, 2015).

Phenotype plays an interesting role in determining Peruvians' success as immigrants in Japan. Peruvians that appear more ethnically Japanese experience more discrimination because they appear to have "lost" their language and culture (Takenaka, 2009). Meanwhile, white, *mestizo* or Amerindian Peruvians in Japan are more likely to be praised for any attempt to assimilate to the Japanese language or culture (Takenaka, 2009; Takenaka & Paerregaard, 2015). Non-Japanese Peruvians are also more likely to stay long-term than those of Japanese descent (Lagones, 2016; Takenaka, 2009).

Though some Peruvians wish to stay long-term, Japan has made it clear that it is not an immigrant-friendly country and during times of economic recession has even paid migrant workers to return to their home countries and never return to work in Japan (Tabuchi, 2009). Such sentiments and practices are most likely to blame for the lack of assimilation and transience of the immigrant workforce.

1.6.4 Peruvians in the United States

Before 1965, immigration into the United States was based on a quota system under which a set number of immigrants from certain countries could come legally to help meet demands for labor (Paerregaard, 2010). After this period, the U.S. moved toward a visa-based system through the Immigration and Nationality Act, and focused on legalizing immigrants for the purpose of family reunification and to obtain workers with specific job skills (Paerregaard, 2010). It was through the Immigration and Nationality Act that Peruvians were able to come and work mainly in New York, New Jersey, and Florida. Immigration started to be perceived as a threat to American society in the 1970s and 1980s. As a result, the Immigration Reform and Control Act was passed in 1986 to curb illegal immigration, mostly of Mexicans (Paerregaard, 2010). However, the law still permitted visas for skilled laborers, as well as for individuals to join relatives that had

already gained legal status in the United States. Most Peruvians living in the U.S. today immigrated using these officially sanctioned mechanisms or overstayed their tourist visas (Durand, 2010; Paerregaard, 2010).

The 2010 decennial census reports over 530,000 Peruvians in the United States, living mainly in Florida, California, New Jersey, and New York. Taking into consideration population growth from the time of the last major census and the existence of undocumented Peruvians not reported in the census, some studies suggest the actual number could exceed one million (Francesco, 2014; Paerregaard, 2010). Information from the past four decennial censuses indicates that the number of self-identified Peruvians more than doubled in size every decade since the 1980s (American Factfinder, 2016). In 1980, there were 55,466 documented Peruvians in the United States. By 1990, this number had tripled, and by 2000 it had risen again to 247,601. More recent data from the American Community Survey 5% samples indicate that over 600,000 Peruvians lived in the United States as of 2014 (American Factfinder, 2016). The U.S. Peruvian population increase over from 1980 to 2010 is seen in Figure 1-1.

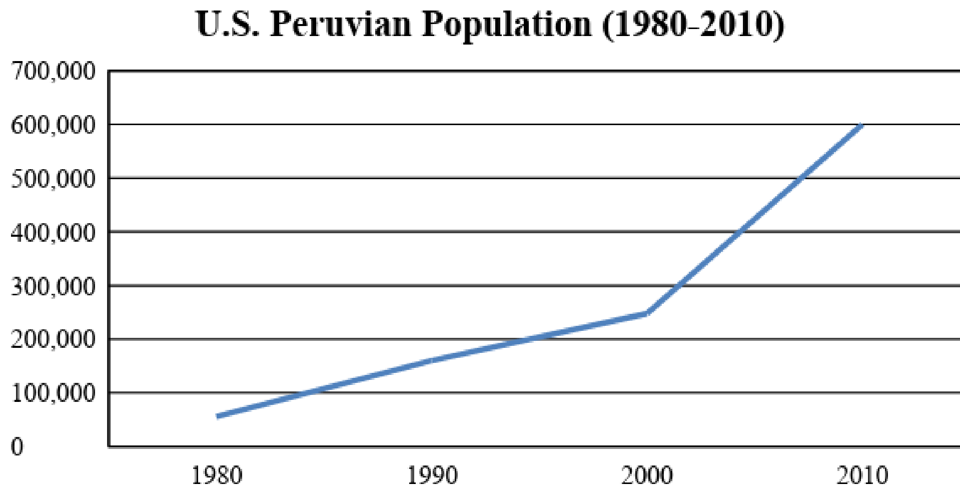

Figure 1-1. U.S. Peruvian population 1980-2010 (U.S. Census, 2017)

Peruvians make up about 0.19% of the population of the U.S. and 1.13% of the Hispanic population. While this number is small, Peruvians are the eleventh largest Hispanic population in the country, representing 5% of Hispanics in New Jersey, 2% in New York and Florida, and a little less than 1% in California.

1.7 Demographic characteristics of U.S. Peruvians

The following sections provide a detailed demographic profile of Peruvians in the United States as revealed by U.S. Census data and compare them to the Hispanic average for age, sex, marital status, education, income, English language proficiency and household language. All data were extracted from the 2000 Public Use Microdata Sample American Community Survey 5-year estimates from 2010 to 2014 (American Factfinder, 2016). Data for Mexicans and South Americans from Spanish-speaking countries are presented along with data for Peruvians for comparison purposes. South American averages are included because they more closely

resemble Peruvians culturally, while U.S. Mexicans are presented as a distinct data set because they make up the largest Hispanic group in the country.

1.7.1 Age

The average age of Peruvians in the U.S. in 2014 was 35.5 years. The largest age group was made up of people from 31 to 45, with 24.3% of Peruvians within this age range (Appendix A). This age distribution is not unlike other South American immigrants, for whom the largest age group is the same. However, this figure differs greatly when compared to all Hispanics as a whole, and to specific groups such as Mexicans, most of whom fall into the category of younger than 15 years old, and nearly 60% of whom are younger than 30.

1.7.2 Sex

The majority of Peruvians in the United States were women, with 53% females and 47% males. Females from other South American nations also outnumbered males. The opposite was true for all U.S. Hispanics in general, and for U.S. Mexicans, for whom men outnumber women. Appendix A provides a comparison of men to women for Peruvians in the U.S. and against other Hispanics.

1.7.3 Marital status

Most Peruvians in the United States have never been married. The percentage of Peruvians and South Americans that are married is higher than the percentage of married or previously married Hispanics and Mexicans, (almost 40% vs. 30%, respectively). Appendix A shows the distribution of marital status of all Hispanic groups.

1.7.4 Education

Over 40% of Peruvians in the 2014 American Community Survey had previously attended or were currently attending college. This percentage mirrored the average for all South Americans, with 41% of these having previously attended or currently attending college. This is much higher than the figure for overall Hispanic and Mexican groups, of whom 22% and 18% respectively are attending or have previously attended college. At the other end of the scale, about 40% of Peruvians had an education between fifth and twelfth grade, and this percentage is similar for all South Americans. Only 16% of Peruvians had an education level equal to or lower than the fifth grade, a figure slightly lower than the total for South Americans, of whom 17% had a fifth-grade education or lower. This contrasts with the much higher percentage of of Mexicans in the lowest educational attainment category (28%) and with the overall figure for Hispanics (26%).

Appendix A provides a more detailed breakdown of educational attainment. In the age range of 25 to 60 (selected to represent the work force), over 60% of Peruvians reported some college education, higher than the average for all U.S. Hispanics and higher than all other U.S. South Americans (58%). For the same age range, only 28.4% of Mexicans and 34% of Hispanics as a whole had any college education. Most Mexicans and all other Hispanics in this age group (65% and 60%, respectively) reported an education between the fifth and twelfth grade. In comparison, only about 39% of Peruvians and other South Americans have the same level of education. For this age range, Peruvians had the lowest percentage of people with an education equal to or less than the fifth grade (about 1%).

1.7.5 Income

The median annual income for Peruvians was $25,000, which was slightly lower than the median income of other South Americans ($27,000), but higher than that of all Hispanics in general and

Mexicans in particular ($21,900 and $20,000). As of 2014, 13% of Peruvians were living in poverty, about half of the average for all Hispanics combined (25%).

1.7.6 English proficiency and household language

An interesting trend appears in the self-reported language use of Peruvians in the U.S.: over 60% of Peruvians reported speaking English well or very well, as compared to 47% of all other Hispanics. On the other hand, only 13% of Peruvians reported speaking only English, compared to 23% of all Hispanics. In other words, while most U.S. Peruvians reported speaking English well or very well, they have not acquired this proficiency at the expense of Spanish. Nearly 80% of Peruvians speak Spanish as a household language, nearly 15% higher than the average for all Hispanics as a whole (66%). Most of the remaining percentage reported using English in the home, and 8% reported using another language. Figures 1-3 and 1-4 compare the English proficiency and household language of Peruvians and other Hispanics, respectively.

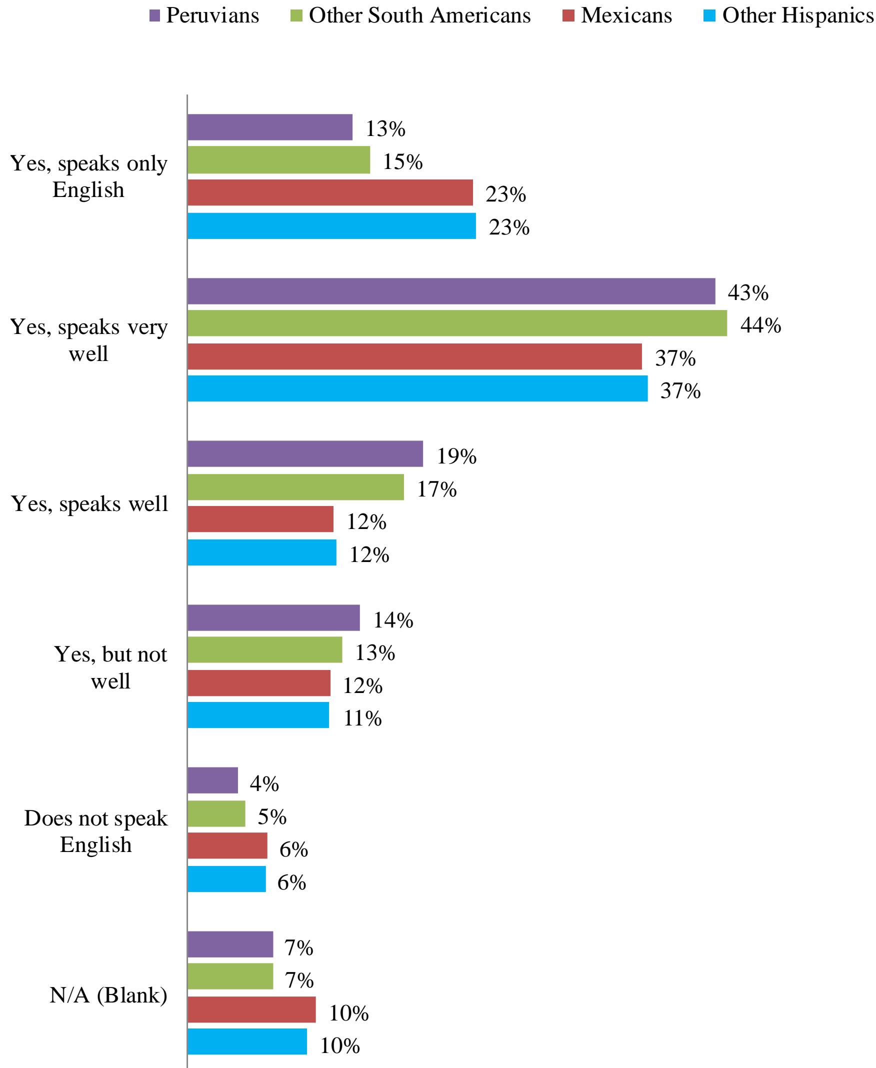

Figure 1-2. English proficiency of Peruvians and other U.S. Hispanic groups

Household Language of Peruvians vs. Other Hispanic Groups

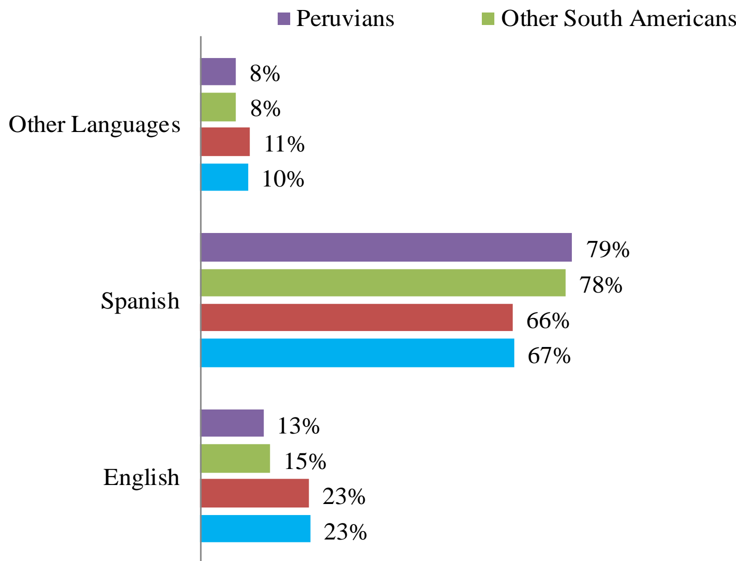

Figure 1-3. Household language of Peruvians and other U.S. Hispanic groups

1.8 Summary of Demographic Data

Like other countries with a large number of Peruvian immigrants, the United States received most of these immigrants between 1990 and 2010, when Peru was experiencing political and financial crises. On average, the Peruvian population is older, more educated, and more English-proficient than the U.S. Hispanic average.

The data about English proficiency and household language point to a few possible hypotheses when it comes to the linguistic habits and attitudes of Peruvians in the U.S.: (1) Peruvians are more likely than other Hispanic groups to have immigrated later in life, after the period of Spanish acquisition, (2) Peruvians are more likely than other Hispanic groups to value bilingualism and maintain their native language, and/or (3) Peruvians live in communities and hold jobs that present a greater need for English, hence the large percentage of English speakers.

Census data is not without its limitations. One issue already discussed in this section is the underestimation of the Peruvian population. While the American Community Survey (American Factfinder, 2016) estimates 600,000, some researchers put the actual number at over one million (Paerregaard, 2005). The undocumented status of some Peruvians in the United States causes this discrepancy.

A specific limitation to the language data is that it does not clarify if or to what extent a person that self-reports speaking only English is bilingual or monolingual. In other words, it is unclear whether failure to speak Spanish is the result of a linguistic choice or a limitation. While household language percentages indicate proficiency, self-reporting of proficiency in any language other than English is not recorded in Census data.

1.9 Paterson, New Jersey

Census data indicates that the most densely populated Peruvian communities in the United States are in northern New Jersey. These communities are located in and around Newark, Elizabeth, and Paterson, all a bus ride away from New York City. As of the 2010 decennial census, nearly 10,000 Peruvians resided in Paterson, making up about 7% of the city's total population of 150,000. Paterson is home to the Peruvian Day Parade, Peru Square (Figure 1-4), and over 1,000 Peruvian-owned businesses, all of which have resulted in its unofficial title as the capital of the Peruvian diaspora (Chin, 2016). Though there has been previous research on Peruvians in Paterson and their cultural, religious, and political practices (Francesco, 2014; Paerregaard, 2010), there have been no studies with a linguistic focus.

Figure 1-4. Paterson's Peru Square signage on Market Street

To understand why Peruvians chose Paterson as a center for their diasporic community, one has to go back in history to the origins of the town. Paterson was founded by Alexander Hamilton and the Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufacturers in 1792, at the height of the Industrial Revolution (Kreitner, 2017; Owusu, 2014). The potential for energy from nearby waterfalls of the Passaic river and its water quality made Paterson an ideal location for industries of many kinds, including textiles, silk, firearms, and locomotives. These thriving industries attracted immigrant laborers in the 19th and 20th centuries, during which Paterson was one of the most prosperous cities in the United States (Francesco, 2014; Kreitner, 2017). Its proximity to New York combined with its low tax rate and low cost of land made it a desirable place for industries, while the relatively low cost of living attracted labor. The town's most profitable industry was silk, earning it the moniker "Silk City." In the latter half of the 20th century, New

Jersey experienced an influx of Hispanic immigrants, increasing from under 7,000 in 1940 to 300,000 in only 30 years (Francesco, 2014). Peruvians were among the Hispanic immigrants coming into Paterson during this time, with hundreds residing in the city in the 1960s, and nearly 5,000 by the 1970s (Francesco, 2014).

In spite of Paterson's booming industrial past, today nearly 30% of Paterson's population lives in poverty and experiences an unemployment rate of nearly twice the national average. Paterson is the seventh most dangerous city in America among those of comparable size (Kreitner, 2017). Nevertheless, it continues to be home to many Hispanic and other immigrant communities, including Bangladeshi, Turkish, and Arab (Francesco, 2014). Today, about 58% of Paterson's population is considered Hispanic or Latino, with the largest groups being Dominican and Puerto Rican (18.8% and 14.4% of the total Hispanic population, respectively). Immigrants choose Paterson as a destination due to chain migration; in other words, they already have social relationships with previous migrants in the area and these relationships help facilitate the decision to begin a new life in Paterson (Owusu, 2014). It is also relatively easy to travel to New York City from Paterson, providing immigrants with job opportunities while maintaining a much lower cost of living than New York offers.

Though Paterson is home to a variety of immigrant communities, the Peruvian diaspora dominates the landscape. The Peruvian Consulate is located in Paterson. An area known as Peru Square, occupying a quarter-mile stretch on Market Street between Mill Street and Main Street, is full of Peruvian-owned businesses. Peruvian flags fly on every lamppost and in every window. Peruvian cable channels are playing in many bars and restaurants, and local shops sell souvenirs from Peru as well as items such as soccer jerseys from popular Peruvian teams. The massive import of Peruvian culture into the city is what has given Paterson its nickname, Little Lima.

Events celebrating the Peruvian diaspora occur frequently in Paterson, including dances, parades, movies, and festivals. Such events facilitated the recruitment of participants for the onsite portion of this study, discussed in depth in Section 3 of this dissertation.

1.10 Peruvians online: *Being Peruvian*

Because of the fragmentation and isolation of the U.S. Peruvian diaspora, it is not surprising that it has developed online social networks. Among these networks are pages or groups dedicated to the Peruvian national football team, Peruvian food, and Peruvians in a certain city or state in the U.S. Pages are found both in English and Spanish, with the latter being the most popular based on a quick Facebook search including key terms such as "peruanos + Estados Unidos" and "Peruvians + U.S." Though several groups created for the Peruvian diaspora appear, all pale in comparison to the number of members and frequency of interaction on the page *Being Peruvian*.

The Facebook group "Being Peruvian" is one of the largest online communities of Peruvians living abroad. The group began posting in January 2015 and quickly began to amass members, most of them Peruvians living in the United States. Through frequent posts on food, memes, jokes and slang words, the group draws large crowds of Peruvians from all over the U.S. The administrators of the group describe it as "a communication platform designed to educate, entertain and connect all Peruvians" (Being Peruvian).

The growth of the group coincided with the period of research, and was thus easy to document. In March 2015, the group had a meager 100 followers. By April 2016, it had grown to over 45,000 followers. Postings and comments in this group by and large reflect how users voice national pride, commiserate with other Peruvians living abroad, and reminisce about nearly forgotten Peruvian sayings, customs, and practices. It is very noticeable that group members find solidarity with others that also experience being "the other Hispanic," in other words, they are

aware of not being part of the dominant Hispanic groups in the United States. Naturally, a recurring theme in the group's posts and subsequent comments is language, and how users perceive their own language compared to other that of other Hispanic groups. Language-related posts in the group were the focus of one of the sections in this study and are discussed at length in Section 3.

1.11 Section summary

The purpose of this section was to present the objective of the study, and to provide a general description of the population of interest, namely, Peruvians in the United States. In particular, this section provided information about Peru's ethnolinguistic background and historical reasons for migration, both internal and external. It also examined the Peruvian diaspora around the world, focusing mainly on the United States. The demographic profile of Peruvians in the U.S. showed that this minority is dissimilar to the Hispanic average in several ways, including age, level of education, English proficiency and household language. Finally, Section I described the two Peruvian communities in this study: the virtual site *Being Peruvian* and the physical community of Paterson, New Jersey. Through an analysis of communities of Peruvians in the United States, this dissertation will provide insight into how they express their national identities in a new cultural and linguistic setting where their variety of Spanish is in contact with others. The following sections address this question and are outlined below.

1.12 Structure of this dissertation

This dissertation is comprised of seven sections. The present section provided an introduction to the study population. Section II presents a review of the literature on language contact and variation, focusing on third wave linguistic variation and the concepts of linguistic identity and

language attitudes. Section II concludes with an overview of more recent work done with microminority diaspora members in an online environment. Section III details the methodology used for this study's data collection and analysis; it is divided into two sections, which discuss the data collection and analysis that took place both online in the Facebook group "Being Peruvian" and onsite in Paterson, New Jersey. The first half of Section III describes how the Facebook group was identified and the parameters for gathering data from group content. The second half of Section III discusses onsite data collection in Paterson, New Jersey. It describes the three protocols used to collect data and also how participants were contacted for this study. A demographic breakdown of the participants is provided. Section IV presents the results, discussion, and analysis of the data collected online. Section V presents the same for the data collected in Paterson. Section VI discusses the significance of the findings, and compares and contrasts how identity was constructed through language in the two settings. Finally, Section VII concludes the dissertation and provides recommendations for further research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Section overview

This section prefaces the present study by exploring the relevant literature related to language change and variation, including both structural and social aspects. Because Peruvians in the United States have not been the focus of many linguistic studies, examples from groups in similar situations will be presented in this section for possible parallels. The linguistic dynamics of the U.S. Peruvian speech community are expected to mirror those of other minority dialect speech communities. Through those examples, I discuss the specific types of changes that occur when languages and dialects are in contact, as well as the social and psychological aspects of this process. This includes a discussion of the three waves of variation (Eckert, 2012) and the exploration of two critical concepts to this dissertation, namely, language attitudes and linguistic identity. Finally, because a sizeable portion of the data discussed in this work comes from online communities, this section concludes with an overview of minority language media and its emerging role in research on the social aspects of language contact.

2.2 Language contact and variation

Sankoff (2004: 642) describes two major social processes that give rise to language contact and variation. The first is when languages come into contact because one population conquers another. This can happen at the regional level when a country's government imposes a language through public schooling on regional populations who speak a minority language. Examples of this abound in northern India, where schooling is often in Hindi, while students' mother tongue is not (Bhat, 2017). On a larger scale, if one population conquers or surpasses another population in number, this may lead to generations of language contact and bilingualism. The resulting

bilingualism can be stable and characterized by language maintenance, such as in some Guaraní and Spanish speaking communities in Paraguay (Rubin, 1962). In these communities, Spanish is used in several spheres of social life including education, government, and religion, while Guaraní is reserved for more intimate social situations (Rubin, 1962: 56).

The second social process that results in contact is immigration. This process is the focus of study of this dissertation. Unlike the previous process in which one group's language is forced upon another, immigration involves a population moving into another and fitting into existing societal systems (Sankoff, 2004: 642). Sankoff explains that this process usually results in rapid linguistic assimilation. Unlike stable bilingualism, linguistic assimilation is characterized by language shift. The U.S. is no exception and in fact has been dubbed a "language graveyard" (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006) because of the tendency to accept immigrants yet extinguish their native languages, often by the third generation.

Such language shift was observed by Cooper and Greenfield's (1969) study on 48 Spanish-speakers from a Puerto Rican background living in Jersey City, New Jersey. Participants were interviewed about the different domains in which they used Spanish or English. It was found that among those interviewed, the youngest participants used English rather than Spanish in all domains, indicating a generational shift from Spanish to English.

A more in-depth generational analysis was carried out by López (1978) and involved a sample of 1,129 Mexican-origin couples in Los Angeles, California. The study brought into question the notion that Mexican-Americans are highly loyal to the Spanish language. Taking gender and generation into account, he found that most first-generation participants used exclusively Spanish at home; however, by the third generation, most were using exclusively English. These findings were most notable among women, with 84% of the first generation

reporting using Spanish exclusively at home and only 4% of the third generation reporting the same. The rapid transition from Spanish, to bilingualism, to monolingualism in English revealed that generation was the strongest predictor of fluency in Spanish. López determined that in most cases, maintaining Spanish fluency was important only to the first generation. The perceived language loyalty was thought to be due to the consistent arrival of new monolingual Spanish-speaking immigrants rather than actual language maintenance across generations. Further studies on the topics of language change as it relates to linguistic variables are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

2.3 Language change

Languages do not remain static and unaltered (Milroy & Milroy, 1978; Von Humboldt, 1999); all languages undergo changes in lexicon, morphology, pragmatics, phonology, and/or syntax. Aitchison (2005:4) provided examples from as early as the 14th century of how authors such as Chaucer reflected on the evolution of the English language in their writings, observing how people spoke differently in the past and would probably speak differently in years to come. Confirming Chaucer's hypothesis, even his own writings are hardly comprehensible to the average English-speaker in the 21st century.

Sankoff (2004: 643) outlined four broad domains of language change: phonology, lexicon, syntax and morphology. Phonological and lexical changes are at the forefront of all other language change (Sankoff, 2004: 643). These two aspects are related because the prevalence of lexical borrowing often leads to subsequent phonological incorporation into the host language. Phonological changes are the focus of many studies on variation in Spanish as a result of language contact, including variables such as word-initial postvocalic /s/ in Honduran and Salvadoran dialects, e.g. *la semana* [la.he.ma.na] 'the week', velarization of word final /n/ in

Peruvian Spanish, e.g. *pan* [paŋ], and the delateralization of /ʎ/ in many dialects (Lipski, 2011). Sankoff (2004) establishes that lexical variation is mostly achieved through borrowing words from minority dialects or languages (substrates) and incorporating them into majority dialects or languages (superstrates). This occurs for example in Peruvian Spanish words that were borrowed from Quechua such as *wawa* 'baby', *cuy* 'guinea pig', or *choro* 'thief'.

Escobar (1994: 330) describes syntactic changes as a result of languages in contact in her study of Spanish-Quechua bilinguals. Among these are diminutives found not in nouns or adjectives, as is generally the case across the Spanish-speaking world, but in gerunds such as *corriendito* (running), adverbs such as *lejitos* or *cerquita* (far, near) or even pronouns such as *ellita* (she). These features of Andean Spanish are not surprising as it is the result of about 500 years of Spanish in contact with Quechua and Aymara (Mayer, 2017). The extension of the diminutive to non-adjectives or nouns most likely has its roots in the importance of modesty and politeness in Quechua (Escobar, 2000). According to Escobar (2000) and Weller (1988), Quechua relies on a sophisticated system of suffixes to express different types of politeness, respect, and affection. Among these are the suffix *-lla* as an honorific, *-yku* to express closeness between interlocutors, *-rqo* to discuss individuals who are not present with affection and respect, and *-ri* to express politeness when asking a question. Spanish lacks these specific suffixes and has only the diminutive to express similar sentiments.

The next section delves deeper into the social dimensions of linguistic variation and language contact that creates such variation.

2.4 Waves of variation

Eckert (2012) describes three waves in the study of linguistic variation, each containing its own perspective on the link between language and society. Broadly speaking, the waves are made up

of an evolving approach that focused first on survey studies based on the assumption that language varies predictably across predetermined social categories, then on ethnographic methods, and finally to a focus on variation as conveying meaning freely chosen by the speakers as they index their belonging to social categories. The present study examines a particular speech community, Peruvians in the U.S., using ethnographic methods with the third approach to linguistic variation studies as its foundation. Prominent studies from each of the three waves are outlined below.

2.5 First wave variation studies

First wave variation studies establish relationships between linguistic variables and the speaker's position in social structure, such as gender, age, social class, and/or ethnicity. The following sections discuss some of the most well-known studies that focus on these variables as well as existing studies on Peruvian Spanish when applicable.

2.5.1 Gender

Gender is defined in this study as the cultural traits and behaviors expected of men or women by a given society (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015: 313). It is more complex than the biological distinction of sex. For example, Fischer (1958) conducted an early study on gender variation in a speech community in New England in which he observed children's pronunciation of /ŋ/ and /n/ in present participles such as *talking* vs. *talkin',* with the latter of these examples being the stigmatized variant. Interviews were conducted with 12 boys and 12 girls aged 10 and under. Fischer elicited their pronunciation of present participles in both a formal and informal setting, and found that 83% of the girls used the non-stigmatized /ŋ/, while only 42% of boys opted for

this version. The findings indicated that girls opted for standard variants as opposed to boys with similar demographic characteristics.

Trudgill's (1972) study in Norwich, England explained the phenomenon of women opting for more standard variants. In his examination of standard and nonstandard phonetic variables in British English, he found that more women used the forms associated with prestige than men. Additionally, he found that men self-reported opting for the non-prestigious variety even when they did not produce these forms in their own speech, indicating a covert prestige that values group solidarity over social status (Trudgill, 1972: 187-188). Trudgill posits that women's status in society is not as secure as that of men, so that it must be established through other means such as language. By contrast, men are able to opt for non-standard forms because they are judged by their occupation rather than appearance to a greater extent than women (Trudgill 1972: 182-183).

Women do not always opt for standard variants. Dorothy Rissel (1989) studied the /r/ assibilation of speakers in San Luis Potosí, Mexico and discovered that women were the leaders of linguistic change to a non-standard form. Previous research indicated that middle- and upper-class females in Guanajuato and Mexico City were most likely to assibilate final /r/ (Boyd-Bowman, 1960; Perissinotto, 1972). Rissel's work in San Luis Potosí revealed that female speakers did the same, beginning first in the middle- and upper-class before the forms appeared in the speech of the lower class. On the other hand, men in San Luis Potosí resisted the same shift that was observed across all classes of females. Rissel attributes this resistance to the reluctance of using forms that are marked as female (Rissel, 1989: 282).

An example of gender-influenced lexical variation from Peruvian Spanish (of Lima variety) is found in the use of slang (*jerga*). Castro Lizares (2016) performed a study with 20

Peruvian men and 20 Peruvian women between the 18- 41 years of age. Participants were first asked to listen to matched-guise audio clips of both Peruvian men and women using slang in a conversation. Then, they were given a questionnaire with questions about their perceptions of what they had heard. Overall, there was a negative perception of those that use slang in everyday speech with more than half (58%) of participants claiming that they did not use slang at all; however, 62% of participants reported that they thought others commonly used slang. The negative perception of women using slang was reflected in the responses. Only 17% of all respondents indicated that it was acceptable for women to use slang (Castro Lizares, 2016: 28).

2.5.2 Age

One of the earliest studies that revealed how age and social class influence linguistic variation was that of Labov (1966). In his study of New York City department stores that catered to three distinct social classes, he aimed to test his hypothesis that the pronunciation of syllable-final /r/ was more prevalent among young speakers. To test his hypotheses, he went to each of the three stores and asked for the location of a department on the fourth floor with the idea of eliciting the words *fourth* and *floor* in the response. In addition, he would elicit a repetition of the words *fourth floor* by pretending not to hear what was said the first time. Labov found that the majority (79%) of respondents from the lower class department store did not use /r/, while only 49% of respondents from the middle class department store elided final /r/, as did 38% of respondents from the upper class department store. Furthermore, the responses from the upper class department store showed that older people pronounced /r/ less frequently than younger respondents in the same store. By contrast, in the middle class department store the pronunciation of /r/ increased with age. This led Labov to believe that members of the middle class had changed their pronunciation as they aged in order to associate themselves with a higher

social class via the use of a variant that carries social value. Moreover, Labov found that these older middle-class speakers would employ the prestige variant more in the formal contexts than their upper class counterparts, a phenomenon that he called hypercorrection.

2.5.3 Social class

Wolfram (1969) also explored the relationship between linguistic variation and social class. His study aimed to show which varieties of speech were associated with specific social groups such as upper middle-class Caucasians, or lower working-class African Americans. A total of 48 interviews were selected from over 700 conducted; the interview included a standardized questionnaire designed to elicit spontaneous conversation, a short list of lexical items, and a passage to be read aloud. The findings indicated that social status was the variable that exhibited the highest correlation with linguistic differences and that the upper and middle classes showed the greatest variation in their pronunciation of the third-person singular tense-marking [z] and pronunciation of [r] in words such as *farm*. Age proved to play a role in variation as well; younger participants used more stigmatized forms than older participants.

Another study that highlights the influence of social class and age was that of Trudgill (1974). He examined a number of phonetic and phonological variables produced by 60 participants in Norwich, England, namely those occurring at the end of present participles, [n] and [ŋ]. Pronunciation was elicited from the participants in four contextual styles: word list style, reading passage style, formal speech, and casual speech. Trudgill found that the higher the social class, the more frequent the use of [ŋ]. Members of lower social classes used mostly [n], but produced [ŋ] when asked to read a word that contained *-ing* (Trudgill, 1974).

2.5.4 Ethnicity

Perhaps even more important than social class in Labov's (1966) study was ethnicity, though the two variables are intertwined. Though age and gender were factors in Labov's study, a closer examination of the variation of /r/ and its correlation with ethnicity revealed that more African American than Caucasian respondents omitted /r/ when saying "fourth floor" in the department store that was considered lower class (Labov, 1966: 77). This finding indicates that ethnicity adds yet another layer of complexity in studies of language variation.

2.6 Second wave variation studies

While first wave variation studies focused on the social significance of variation based on stable social categories that classified and categorized speakers, the second wave focused on knowledge of the speakers themselves and employed ethnographic methods to explain such variation (Eckert, 2012: 90). In this wave, the focus is primarily on speaker agency and categories as defined by sociocultural norms.

Milroy and Milroy (1978) ushered in the second wave of variation studies with their study on social networks and speech communities in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Social networks are the structure of a speech community, made up of webs of ties that link its members together. Such networks are viewed in terms of their density, member closeness centrality, multiplexity, and orders (Milroy, 1987). Dense networks are found in small communities with few outside ties. Member closeness centrality deals with the relationship of an individual to all other individuals in a given community. Multiplexity describes the possibility that individuals interact with one another in different social roles, e.g. work interaction vs. interaction with the same person outside of work. Orders refer to the position of individuals within a social network and their ability to propagate linguistic change or maintenance (Milroy, 1987). Density and

multiplexity are of special importance because of their ability to predict language change. If a network is weak, it is more vulnerable to linguistic innovation. If it is strong, a population's speech habits are preserved.

Milroy and Milroy (1978) studied three working-class communities in terms of the strengths of their social networks. A total of 46 members from the communities were rated in terms of their participation in networks, which were then correlated with their realization of eight linguistic variables. Most participants were in dense networks and shared many of the same social contacts. The strongest correlations were found between instances of /a/ in words such as *hat* and *man* and the type of social networks speakers belonged to. Out of the three communities observed, in only one of them did network strength correlate strongly with the phonological variables (Milroy & Milroy, 1978: 43). The findings supported the idea that stronger social networks serve as norm enforcement mechanisms and that more common or prestigious varieties do not always "win," as the low status varieties serve the purpose of solidarity and preservation of identity.

Another second wave study is that of Cheshire (1982) in Reading, England. The study focused on the extension of the third-person singular verb marking (s) in boys' and girls' speech, e.g. *I says*, *we sees*, *they needs*. The participants were 13 boys and 12 girls between the ages of 9 and 17. The majority of the children used the nonstandard forms with words like *call* and *know,* and a third used nonstandard forms with the verb *has*. Moreover, verbs such as *go, kill, boot,* and *learn* were more likely to take the non-standard (s). Cheshire found that greater occurrences of -s correlated with a higher degree of 'toughness' that was established by an index devised for the study. This index ranked how participants valued certain abilities, such as fighting or stealing. Boys that scored higher on this index were more likely to use the vernacular forms. As in the

example of Trudgill's (1972) male participants, who opted for the non-standard form /n/ when pronouncing *-ing* endings, the boys in Cheshire's study also took advantage of the covert prestige in the non-standard forms that allowed them to identify with the local community.

Another key second wave variation study took place in a high school in Detroit. There, Penny Eckert (2000) observed that through the speech of two different groups, "jocks" and "burnouts", social affiliation was developed at the local group level in adolescence, not in childhood. Her participants, who often placed themselves in one of the two, developed these social categories. In the case of females, the "burnouts" used vowel systems that approximated that of urban norms, while the "jocks" used those that more closely resembled suburban norms. Like previous explanations for gender variation in sociolinguistic research (Trudgill, 1972), Eckert posited that this difference was noted in the high school females' speech because they gain more symbolic capital from appearances rather than from extracurricular activities such as sports. Her observations contribute to the notion that distinct features of a population's speech attract attention and help construct the specific identity that the group desires.

2.7 Third wave variation studies

While second wave variation studies provided a local perspective via ethnographic methods, the third wave of variation shifts from how language reflects social identity to how it is the means through which speakers position themselves in their social landscape (Eckert, 2012: 94). Linguistic features are linked to social meanings that go beyond class, ethnicity, and gender as in first wave variation studies. It is in the third wave that indexing becomes an important focus of study. An indexed linguistic trait is any salient feature of a particular population's speech that allows them to be identified. Such an indexed feature can then be used to associate oneself with a particular group, or conversely, it can be used pejoratively toward group members or as a means

to distance oneself from the group. For example, rhotic assibilation is one of the many traits of Andean Spanish; however, it is one of the more salient traits that non-Andean Spanish speakers have used in both speech and orthography to imitate Andean Spanish. The caption for a promotional advertisement of the *La paisana Jacinta*, a Peruvian television comedy about Jacinta, an Andean woman in Lima reads: "¡*No me lo voy a perdershhhhh*!" 'I'm not going to miss it!' The rhotic assibilation represented in orthography mimics the speech of Jacinta, played by a male actor from Lima performing mock Andean Spanish.

Third wave studies include research on the concept of stancetaking, or how speakers position themselves in relation to one another (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015). This is related to the concept of speaker agency, or how speakers actively use linguistic variation to position themselves in speech with respect to others. By and large, third wave studies are concerned with the mutability of style, rather than assuming that variations within languages or dialects have consistent social meanings.

Several studies focus on the stylistic variation of speech (Campbell-Kibler, 2007; Podesva, 2007; Zhang, 2008). Campbell-Kibler (2007) focused on the pronunciation of *-ing,* following earlier sociolinguistic studies (Fischer, 1958; Trudgill, 1972), and found that listeners associated the standard pronunciation of -ing (ŋ) with education, intelligence, formality, and articulateness (p. 47). On the other hand, the non-standard realization of *-ing* /n/ was associated with a lack of education and being a "redneck" (p. 33). These qualities were chosen by participants that listened to audio clips of speakers using these variants in a matched-guise test. These responses showed the ideas that the listeners held about what constitutes an "accent" and what specific features of an accent reveal about a person's social position.

Similarly, Podesva's (2007) observations of voice quality, or phonetic setting showed how stylistic variation reflects speaker agency. This study centered on Heath, a medical student who identified as gay. Heath recorded himself in conversation in a variety of contexts at work and at home. Podesva listened to the recordings for instances of falsetto, a voice quality that is widely associated with femininity. Analysis of the audio revealed that Heath exhibited stylistic differences in the phonetic character of falsetto and that the duration of the falsetto varied according to the situation (p. 486). Thus, Heath employed voice quality as a stylistic choice that allowed him to exhibit different personas, opting for a more educated persona at work and a "diva" persona when in an informal setting with close friends.

Stylistic practices can be developed at any point in a speaker's life. Moore (2004) conducted a similar study of high-school girls in Bolton, England, and observed that their nonstandard use of first- and third- person *were* began to occur in the speech of some of the group's members over the course of a year. The non-standard use was accompanied by a shift in lifestyle, with this group breaking away from the "populars" and becoming "townies," with a wilder lifestyle.

The next section is dedicated to notions of identity and its construction through language.

2.8 Linguistic identity

Third wave variation studies' emphasis on expressing identity through stylistic variation of speech merits discussion of identity and what it means to individuals within a speech community. Identity is meaningful and both overtly and covertly influences the behavior of individuals and groups. Language is an important medium for portraying identity, as it is a tool to articulate and position oneself as belonging to a particular group. It can even serve as a powerful medium for the assertion of identity against processes of homogenization (Bhat, 2017).

Baldwin and Hecht (1995) propose a definition of the fluid concept of identity, focusing on four basic facets. The first of these is personal identity, which is how an individual perceives him or herself. The second is enacted identity, or how language is used to express one's identity. The third is relational identity, which defines one's identity in context with the identities of others. Lastly, Baldwin and Hecht (1995) describe communal identities in which collectives define identities. Others have expanded on these facets of identity, adding in virtual identities and geographic entities that highlight the roles of online communication and physical space, respectively (Joseph, 2004).

It is difficult to give one singular definition of identity because it is multifaceted and intersectional, as observed in first wave variation studies in which variables often intertwined. An individual's identity can shift according to the context (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015). For example, many Spanish speakers in the United States can simultaneously identify as Latino, Hispanic, American, and female. As a result, the identity that a speaker constructs is made up of several of these identities at once. Their fluidity can create conflicting identities that emerge in different contexts (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015). For example, one can focus a conversation on certain aspects of one's identity, such as being a parent, or being Latino. Conversely, depending on the context one or more identities may be suppressed, e.g. the identity of being a parent while in a workplace setting.

It is important to note that speakers do not choose to speak a certain way because of a preexisting identity; rather, identities are constructed through linguistic practices that have social meaning (Buchholtz & Hall, 2005). In other words, identities do not exist outside of their performance. Like Eckert (2000), Bucholtz and Hall (2005) describe identity as a construction that is intersubjectively produced, emerges through interaction, and is not bound by

sociodemographic variables. Such construction of identity is seen in existing studies on U.S. Hispanic speech communities. For example, Bailey (2001) studied the use of Spanish and English by Dominican-American students in Rhode Island and sought to answer how this group used language to negotiate identity among other Hispanics and African Americans in their community. On the one hand, Dominicans share the Spanish language with other Hispanics, but on the other, they share racial and socioeconomic characteristics with African Americans. However, they sought out their own unique group identity. Bailey concluded that it was through code-switching between Dominican Spanish and English characterized by African American features that these students were able to create a unique and separate identity that went beyond being Hispanic or African American.

Linguistic identity is also positional; it can be used to denote specific cultural positions and roles between different groups, as in the case of students in California who used language to position themselves and negatively evaluate others (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Similar to Eckert, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) presented the notion that identity is constructed through the relationship between social meanings and linguistic forms. The most important of these relationships is Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) principle of adequation and distinction. The principle of adequation (seeing others as similar to oneself) and distinction (seeing others as unlike oneself) can be easily applied to minority linguistic groups; it is the process by which one group or individual, in the absence of others similar to themselves, choose the "next closest" group to identify themselves with. This was observed in the example of Korean American youth who did not position themselves as African American, but as non-white and "sufficiently similar" to African Americans in their ideals (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

2.9 Language attitudes

Third wave variation studies place even more importance on social and psychological aspects of language use. For this reason, language attitudes are an important focus of study in the field of sociolinguistics (Giles & Coupland, 1991: 21). Studying language attitudes helps to uncover how speakers of a language or dialect react to the way others speak (Ladegaard, 2000). These reactions have social significance that will be discussed in this section.

Garret (2010: 37) describes three main approaches to the study of language attitudes: 1) the societal treatment of language varieties, 2) direct measures, and 3) indirect measures. In the societal treatment approach, language varieties are studied in terms of their social status and associations. Direct measures seek to measure attitudes explicitly through explicit data gathering such as surveys or interviews. Indirect measures aim to gather implicitly held attitudes toward other languages or dialects. In the implicit approach, methods such as the matched guise testing are employed. Matched guise testing (Lambert, 1967: 94), requires an element of deception in which participants are asked to listen to audio clips of a speaker using a certain language or dialect and ascribe certain personality traits to that speaker e.g. tall, intelligent, handsome, simple. Unbeknownst to the participant, the audio clips contain a single speaker performing two languages or dialects. Thus, in the rating, the participant reveals his or her attitudes toward a particular dialect or language. The present study employs all three measures, but relies mostly on the direct approach.

As discussed in this section, language attitudes grow out of situations where different dialects are in contact and they reveal much about how speakers feel about their own speech as well as that of others. Language attitudes are but one of the many facets of contact. The following section examines the relevant literature on other patterns that emerge through the contact of specific dialects of Spanish in the U.S.

2.10 Dialects of Spanish in contact in the United States

While the U.S. Mexican population still makes up the majority of U.S. Hispanics (65%), the Latino presence in the U.S. is nearing 60 million, 21 million of whom are not Mexican. This means that 7% of the U.S. population as a whole is non-Mexican Hispanic, a figure that carries implications for Spanish speech communities. As different dialects of Spanish more frequently come into contact, distinct patterns emerge in their maintenance, or loss. These patterns include convergence, resistance, and assimilation. Convergence occurs when communities are in contact long enough that their dialects adopt lexical, morphological or other linguistic features from each other. By contrast, resistance occurs when underlying social attitudes prevent speaker of different dialects in contact from adopting each other's features. And finally, assimilation is similar to convergence in that a dialect adopts features of another, but unlike it in that convergence is one-sided, with one dialect "losing" to another that has greater ascribed power and prestige.

2.11 Convergence

Linguistic convergence was described in Otheguy et al.'s (2007) study of Spanish speech communities in New York. The dialects in this study were divided into the two main groups in the community: Latin American Mainlanders (comprised of Ecuadorians, Colombians, and Mexicans, and Caribbean dialects comprised of Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans). Spanish speakers from different countries are in constant interaction in New York, which led the researchers to examine whether linguistic differences weaken or level out. A second issue the researchers wanted to ascertain is to what extent English is a force shaping NYC Spanish. To answer these questions, they examined the use of subject personal pronouns in finite clauses in over 300 tape-recorded interviews. Of these interviews, 142 samples were selected based on stratification criteria (sociodemographic factors, years of residence in NYC, level of English, and

the extent of Spanish use). The data collected included 63,500 tokens of finite clauses that were then coded according to independent linguistic variables, such as genre, person, and tense. The authors predicted that the overt pronoun rate would positively correlate with the time spent living in NYC and with level of English. It was determined that English played a role in the simplification of pronominal usage, and also that the two groups accommodated to one another and were converging into their own New York Spanish speech community.

A similar case of convergence was seen in Potowski's (2014) examination of ethnolinguistic identity and ideology of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago. The main focus of this study was to answer how Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago position themselves socially and linguistically, and how "Intralatinos" or those with mixed heritage, construct ethnic and linguistic identities. A total of 125 interviews were conducted of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and MexiRicans who were asked about relations between and stereotypes of the two groups. The author performed quantitative analysis of the features of Spanish spoken by these groups, and qualitative analysis of the answers to questions about the role of Spanish in creating Mexican or Puerto Rican identity. She found that neither dialect was favored over the other; both were equally familiar to the speakers. With each newer generation, acceptance of the differences between Mexican and Puerto Rican dialects grew. Like Otheguy et al. (2007), Mexicans and Puerto Ricans were also converging and creating a U.S. speech community.

2.12 Resistance

Unlike Potowski's (2014) example of convergence into a speech community, Johnson (2005) found that dialect mixing and leveling was not occurring in Chicago among the speakers of Mexican and Puerto Rican Spanish that she studied, although the conditions were right for such mixing and koineization. Over one academic year, Johnson observed and interviewed 67 Puerto

Rican and Mexican high school students with similar age and socioeconomic backgrounds. While in Potowski's (2014) study Mexicans and Puerto Ricans demonstrated mutual understanding and respect (as evidenced by intermarriage), Johnson observed the opposite, namely a lack of inter-ethnic interaction between Mexicans and Puerto Rican high school students. Their interactions and social organization were ethnically patterned and their groups were labeled, much like Eckert's (2000) "Jocks" or "Burnouts." Participants revealed they had few ties to people outside of their own ethnolinguistic group, and were quick to categorize themselves and others into one particular group. Individuals with mixed ethnic backgrounds were labeled based on what they "most" sounded like. For example, one participant had a Cuban father and a Mexican mother, but spent time living with a Puerto Rican family. Her peers considered her to be Puerto Rican based on her idiolect.

Linguistic resistance to convergence between the two dialects was recorded in a chi-square test on the occurrence of /s/ in the speech of the two groups. The presence of /s/ is common in Mexican Spanish, while its aspiration is a salient feature of Puerto Rican Spanish. As expected, Mexican participants retained /s/, while Puerto Rican participants retained their aspiration. They performed similarly to comparison groups not in contact with other dialects. The results suggested that no convergence took place between the dialects in the usage of /s/ and that the two groups resisted adopting traits of the other's dialect.

2.13 Assimilation

The power and prestige of a dialect and its speakers largely determine its survival when in competition with other dialects. Extralinguistic factors such as socioeconomic status and phenotype of speakers play a part in the acceptance or rejection of features of a dialect into U.S.

Spanish speech communities. Studies by Zentella (1990) and Rivera-Mills (2011) exemplify the impact of perceived power and prestige on whose dialect assimilates and why.

Zentella's (1990) study revealed the impact of dialect power and prestige in the case of lexicon adoption. This study focused on the four largest Hispanic groups in New York City: Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Colombians, and Cubans. It answered the question of how extensive contact among diverse groups affects each groups' knowledge of the lexical variants in other Spanish dialects and their ability to produce these variants. Zentella asked 194 diverse New York Hispanics to identify 25 objects that are common but lexically different for one or more of the nationalities studied.

Participants reported their preferred word for the given lexical item and the percentage of others reporting the same word was recorded. For example, 87% of Cubans presented with a picture of a pocketbook called it a *cartera*. In cases where one group reported more than one word, it was noted that other groups used this word. In the same example of 'pocketbook', 58% of Colombians reported *cartera*, while 34% preferred *bolso.* The data noted that at least one person from all other groups except for Cubans reported *bolso*. This type of analysis was performed for each of the 25 lexical items.

Through this comprehensive analysis of lexical items and who uses them, it was found that national origin determined participants' responses, not age, gender, education, years in the U.S., or language proficiency. The responses indicated lexical maintenance, leveling and loss, but the most significant findings were *who* experienced loss. While Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Colombians, and Cubans were all shown to borrow lexical items from one another, only Dominicans borrowed from *every* other group. On the other hand, words were not borrowed from Dominican Spanish into any other variety. It is hypothesized that social factors were to

blame; of the Hispanic groups, Dominicans in New York are the poorest, the least educated, and usually darker-complected. Thus, neither Dominicans as a group nor Dominican Spanish are considered prestigious or valued by other Spanish speakers in the community.

Like Zentella, Rivera-Mills (2011) found similar effects of social factors in the loss or maintenance of a dialect. Just as lexical items, pronouns and morphology can also be stigmatized; one such feature is the use of *voseo* by Hondurans and Salvadorans in the U.S. (Lipski, 1988). In Rivera-Mills' study, 85 participants representing first-, second-, and third-generation Salvadorans and first- and second-generation Hondurans were interviewed about their pronoun usage. Specifically, participants were asked about where and with whom they used the pronouns *tú*, *vos*, and *usted.* Rivera-Mills found that *voseo* was not used in the public sphere, so that even spouses used *tuteo* in public that would normally use *voseo* with each other in the privacy of their own homes. Reasons for the differences in *voseo* usage in the public and private spheres were elaborated in the participant interviews. Participants reported changing their *voseo* usage to assimilate into the larger Spanish-speaking communities and to avoid being uncomfortable or judged. Participants also reported that they spent more time around Mexicans and other Latinos and felt they could communicate better by not using *voseo*. In spite of the perceived social benefits of *tuteo*, Hondurans and Salvadorans both reported losing a sense of identity as they opted for a different pronominal system in instances where *voseo* seemed more natural to them. As in the case of Dominican lexical items "losing" to other varieties of Spanish in the U.S., with each generation Honduran and Salvadoran *voseo* is losing ground to the *tuteo* forms common of other dialects.

2.14 Minority language media

While the previous section discussed dialects of Spanish in physical contact in the U.S., diasporic speech communities are no longer limited by physical proximity and their online presence has gained attention in recent decades (Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010; Dannet & Herring, 2003; Wellman & Gulia, 1999). Extensive work has been done with online diasporic communities around the world, among these the Burundi, Persian, Pakistani, Russian, Islamic, Salvadoran, and Indian diasporas (Androutsopoulos, 2006; Benítez, 2010; Kadende-Kaiser, 2000; Karim, 2003; Mallapragada, 2000; Mandaville, 2003; Mitra, 1997; Stæhr & Madsen, 2015; Tsaliki, 2003). However, few of these studies have a linguistic focus (Androutsopoulos, 2006; Kadende-Kaiser, 2000; Stæhr & Madsen, 2015) and even fewer focus specifically on the online presence of any Hispanic diaspora (Benítez, 2010). The following sections discuss the increasing interconnectedness of diasporas made possible through the Internet as well as previous studies that focus on online linguistic diasporas.

2.14.1 The Internet and translocality

After the turn of the 21st century, computers and smartphones became increasingly accessible and no longer for an elite group only, meaning that interaction between digital social networks of geographically distant groups became more practical and convenient (Wellman & Gulia, 1999). Increased access to Internet facilitates translocality, a feature of online communication in which a speech community can exist with no physical contact between its members (Varis & van Nuenen, 2017). Over half (54.4%) of the world's population has access to the Internet (Internet World Stats, 2017). While the largest numbers of Internet users are in Asia, the highest percentage of Internet users as a percentage of the population is in North America (95%),

followed by Europe (85%), Australia (69%), and Latin America (67%) (Internet World Stats, 2017).

Increased access to the Internet worldwide allows diasporas to create platforms that connect group members and raise awareness of concerns that previously may have gone unheard (cf. Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010, for a discussion of Basques in the diaspora). Group members can also create and maintain cultural and linguistic practices that enable a new sense of community and connect a physically distant diaspora (Benítez, 2010). Perhaps most importantly, an online medium allows diasporas to stay in touch with news and popular culture from the homeland (Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000).

Rose Kadende-Kaiser (2000) touches on the topics of language choice and code-switching on the Burundi diaspora website *Burundinet.* She posited that language choice and code-switching on the website *Burundinet* functioned as a gatekeeping method to limit the community to Burundi diaspora members. Anyone wishing to become a member of *Burundinet* would need to have achieved high levels of linguistic competence in Kirundi, French, and English to be able to fully decode the material posted on the site. Code-switching reflected the social construction of reality as each of the languages served a separate function. For example, proverbial expressions and sayings were usually in Kirundi (Kadende-Kaiser, 2000: 138).

A much more in-depth analysis was performed by Androutsopoulos (2006) in his examination of multilingual discourse, code-switching, and the relationship between linguistic diversity and ethnic identity on seven different German-based diasporic websites. Each website represented a different diasporic group, including Persians, Turks, Indians, Greeks, Asians, Moroccans and Russians in Germany. Data analyzed included both German-language discussion forums as well as edited sections. The latter are posted online by the website content creator(s)

and contain different genres of media discourse, including news and entertainment in the migrant language. Obtaining the exact number of interlocutors is often not possible in an online environment; Androutsopoulos estimated the number of participants by providing the number of registered users for each discussion forum (2006: 525). Each group's registered users were made up mostly of second-generation German-based young adults, but also included first-generation migrants and speakers from the homeland as well. "Guerilla ethnography" as first described by Yang (2003) was employed in this study and consisted in the constant observation of the seven online sites, noting themes, discourse practices, and patterns of language use.

Though computer-mediated communication provides translocality and global interconnectedness, the websites considered in Androutsopoulous's study contained discussion mostly about experiencing life in Germany as a unique member of a diaspora. It was found that 1) language choice of edited sections reflected content creators' desire to reach target groups, e.g. the use of English to attract Indians working in IT in Germany on a short-term basis; 2) code-switching in discussion forums mainly occurred in insertional switches such as greetings, closings, words of thanks or good wishes, e.g. *salam* in the Moroccan and Persian forums; 3) instances of songs, poems or ethnic jokes ('performances') were mostly in the homeland languages; and 4) language choice was occasionally a polarizing subject with some registered users chastising others for losing their ethnic identities via the use of German or English. The discourse functions of code-switching in this study are consistent with previous research and suggest the construction of new hybrid identities and cultures in diasporic computer-mediated discourse (Androutsopoulos, 2006; Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000).

The previous studies mentioned focus on diasporic interactions in an era before Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. Facebook in particular has proven to be a platform that allows

maximum potential for varied interaction, giving minority languages and dialects a voice and a "meeting place" that they did not previously have. Equally important, Facebook gives these groups a wider audience they did not previously have. Instead of existing in isolation on sites specifically for the diaspora such as *Burundinet*, or the various German-based sites explored by Androutsopoulos (2006), Facebook allows speakers of minority languages and dialects to form an online community within a larger community that may not be familiar with these minority groups or their concerns.

Wagner (2013) examined language ideologies of Luxembourgish speakers on Facebook and found that users voiced their concerns and frustrations even in the titles of the groups. She examined the group titles and corresponding descriptions of 22 Luxembourgish groups on the social networking site and categorized the groups based on their purpose(s). Among these categories were groups dedicated to already existing clubs in Luxembourg, or petitions to open such clubs, and groups dedicated to Luxembourgish as a language and/or culture. She found that the titles and descriptions were quite nationalistic and used to assert their identity as Luxembourgish-speakers and resist being ascribed any other labels. Her study affirms that Facebook is an important platform for observing language ideologies and language use, as the most basic information about the group, its title, served as an indicator of stance on political and cultural affairs.

Another study specific to Facebook is that of Cunliffe, Morris, and Prys (2013), which explored language use of Welsh youth on Facebook. A total of 200 students completed an online questionnaire in which they answered questions about their own language use both offline and online. Afterward, the researchers conducted eight focus groups each ranging from six to ten students that had been randomly selected from the online surveys. Two schools had students that

primarily spoke Welsh, while the other two had students that primarily spoke English. The results revealed that the Internet played a significant role in the lives of each group. It also revealed that students' online language use reflected their offline language use, i.e. students used Welsh online with friends they spoke Welsh with in person. Overall, the findings suggest that language use in online social networks is an extension of language behavior in offline networks.

2.14.2 Validity of research in online speech communities

Linguistic research across social networking sites is still relatively new; many have raised the question of the reliability of the Internet as a source of linguistic interactions (Varis & van Nuenen, 2017). The Internet is sometimes thought of as its own sphere and a force that is ruining traditional communication, namely through the frequent use of acronyms (*LOL*, "laugh out loud") and non-standard orthography (*ur*, "your" or "you're"). However, as multimodality (e.g., pictures, videos, texts) in writing increasingly becomes the norm in worldwide communication, it is necessary to study the Internet as an extension of human interaction, not as a separate reality.

Because online and offline environments are not separate spheres of life, online communication and language should be viewed through its wider sociolinguistic context (Stæhr & Madsen, 2015; Varis & van Nuenen, 2017). Observation of online interaction provides a glimpse into the shape of interactions and linguistic resources of speech communities, including those of diasporas worldwide. It is for this reason that newer research focuses on interactions online seen through the lens of ethnography (Hine, 2008; Stæhr & Madsen, 2015, Varis & van Nuenen, 2017; Yang, 2003).

An example of this is Stæhr & Madsen's (2015) study on Danish teenage rappers and their linguistic practices in rap videos on YouTube. The youth all identified as members of a Middle Eastern diaspora. These videos were compared and contrasted with the researchers'

observations of school and leisure time activities for the same group of teens. Through combining observations of the participants' social media, the researchers found that the minority rap community relied on their music to aid assimilation into the linguistic majority, rather than to express contempt for the hegemonic group. This information was confirmed through the observations and interviews of the participants. Thus, the study successfully united the analysis of a speech community online with their "real-life" interactions.

Minority language media expands knowledge about immigrant languages, such as dialects of Spanish in the United States. Social networking sites such as Facebook are rich data sources due to their "heavy usage patterns and technological capacities that bridge online and offline connections" (Ellison et al., 2007: 1144). Since online communities are an extension of linguistic behavior online (Cunliffe et al., 2013; Ellison et al., 2007), they can be studied as real speech communities. This provides good starting points for observing Peruvian dialects of Spanish in contact with more prevalent dialects in the U.S. Furthermore, it has been suggested that social networking sites support stronger ties within a minority linguistic community and allow its members to resist language shift, while at the same time bolstering ethnic identities associated with that language (Ellison et al., 2007; Milroy, 2013).

2.15 Section summary

This section examined relevant literature on language change and contact. It discussed the waves of linguistic variation, focusing primarily on the third wave in which linguistic identity and attitudes play a central role. Finally, this section examined more recent research on the growing topic of minority diasporas online. The next section examines the methodology for the present study.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Section overview

The present section discusses the methodology used to collect data for the two studies reported in this dissertation. The first section deals with the data collection from the Facebook group *Being Peruvian*[1], while the second section deals with participants on site in Paterson, New Jersey. The protocols for collecting these data are described in detail.

3.2 Online study

Previous literature on online diaspora interactions stresses the transnational character of diasporic communication. The focus of the online portion of this study is the U.S. Peruvian diaspora and the social networking sites (SNSs) used by this group within the United States. Such groups are not difficult to find; many SNSs allow users to search the sites for posts and groups about specific topics. Some SNSs (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter) allow for hashtags that serve as links that will display an entire page of posts by other users or groups that have used the same hashtag. Some hashtags are trendy, while others are less dependent on current events and aim to promote and connect cultural groups or ideas. In fact, hashtags such as #beingperuvian and #justperuvianthings have emerged on these SNSs. A quick search using these and similar hashtags on any social media platform yields a number of Peruvian groups with users interested in connecting with others from their country and focused on a myriad of topics ranging from a shared passion for the national football team, to discussing culinary tradition. Some groups are purely dedicated to food, language, or cultural events that connect the community. Others groups are meant simply to reminisce, tell jokes, and share memories about Peru.

[1] Unless labeled otherwise, screenshots are from the Facebook page *Being Peruvian* and are used in this section and in subsequent sections with the permission of *Being Peruvian* page administrator(s)

Though a variety of social networking platforms allow users to view content related to a topic of choice, Facebook was ultimately chosen as the focus of this study for several reasons. Facebook is by far the largest SNS, with over two billion active users worldwide (Clement, 2019). In addition, it allows for the greatest amount of interaction between users with common interests thanks to the ability to join or follow a "page" or a "group." Other SNSs also allow users to connect over common interests, but are limited by character count (Twitter) or focus mostly on sharing images rather than text (Instagram). Facebook allows for lengthy text as well as the ability to post a variety of multimedia content, such as videos, photos, links, or polls.

Facebook pages and groups work in slightly different ways. Pages are designed to be the official profiles of celebrities, brands or businesses, while groups are for small communities to share common interests and express opinions (Hicks, 2010). Pages allow users to interact with one another on edited content posted by a site administrator, while some groups allow for users to post their own content. In other words, pages tend to be more carefully curated, while groups tend to be more spontaneous. That said, in many cases, the content posted to the group must be pre-approved by an administrator. This study narrowed its search to Facebook pages and groups using search terms such as "Peruvians in the U.S.," and "Peruanos en los EE.UU," focusing only on those with a high number of followers (at least 10,000) The frequency of edited content (posts originating from page administrators) was also taken into account. Though there were a multitude of results pertaining to Peruvians in the United States, at the time of data collection (April 2016), only three pages had at least 10,000 followers and were decidedly U.S.-based: *SURPerú*, *PERU- Peruvians in USA* and *Being Peruvian*. A brief synopsis of each page follows.

PERU-Peruvians in USA began in 2009 and was the smallest of the three groups, with 14,700 page followers. According to the main page, this group's target audience is "*todos con el*

corazón rojo y blanco viviendo en USA, ARRIBA EL PERU!" ('Everyone with a red and white heart living in the U.S., long live Peru!'). Administrators post edited content on average once per week, and the content pertains mostly to the Peruvian national soccer team. This narrow focus along with infrequency of posts and page follower interaction led to the exclusion of this page from the present study.

Founded in 2012, *SURPerú* is a U.S.-based television network whose mission (according to their main page) is to reach every Latino home in the United States, bringing news from their home country to preserve Latino culture in future generations and maintain interest in the ancestral country [*SURPerú*]. *SURPerú* had over 31,500 page followers at the time of the study. Edited content is posted daily and frequently consists of video clips from television shows airing on the station. Occasional content about food or Peruvian cultural events is also posted. The page was ultimately excluded from the study because the edited content posted by page administrators did not spur much interaction among page followers.

Being Peruvian was the largest of the pages examined, with nearly 250,000 page followers. It was also the most recently created of the three pages, with posts beginning in January 2015. Through frequent posts on food, memes, jokes and slang words, the group attracts Peruvians from all over the U.S. The administrators of the group describe it as "a communication platform designed to educate, entertain and connect all Peruvians" [*Being Peruvian*]. Because of its frequent edited content, number of active page followers and interaction between these followers, this group was chosen as the focus of this study.

The growth of this group has been exponential: in March 2015, *Being Peruvian* had only 100 page followers, but by April 2016, it had grown to over 45,000 followers. These users find solidarity with others that also experience being "the other Hispanic," or in other words, feel they

are not part of one of the dominant Hispanic groups in the United States. Postings and comments in this group by in large reflect how users voice national pride, commiserate with other Peruvians living abroad, and reminisce about nearly forgotten Peruvian sayings, customs, and practices. A recurring theme in the group's posts and subsequent comments is language and how users perceive their own culture and dialect of Spanish compared to those of other Hispanic groups.

The online portion of this dissertation analyzes metalinguistic content in the page *Being Peruvian* to answer: 1) What common themes, if any, emerge from the users' discussions about language? 2) What are users' attitudes toward their own Spanish (Peruvian) and other varieties of Spanish? These questions provide a point of departure to analyze a speech community whose linguistic interactions are not well documented and serve as a starting point for studying physical communities of Peruvians in the United States.

3.2.1 Data collection and analysis

Data collection was based on previous studies that employed online ethnography (Androutsopoulos, 2006; Hine, 2000; Yang, 2003). Androutsopoulos (2006) describes the main procedure of online ethnography, known as persistent observation. This qualitative method is based on the assumption that continuously monitoring SNSs provides valuable insights into discourse practices and patterns of language use in computer-mediated discourse. Continuous monitoring includes observing a specific page or site over a period of several weeks, noting the type and frequency of content and the amount of text or discussion that the content prompts (Androutsopoulos, 2006; Yang, 2003). My procedure involved browsing the page *Being Peruvian* on a regular basis for several weeks, identifying every instance of metalinguistic discourse in both the edited content itself and in page follower interactions, whether with the content or with other followers.

To best answer the research questions and to maintain a language-centric approach, I observed all postings in the Facebook page *Being Peruvian* from its inception in January 2015 to April 2016. All posts were then manually categorized by their most frequently recurring themes. This process was inductive; themes were identified as they appeared, and not all were language-specific. Examples of themes found in the edited content are food, Peruvian landmarks, soccer, and life in the U.S. While not the sole focus of the group, language was a frequent topic of discussion among page followers. In order to identify themes of linguistic relevance, I focused on posts that were language-specific, which I defined as meeting at least one of the following criteria: 1) they explicitly mentioned some aspect of Peruvian Spanish, 2) they included a photo or image of an object whose name is unique to Peruvian Spanish, or 3) they were directed at users to elicit opinions about language or language variety (Figure 3-1).

Figure 3-1. Screenshot of edited content that elicits discussion about Peruvian dialects (Being Peruvian)

The edited content was then examined to ascertain the common themes within the groups' language-specific posts and also which language (Spanish, English or both), was used in the edited content and in page follower interactions. A screenshot was taken of each language-related post and its corresponding comments. Comments were examined qualitatively to observe how the group's followers responded to them.

Facebook provides an option that allows page viewers to view only the most relevant comments under each post. In this option, only comments with the most page follower interaction will appear (measured, for example, through likes or replies). This strategy makes it possible to exclude comments in which users only "tag" friends, as well as those flagged as spam. This option was selected for this study and only the comments that Facebook deemed as most relevant were included. These comments came from page followers with public profiles, i.e. those that can be seen by any Facebook user, not only people from the commenters' friend list. From the selection of comments for the study, each page follower's name was blocked out and replaced with a pseudonym to protect his or her privacy.

The resulting data from the comments were approached through an inductive framework analysis methodology and were assigned textual codes as they emerged. Further information on the mapping and interpretation of the data is described in Section 4, Results of Study 1.

3.3 Onsite study of Peruvians in Paterson, N.J.

Data collection in Paterson was carried out by means of a battery of different instruments that were all applied to all participants. Protocol 1 is a questionnaire that gauged participants' language proficiency in English, Spanish, and other languages they may speak. Protocol 2 is a language attitude survey scored on a Likert scale that measured participants' attitudes toward Peruvian dialects of Spanish. Protocol 3 is a three-part semi-structured interview of 16 questions

that were used to collect most of the data used in this study. The questions elicit open-ended responses from participants about their own linguistic background and about their linguistic experiences in the United States. In addition to the interview questions, this portion included a collection of pictures of common objects that have a unique name in Peruvian Spanish. The objective was to elicit responses in the form of lexical items from participants, to ascertain if they opted for the common name in the Peruvian variety, or whether they preferred other names more common in US Spanish varieties.

The rest of this section explains how the participants were recruited, and provides a breakdown of the demographic makeup of the Peruvian population from whom these data were collected.

3.3.1 Sampling

I chose to interview participants in Paterson, New Jersey because of the density of its Peruvian population and the high likelihood of finding a sufficient sample to interview. Even then, the unique population that this study targets is relatively small and has been the topic of few studies (Berg, 2015; Paerregaard, 2005; 2010); as a result, recruitment was based on non-probability samples, chiefly samples of convenience and snowball sampling.

Convenience sampling relies on participants that are easily accessible to the researcher. Snowball sampling techniques are used when the target population is difficult to locate and it relies on one or two points of contact that can in turn introduce the researcher to other potential participants. Persons who met inclusion criteria were approached and asked to participate. To be included in this study, participants had to self-identify as Peruvian and be at least 18 years old. All participants were met through three initial groups of contacts that were established upon arrival. Details of the sampling follow.

3.3.2 Recruitment of study participants

After selecting Paterson, I tried to find potential participants by asking my personal contacts from Peru via Facebook if they had any acquaintances or family in the area. All of these Peru-based contacts were familiar with Paterson's large Peruvian community, and indeed, most had friends or relatives in the area. However, none of them seemed to have the type of close relationship that would have helped establish contact within the community. In fact, many of them didn't have any updated contact information for the acquaintances they said they had. This is a common problem as the immigrant diaspora community ages, and the links with the old country are lost, especially if they were formed before the era of social media. Thus, I turned to a different potential contact, an American I met while doing volunteer work in the early 2000s in Lima and highland areas in southern Peru. In fact, it was this person who reached out to me after I posted a Facebook status asking for contacts in Paterson. He then put me in contact with the pastor of a small local church whose congregation was mostly Peruvian, and after establishing contact with this person and discussing my study, I travelled to the city. I stayed on location for two weeks from August 3 to August 17, 2017.

The specific dates were chosen because of the probability of Peruvian events following Peru's Independence Day on July 28. I had to rely on such community events because unfortunately, I was not able to locate my initial contact upon arrival in Paterson. Peruvian events are heavily publicized around Paterson, including on posters in restaurants and light posts, on billboards, and through social media pages on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. I found such events on Facebook by setting my search area to Paterson and skimming the calendar for anything that looked of interest to the Peruvian diaspora. Several events revolved around music, dancing, food, and film. I found two that I was able to attend: *Carnaval Ayacuchano* and the

premiere of Peruvian film *El gran criollo* ('The Great Creole.') *Carnaval Ayacuchano* is a one-day annual event celebrating the customs of the Ayacucho region of Perú (Figure 3-2). Events include regional music and dances, raffles, and typical food from the region of Ayacucho such as *cuy,* (guinea pig) imported frozen from Perú, *choclo* (white corn), and *anticuchos* (cow heart pieces on a skewer). Attendees are also invited to take part in *la yunza*, a typical celebration that includes chopping down a tree that has been adorned with prizes.

Figure 3-2. Screenshot from *Carnaval Ayacuchano's* Facebook photos ("Carnaval ayacuchano", 2017).

This event was chosen because it was open to the public and had the highest number of confirmed attendees, a statistic that can be viewed on their Facebook group page. While the event was held to raise money for remittances to the department of Ayacucho in Peru, Peruvians from various parts of the country were in attendance. This was due largely to the presence of

Keiko Fujimori, a Peruvian presidential candidate and the daughter of polarizing former President Alberto Fujimori.

The other community event that I attended in the hope of meeting potential contacts was the U.S. premiere of the Peruvian film *El gran criollo*. I discovered this event on Facebook as well as through posters around the city. The movie was produced in part by Peru's Ministry of Culture. The themes in the movie seemed of particular interest to the diaspora; the main character is a child that leaves Peru with his family to live with an aunt in Paterson, New Jersey. He returns to Peru as a young adult and rediscovers his love for the culture and specifically, *marinera* music. The event took place in the movie theater in Paterson's shopping mall.

I was fortunate to meet several welcoming people in Paterson that made this study possible. It is not common to see Caucasians in Paterson. Every initial contact began with the participant asking me, "What are you doing here?" This worked to my advantage, as I was able to explain my study and ask if they wanted to participate. It was at *Carnaval Ayacuchano* that I met the first group of participants, Manuela and Zulema, for the first time. All names in this study have been replaced with pseudonyms. It was Manuela that first introduced herself to me and invited me to sit with her and her friends. From there I was able to tell them about what I was doing in Paterson and they were very excited to participate and introduce me to other potential interviewees. We arranged times in each of their homes for a second meeting. They invited friends to these meetings that I was also able to ask to participate.

The second group of participants was first contacted through Alejandro, a patron in a Peruvian restaurant in town who approached me and asked what kind of work I was doing in Paterson. From there, we exchanged contact information and met for interviews in a law office owned by a friend of his. I was able to contact this friend, who was a lawyer with mostly

Peruvian clients, as well as one of Alejandro's coworkers for interviews. Alejandro also provided me with the contact information of a family in Paterson that he said took him in when he first arrived to the city and did not know anyone. I contacted the daughter of the family, Lourdes, who invited me over for dinner where I did interviews with her, her sister Dora, and her brother Yonel.

The third group of participants did not have any ties to the previous networks discussed. I was given the contact information for these participants (Cristóbal, Rocío, and Tania) from a friend in Perú. I cold called them and we set up times to meet in Paterson. Both interviews took place in a public park near Peru Square, Paterson's hub for all things Peruvian. Section 3.3 provides further demographic information of the participants.

The interviews were designed to last a minimum of 10 minutes, though many participants provided longer responses that led to conversations of 20 minutes or more. The interviews were audio recorded with a Zoom H1 Portable Digital Recorder and uploaded into my personal laptop immediately after they were completed. The interviews were then transcribed manually within the NVivo qualitative data analysis software. Participants were not compensated for their interviews; however, they were provided with my contact information to stay in touch and receive details of the published study if they were interested. Further details pertaining to these interviews are found in the description of Protocol 3.

3.3.3 Methodology of Protocol 1

All participants were asked to complete three different activities, which I will call Protocols in what follows. Each of these data collection activities sought to elicit different types of linguistic and social information about each subject. Protocol 1 is a self-rating questionnaire that measures the linguistic proficiency of participants in all their languages in four areas: listening, speaking,

reading, and writing. The questionnaire included English, Spanish, and an option to write in another language. Participants were expected to speak varying levels of English and Spanish. It was anticipated that they might also speak other languages of Peru such as Quechua or Aymara, or languages they might have studied or come into contact with, such as French or Chinese. The participants were asked to select their own level of language proficiency in each of the four skills, in four levels of proficiency including *None, A little, Good*, or *Very Good.* The questionnaire was available in both English and Spanish.

3.3.4 Methodology of Protocol 2

Protocol 2 aimed to ascertain participant attitudes toward Peruvian dialects of Spanish vs. other varieties with which they come into contact. In order to do so, it provided participants with ten statements regarding Peruvian dialects of Spanish. A 5-point Likert scale was given for the participant to rate their responses to the statements, ranging from *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree*. The questionnaire is based on Lasagabaster's (2003) study on the attitudes toward English held by Basque speakers in the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain. This tool addresses the question of how Peruvians in the U.S. feel about their own dialects of Spanish, as well as other dialects they encounter in the United States. The purpose of this tool was to provide a numerical measurement of reported language attitudes to compare to the attitudes expressed in Protocol 3, the semi-structured interview. This information was also correlated with demographic information collected in Protocol 3, such as hometown and years in the United States. Example statements from Protocol 2 include statements such as "I like hearing Spanish from Peru," "Using Peruvian words and expressions makes me feel more Peruvian," and "It is important for my children to know Peruvian words and expressions." The questionnaire was available in both English and Spanish.

3.3.5 Methodology of Protocol 3

Protocol 3 was the main portion of the study, since out of it came most of the data for qualitative analysis. There are three main components of Protocol 3, which must be discussed in detail. The first section collected demographic information from each participant, including age, gender, years in the United States, and generation. The sample size of 20 participants prevents any in-depth statistical analysis, however; any patterns identified will be described qualitatively.

The second section is a type of icebreaker as well as a measure of knowledge of common Peruvian lexical items. Due to constraints on interview location and participant availability, this particular activity was carried out with ten of the 20 participants. In this activity, these participants were shown 12 pictures of common everyday items on color flashcards. They were then given ten seconds to provide the name of that item in Spanish. Items were chosen because their names in Peruvian Spanish are distinct from those of the Spanish varieties more commonly spoken in the United States. Participants were instructed to first provide the name that they use for the item, followed by any other names they know for the item. The purpose of the test was to establish whether this group of U.S. Peruvians continues to use the lexical items prevalent in their dialect, or whether they have replaced those forms by those of other Spanish varieties they have come in contact with the most. The questionnaire design was inspired by Zentella's (1990) study of lexical leveling in New York speech communities.

One of the stimuli is presented in Figure 3-3. In Peru, the most commonly used term for the item pictured is *cancha*, and U.S. Peruvians were expected to produce this form the most. Any other response (e.g. *maíz, maíz tostado*) would indicate influence from other varieties of Spanish. The objective of the test was to ascertain how many of the 12 items would be named with a Peruvian word by each participant, as well as how many of the 12 items were more and

less likely to be so named. In addition, for items no longer named using the Peruvian lexical item, it was of interest to establish what alternative names were provided by the informants. Section 4 discusses the results quantitatively, followed by a descriptive analysis.

Figure 3-3. Stimulus picture for the term *cancha,* 'roasted corn' ("Cancha", 2011)

The third and final component of Protocol 3 consisted of open-ended interview questions which were meant to obtain information about five main themes: (1) language use, (2) maintenance of linguistic identity, (3) language contact, (4) language attitudes, and (5) the future of Peruvian Spanish in the United States. The first topic, language use, aimed to gauge participants' linguistic habits in various spheres of social interaction, e.g. at home, at work, with friends. It also asked about any language in which the participant may have any amount of proficiency. Although this information was gathered in the self-rated linguistic proficiency questionnaire in Protocol 1, it was expected that other languages might be reported in spontaneous speech that were not reported in the questionnaire, especially stigmatized languages

such as Quechua. The second topic dealt with the maintenance of linguistic identity; for this, participants were asked about the types and frequency of communications with other Peruvians, both in Peru and in the United States. They were asked to share what specific communication medium they use to keep in touch with other Peruvians, whether it be social media, telephone, or something else.

The third section inquired about the types of contact that the participant has had with non-Peruvian speakers of Spanish. Specifically, the participants were asked to tell a story about a time when they were misunderstood by a speaker of a different dialect of Spanish. Similarly, this section elicited responses about a time when they misunderstood a speaker of a different dialect of Spanish. Finally, the participants were asked whether they believed their own Spanish has changed since their arrival in the United States, and if so, how.

The fourth section aimed to gather candid responses about linguistic attitudes, which could be compared and contrasted with those obtained in the language attitude survey in Protocol 2. This set of questions elicited responses about what the participants liked and disliked about Peruvian dialects of Spanish. In addition, participants were asked to share their opinion on the varieties of Spanish with which they came into contact. The aim was to learn from participants which variety was perceived in their community as having the most prestige and to discover their opinions on which dialects were more or less desirable. These questions also aimed to uncover the reasons why they hold these opinions. Finally, this section discusses the linguistic attitudes of the participants and their relatives toward the way their children speak Spanish, if applicable. The fifth and final set of questions delved into the future of Peruvian dialects of Spanish in the United States as well as the Spanish language in general. It elicited responses that provide insight into their ideas about language policies.

3.3.6 Data analysis of Protocol 3

While a full pilot study was not conducted prior to the complete study reported here, Protocol 3 was piloted with two Peruvian Spanish speakers in College Station, Texas. A Peruvian female in her 40s and a Peruvian male in his 20s both responded to the lexical items and semi-structured interview questions. No issues were experienced in either of the test runs. The responses of these two participants only covered Protocol 3 and are not included in the main study. All participants preferred to do the interviews in Spanish. All interviews combined included over 3 hours, 14 minutes, and 55 seconds of audio, which were transcribed using NVivo qualitative data analysis software and resulted in 10,605 words of transcription. Speaker idiosyncrasies, including non-standard usage of Spanish were preserved as best as possible in the transcriptions e.g. *bet**e**rraga* vs. *bet**a**rraga* ('beet').

After completing each transcription, codes were created for common themes that emerged in the participants' interview responses. For example, if a participant discussed Puerto Rican dialects of Spanish or expressed attitudes toward this particular group, that line of text was labeled with the code "Puerto Rican Spanish." Initially, 73 codes were created (Appendix B). These codes were consolidated and narrowed down to four main thematic groups: 1) Language and Identity, 2) Adapting to a New Linguistic Environment, 3) Language Change, and 4) Reported Linguistic Attitudes. The first category, Language and Identity, includes several instances in which the participants discussed language as a marker of national identity, whether it be English, specific dialects of Spanish, or even varieties Quechua. In the second category, Adapting to a New Linguistic Environment, participants discussed topics such as their experiences learning to understand different varieties of Spanish in the U.S. that they were not familiar with prior to their arrival in the country. They also discussed specific lexical differences

that they were aware of and had encountered the most during their time in the United States. Instances of code-switching or codemixing in participants' speech were also placed into this category, as they indicate the influence of a new linguistic environment where English dominates in some social spheres. In the third category are comments from participants about their own language use and if and how they feel it has changed since their arrival in the United States.

Finally, the fourth category reports opinions about "best" and "worst" varieties of Spanish in the U.S. Any country or linguistic trait mentioned by participants as being either desirable or undesirable was placed into this category.

3.3.7 Sample size of the onsite study

The sample size of 20 participants was expected to be large enough to obtain enough data to sufficiently address the research questions and produce emergent themes of relevance to these particular members of the Peruvian diaspora. The intent of this study is not to generalize from the sample of 20 to the entire U.S. Peruvian diaspora, but to explain, describe, and interpret the linguistic themes that emerge from the data (Guetterman, 2015; Maxwell, 2013). The sample was also expected to produce enough information to make a comparison between the themes uncovered here and those in online diasporic interaction.

3.3.8 Demographic composition of participants

Tables 3.1-3.7 represent the demographic composition of all participants in this study. They take into account several factors that were reported in the Census data on Peruvians in the U.S., as described in Section 1. The tables include gender, age, educational attainment, self-rated language proficiency, birthplace, age of arrival in the U.S., and years in the U.S. A description

follows each table as well as a brief discussion on how the sample population in Paterson compares to the U.S. Peruvian population as a whole.

Table 3-1. Gender and age

Age	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
18-30 years	3 (15)	3 (15)	6 (30)
31-40 years	5 (20)	5 (20)	10 (40)
41-50 years	2 (10)	0 (0)	2 (10)
51+ years	0 (0)	2 (10)	2 (10)
Total	10 (50)	10 (50)	20 (100)

Table 3-1 presents the number of participants and a breakdown by gender and age. Though non-probability snowball sampling was employed in this study, participants were balanced by gender. The most participants (40%) fell into the age range of 31-40. A total of 30% of participants were aged 18-30, and 20% of participants were over the age of 41. According to data from the 2010 U.S. Census, the average age of Peruvians in the U.S. in 2014 was 35.5 years and largest age group was made up of people aged 31 to 45, making the participants in this study comparable to the U.S. Peruvian population as whole.

Table 3-2 shows that most participants (70%) had previously attended or were currently attending college at the time of data collection. Six participants (30%) had the equivalent of a high school education. These percentages are higher than those reported in the U.S. Census, according to which 40% of the U.S. Peruvian population has received a college education and

another 40% has a high school education. The remaining 20% did not attain an education equal to or greater than high school.

Table 3-2. Educational attainment

Some college	14	(70%)
High school education	6	(30%)

Table 3-3 reveals that most participants considered themselves to possess a greater command of Spanish than any of other language, with all participants rating their Spanish proficiency as *Good* or *Very good*. The self-rated Spanish language proficiency closely mirrors the nearly 80% of Peruvians that reported speaking Spanish as a household language. By contrast, only a quarter (5) participants rated themselves as *Good* or *Very good* speakers of English, while one participant reported speaking no English at all.

Table 3-3. Self-rated language proficiency

	None (%)		A little (%)		Good (%)		Very good (%)		Total (%)	
Spanish	0	(0)	0	(0)	2	(10)	18	(90)	20	(100)
English	1	(5)	14	(70)	3	(15)	2	(10)	20	(100)
Quechua	16	(80)	4	(20)	0	(0)	0	(0)	20	(100)

The self-rated English proficiency contrasts greatly with the information reported in the census, where over 60% of Peruvians in the U.S. reported speaking English well or very well.

This is most likely due to the nature of Paterson as a Peruvian enclave where English is hardly required for daily life. Finally, no participant claimed proficiency higher than *A little* in a language other than Spanish or English, which matched the figures of the U.S. Census, where this group was also a minority (only 8% reported using a language other than Spanish or English).

Table 3-4 indicates the city in Peru that each participant considered to be their hometown. No participants were born in the United States. Of all participants 75% reported their hometown as Lima or Callao. The two cities are physically close and geographically similar. The other participants were from Arequipa (1 participant), Chachapoyas (1 participant), and Huánuco (3 participants), and represent all major geographic regions of Peru: the coast (Lima, Callao), the jungle (Chachapoyas), and the highlands (Huánuco, Arequipa).

Table 3-4. Hometown in Peru by city

City	Number of participants (%)
Lima	11 (55%)
Callao	4 (20%)
Huánuco	3 (15%)
Chachapoyas	1 (5%)
Arequipa	1 (5%)
Total	20 (100%)

Census data does not specify the origins of Peruvians in the U.S.; however, it is known that most (over 50%) of Peru's population resides in coastal areas, while 32% in the highlands and 13% in jungle areas (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2016). It is thus probable that most Peruvians in the United States would come from Lima and the surrounding areas. It should also be noted that even those participants in this study who did not list Lima/Callao as their hometown (n=5), had spent a considerable amount of time in Lima before ultimately immigrating to the United States. In other words, as noted by other authors before (Berg, 2015; Durand, 2010; Takenaka et al., 2010) internal migration to the capital was a gateway to outmigration.

Table 3-5 Age of arrival to the U.S.

Age	Number of participants (%)
Before age 15	3 (15)
After age 15	17 (85)
Total	20 (100)

Tables 3.6 and 3.7 show both age of arrival and years in the United States. Most of this study's participants arrived in the United States after the age of 15, with only three arriving as children before the age of 15. Most participants (60%) had been in the country for eight or more years at the time of data collection. A total of five participants had been in the U.S. for 4-7 years, and only three had been in the country for three or fewer years.

Table 3-6. Years in the U.S.

Number of years	Number of participants (%)
0-3	3 (15)
4-7	5 (25)
8-11	1 (5)
12+	11 (55)
Total	20 (100)

Comparison of these figures with the census data is complicated by the fact that the census provides only the year of entry for the foreign-born Peruvian population as a whole, and not the specific age of arrival. A total of 20% of foreign-born Peruvians in the U.S. (126,000 people) arrived prior to the year 1990, while 19% (118,000 people) arrived in the 1990s, and 27% (162,000 people) arrived in the years 2000 to 2010.

In sum, the sample of Paterson participants is similar to the U.S. Peruvian population as a whole in terms of gender and age. The two groups differed most in terms of educational attainment and language proficiency, with the sample population reporting more education but lower English proficiency than the U.S. Peruvian population overall. Finally, the participants' hometowns reflected the distribution of Peru's population between coast, jungle and highlands.

3.4 Section summary

This section began by outlining the methodology for collecting linguistic data from the page *Being Peruvian* for the online portion of this study. It explained that this methodology consists of persistent observation, a technique for online data collection that is described in this section. The

section then described the methodology for the onsite portion of this study with Peruvians in Paterson, New Jersey. The methodology for this part of the study is comprised of three protocols: 1) a self-rated language proficiency questionnaire, 2) an attitude survey on a Likert scale pertaining to Peruvian and other dialects of Spanish, and 3) a semi-structured interview that collects demographic information as well as open-ended responses about participants' linguistic experiences in the United States. This section has also discussed the coding and qualitative analysis of both the online and onsite studies. Finally, it presents the demographic composition of the onsite participants and how this sample population compares to the U.S. Peruvian population as a whole. Sections 4 and 5 discuss the results of the online study (Study 1) and the onsite study (Study 2), respectively.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF STUDY 1

4.1 Section overview

This section presents the results and discussion of the data obtained from Study 1, i.e., the online portion. The results indicate type and frequency of the edited content collected from the site *Being Peruvian*, including both linguistic and non-linguistic posts. My main focus is of course on language, and in particular, the following: 1) What common themes, if any, emerge from the users' discussions about language? 2) What are users' attitudes toward their own Spanish (Peruvian) and other varieties of Spanish? To answer these questions, the section first examines the types of all edited content followed by language-specific content. Next, comments on the language-specific content are analyzed in terms of their assigned textual codes. A discussion of each of the linguistic themes from the data concludes the section.

4.2 Results: Type and frequency of edited content

Before delving into a detailed description and quantification of the edited content, it is worth focusing briefly on the page itself. *Being Peruvian* is visually reminiscent of Peru, with the main colors in the photos being the same as the Peruvian flag, red and white. The page has its own logo, a *chullo*, a knitted hat symbolic of Andean culture, with the words "Being Peruvian" beside it (Figure 4-1). Even the font of the logo is similar to that commonly seen in Peru's *chicha* art, a style unique to the country that is found on posters advertising everything from concerts to Internet cafés (Figure 4-2).

Figure 4-1. *Being Peruvian* logo (Being Peruvian)

Figure 4-2. *Chicha*-style art

A total of 15 months' worth of edited content was examined, counted, and categorized for this study. From January 2015 when the posts began, to April 2016 when data collection was finalized, site administrators produced a total of 583 instances of edited content, or an average of 38 posts per month, including photos, statuses (text written by the page administrator), videos, and links. Posts were brief, consisting of a phrase or a sentence about an aspect of Peruvian

culture. Each post aimed to prompt interaction from Peruvian page followers in the form of comments, likes, replies, or shares. Over 73% of posts (429) were written in English, 17% (101 posts) were in Spanish, and 9% (50 posts) contained both English and Spanish. Surprisingly, the remaining three posts were in Quechua, a language not frequently written in Peru (Figure 4-3).

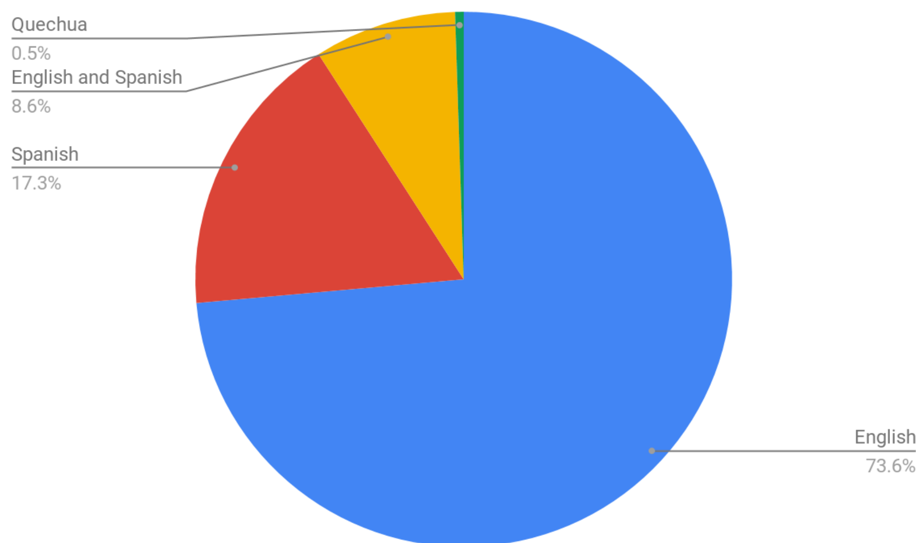

Figure 4-3. Language of all edited content

Posts were assigned only one of the following categories, listed in descending order of frequency: Food, General Facts/Photos, Language, Family, Life in the USA, Jokes, Sports, Objects, Television/Music, and Dating/Relationships (Figure 4-4). Posts about language ranked third, behind Food and General Facts/Photos of Peru. A total of 89 posts, or about 15% of all edited content, met at least one of the three language-specific criteria because they: 1) explicitly mentioned some aspect of Peruvian Spanish, 2) include a photo or image of an object whose

name is unique to Peruvian Spanish, or 3) were directed at users to elicit opinions about language or language variety.

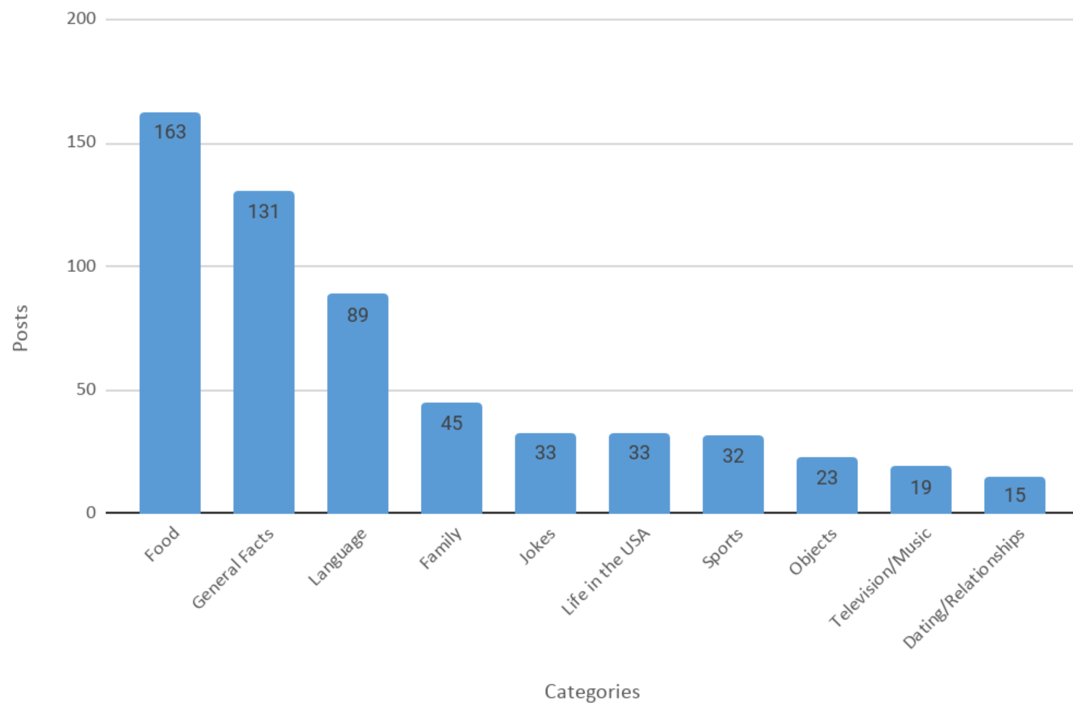

Figure 4-4. All edited content in *Being Peruvian*

4.2.1 Non-linguistic edited content

Most edited content (594 posts) was not specifically about aspects of Peruvian dialects of Spanish, which is not surprising considering the page itself is not dedicated specifically to language. Any occurrence of linguistic or metalinguistic content is coincidental. However, the

content considered globally provides an overall picture of the page and the interests of its followers, members of the Peruvian diaspora.

A total of 163 posts (or 27% of the total) pertained to Peruvian food. Photos of food and status updates about food were posted and discussed more than any other category in the group, appearing twice as frequently as language (Figure 4-5). Occasionally, these posts were considered to contain linguistic content if the food has a name in Peruvian Spanish that is infrequent or unknown in other dialects of Spanish. In these cases, the posts were placed in the "Language" category. The next largest thematic group, with 131 examples of edited content (22%), was labeled as "General Facts/Photos." This type of edited content appeared frequently in the form of a photo with no textual information to provide context, e.g. a photo of Machu Picchu or another well-known Peruvian landmark. Statuses containing facts about Peru were also included in this category. Sometimes these were facts about Peruvian traditions, such as that of wearing yellow underwear on New Year's Eve to bring good luck in the year ahead (Figure 4-6).

Figure 4-5. Food (Being Peruvian)

Figure 4-6. General facts/photos (Being Peruvian)

The third largest category was language, which is discussed in greater detail in the following section, given that it is the main focus of this study. The fourth category ("Family") had 45 examples (7.8%) of edited content about experiences with Peruvian family members. These types of posts often compared Peruvian families with non-Peruvian families in the United States or discussed typical things that Peruvian parents say or do (Figure 4-7). The post presents the slogan of a multinational company (Nike) commanding consumers to "just do it," alongside the informal command of one's mother. The point of the post is to provide a humorous Peruvian 'translation' proving that the mother fulfills the role of giving commands as effectively as any advertising campaign.

Figure 4-7. Family (Being Peruvian)

A similar category, though not family-specific, was labeled as "Life in the U.S." and was comprised of 33 posts (5.6%). Like posts about family, this category contained several contrasts between life in the United States and in Peru. In this category, posts expressed how living in the U.S. has made Peruvians in the diaspora different from Peruvians in Peru, including how they are perceived in their home country after having lived abroad for some time (Figure 4-8). "If he dies, he dies," paired with a still frame from the movie *Rocky* is an Internet meme. This meme is based on Anglo American tropes (i.e. the unequal fight against one's circumstances) but it is recycled and repurposed to the situation of Peruvians in the diaspora being taken advantage of in their home country.

Figure 4-8. Life in the U.S. (Being Peruvian)

The remaining categories (Jokes, Sports, Objects, Television/Music, and Dating/Relationships) comprised under a quarter of all posts. Jokes were presented in the form of statuses or photos (images of text or anything else). Sport-related content usually pertained to recent losses or victories of the Peruvian national soccer team or any of the regional teams in Peru (Figure 4-9).

Figure 4-9. Sports (Being Peruvian)

The category of “Object” was assigned to any post containing status or a photo of a physical item that was assumed to be familiar mostly to Peruvians and the Peruvian diaspora. These consisted of toys, games, household items (Figure 4-10) and even disciplinary tools such as a whip that many Peruvians recognize as the “San Martín” (Figure 4-11).

Figure 4-10. Object: *Colcha* ‘blanket’ (Being Peruvian)

Figure 4-11. Object: *San Martín* whip (Being Peruvian)

For example, Figure 4-10 depicts a blanket with tigers on it, stating that all Peruvians have one at home. The brand *de Tigre marca* 'Tiger brand' should actually read *de marca Tigre*. The reason for this is not apparent, though a possible explanation is that it is acceptable to have pre-posed adjectives in Andean Spanish; it could also be the influence of standard English word order.

A total of 19 posts (3%) related to Peruvian popular culture and media, either by depicting a scene from a Peruvian television show or eliciting page follower responses about Peruvian songs (Figure 4-12).

Figure 4-12. Music (Being Peruvian)

The smallest category of edited content (15 posts) dealt with dating or relationships. Examples of such posts were statuses such as "Everyone should date a *peruana,"* or photos/memes depicting some aspect of dating (Figure 4-13). This post connects dating with one of the other popular topics, food. The idea that good cooking skills come as a warning produces a humorous effect. This post and others could also be considered indirectly about Peruvian customs.

Figure 4-13. Dating/relationships (Being Peruvian)

4.2.2 Language-specific edited content

The aim of this study was to focus on the examples of edited content explicitly related to language, whether they contained metalinguistic comments about dialects of Spanish, bilingualism, or any other related topics. The 89 language-specific posts fit within three specific topics: Peruvian Lexicon (61.8% of posts), Varieties of Spanish (27% of posts), and Bilingualism (11.2% of posts).

Peruvian lexicon was by far the most prevalent type of language-related post, occupying over 60% of the items examined. Slang, known as *jerga* among Peruvians, was a frequent topic and appeared frequently in posts that the administrators called "The Peruvian Word of the Day." These types of posts all followed a similar structure: they mentioned a word commonly used in Peru and often provided a tongue-in-cheek dictionary-like entry with an English translation and with an example of how the particular word would be used in a sentence (Figure 4-14). As noted in the example below for *huasca*, the words defined on the site are not particularly academic or high-culture, but rather slang and colloquial speech.

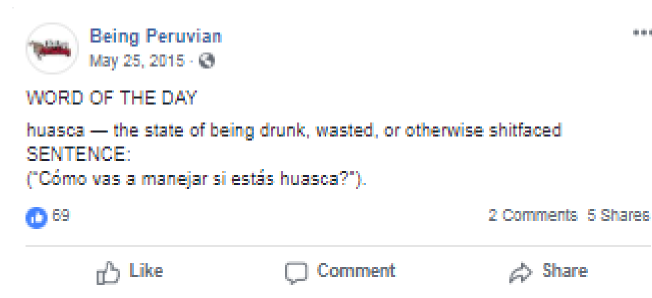

Figure 4-14. Edited content presenting Peruvian word *huasca,* 'drunk' (Being Peruvian)

In addition to posts providing definitions to Peruvian words, there were also posts created to encourage page follower participation and interaction. This was achieved by asking open-ended questions to page followers about language, such as the example in Figure 4-15 which requests responses about page followers' favorite Peruvian *jergas* or expressions.

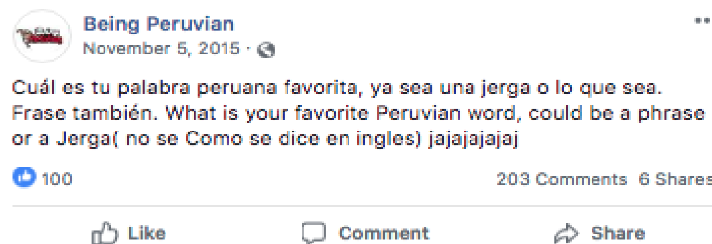

Figure 4-15. Edited content eliciting examples of Peruvian lexicon (Being Peruvian)

Not all posts in this category were centered on slang expressions; some mentioned common words that are not widely understood by other Spanish speakers, such as *lúcuma*, a Peruvian fruit, or *pollada*, a type of fundraising event.

Posts comparing varieties of Spanish were the next most prevalent within the edited content about language. These posts reflected the linguistic makeup of communities in the United States where the Peruvian diaspora has contact with other varieties of Spanish. Frequently, posts reflected the fact that Peruvians must learn the vocabulary of more prevalent Spanish-speaking populations in the United States. Users also shared experiences about being misunderstood by other Spanish-speakers or having trouble understanding them (Figure 4-16).

Figure 4-16. Edited content about varieties of Spanish (Being Peruvian)

Some words that were causes of confusion appeared more than once in the edited content, including *torta* 'cake,' *palta* 'avocado,' and *cholo/a*, which in Peru is a pejorative term used to describe those with Andean roots, unrelated to Mexican American gang subculture as it is prevalent in the U.S. Several other commonly confused words, such as *pendejo* 'astute,' *maní* 'peanut,' and *cañita*, 'straw', were mentioned in comments on these posts. Such comments are described in greater detail in Section 4.3.2.

Posts discussing dialect variety sometimes provided a Peruvian "translation" of common phrases employed by more dominant Spanish-speaking groups in the United States: *"*Mexicans be like *'hola guey, qué onda carnal, cómo están amigos* and we Peruvians be like "*habla pe! Qué tal mi causita, como están mis patas?? Qué hacen mis yuntas.'*" Another example of this was a post "translating" a standard dialect into Peruvian Spanish: "*El peruano no come, papea. No trabaja, chambea. No tiene amigos, tiene causas,*" 'A Peruvian doesn't eat, *papea* (Per. Sp. infl. 'eat'). He doesn't work, *chambea* (Per. Sp. infl. 'work'). He doesn't have friends, he has *causas* (Per. Sp. 'friends').'

So far, I have discussed how edited content on dialect variety reflected Peruvians' experiences with other dialects of United States Spanish, particularly misunderstandings. The edited content also provided "translations" from other U.S. Spanish dialects into Peruvian Spanish. One more aspect of Spanish in the United States appearing in edited content was how English-speakers perceive (or, rather, do not perceive) different varieties of Spanish. The common complaint in such posts was that English speakers too often attributed the linguistic identity of a majority, e.g. Mexicans, to all groups of Spanish speakers in the United States. In other words, a false syllogism arises: Mexicans and Peruvians speak Spanish; therefore, Peruvians are Mexicans (Figure 4-17).

Figure 4-17. Edited content depicting erasure of linguistic variety (Being Peruvian)

Finally, within the edited content about language variety there were also posts about variation within Peruvian languages and dialects themselves. A total of six posts made some mention of Andean languages, including one post written in Quechua (Figure 4-18) two posts providing short lessons in Quechua (Figure 4-19 and Figure 4-20) two posts about Quechua as a Peruvian language (Figure 4-21), and one post imitating Spanish marked by Quechua through the use of *motoseo*, Spanish spoken with the three-vowel system of Quechua: /a/, /i/, and /u/, as described in Section 1.

Figure 4-18. Post in Quechua. 'Let's go boys! All of Peru is with you!' (Being Peruvian)

Figure 4-19. Quechua lesson: Phrases (Being Peruvian)

Figure 4-20. Quechua lesson: Numbers (Being Peruvian)

Figure 4-21. Quechua as a Peruvian language (Being Peruvian)

The example of *motoseo* was in edited content about a television character, *La paisana Jacinta.* The post described Jacinta: "She enjoys saying *curuju*, ['*carajo*,' a profanity], singing

and selling *fruna* [a Peruvian candy] in her spare time." This post appeared on July 15, 2015 and was met with varied reactions. Responses ranged from page followers that found the post humorous, and others that did not, going as far as to ask the administrator to remove the post: "You need to take this post down, I'm an Andean woman and by no means I come close to this [sic]. I really liked you [sic] page until I run [sic] into this. *Quita este post, no tiene nada que ver con la mujer andina, es ofensivo y creo esta página no se trata de ofender a nadie,"* ("Take down this post, it has nothing to do with Andean women, it's offensive and I think this page isn't about offending others.") Others responded in defense of the post: "This is not offensive...I'm Peruvian and this TV program is awesome. What is posted is a description of the TV character…" The page administrador even added, "I also consider myself as an Andean person, I grew up in Cuzco. This post isn't offensive at all. We aren't trying to offend people, but if you feel related to it, there is nothing we can do but apologize. We are sorry." Thus, commenters in defense of the character Jacinta and the use of *motoseo* justified the post through assertion of Peruvian identity. In other words, they believed that being Peruvian allowed them to make fun of Andean Spanish without being offensive. The post was not removed.

The third category of edited content were posts that discussed aspects of bilingualism, including the influence that English has on Peruvian identity in the diaspora and the types of conversation one has in the United States as both an English speaker and a speaker of Peruvian Spanish. Some posts reflected the situation of bilinguals as "caught" in an in-between state, not part of the English-speaking hegemonic group in the U.S., but not completely Peruvian either: "Non-Hispanics complain you speak Spanish too fast for them to understand, your family complains you speak English too fast for them." Another such post alluded to how the acquisition of identity as an English speaker forever changes one's status in Peru: "When you go

to Peru and you're not allowed to speak in English or else you might get kidnapped." The irony of this post is that English ability alone does not mean that one is wealthy enough to be worth kidnapping. Such posts indicate the characteristics that Peruvians in Peru attribute to those that have gone on to live and work in the United States, since English is widely viewed as the gateway to social advancement. However, some posts show that this is not always the case and acquiring English often does not change one's status: "*Antes no sabía inglés y era lavaplatos. Ahora sé inglés y soy* dishwasher." ("Before I didn't know English and I was a dishwasher. Now I know English and I'm [still] a dishwasher.")

Other posts about bilingualism expressed frustration at presumably monolingual English speakers for asking misinformed questions about one's linguistic identity (Figure 4-22). This post sparked discussion in the comments about Peru's linguistic repertoire, discussed in Section 4.3's analysis of comments from language-related posts. One last theme in edited content related to bilingual experiences had to do with a change in personality or identity when one speaks English versus Spanish. Three out of the ten posts gave examples of Peruvians finding themselves in conversation with other Peruvians in the United States, defaulting first to standard English and then shifting to Peruvian Spanish once both interlocutors become aware of a shared nationality (Figure 4-23).

Figure 4-22. Misinformed questions about linguistic identity (Being Peruvian)

Figure 4-23. Becoming aware of a shared nationality (Being Peruvian)

Thus far, I have examined the language-related posts found in the edited content in *Being Peruvian*. The posts included the specific themes of Peruvian lexicon, especially slang terminology, differences in the varieties of Spanish, and bilingualism. In the next section, I examine comments on these posts and the linguistic themes discussed by Being Peruvian's page followers.

4.3 Results: Comments on language-related content

Total comments on the 89 language-related posts exceeded 1000. The number of comments on these posts was comparable to the number of comments on posts from other categories; however, posts that asked specific questions to the audience of page followers obtained more responses than those that simply presented an aspect of language. In order to sort through this large number of comments, the option to view only relevant comments was selected; this option can be turned on or off depending on the settings the page administrator has chosen. It is done automatically by Facebook when pages have at least 50,000 followers, with the purpose of allowing comments to be sorted not chronologically, as well as by the amount of interaction(s) they receive, which in turn is a measure of how interesting, pertinent, or relevant the audience found them. For example, a comment with several replies and or reactions/likes would be closer to the top of the post's comments section than a comment that was posted more recently, and had thus received no attention from other page followers. The function to view relevant comments also eliminates spam, making it easier to collect and interpret data from the posts for the purpose of this study. A total of 566 comments were considered for this study.

4.3.1 Comments about Peruvian Spanish

Much like the common themes of the edited content, comments on language-related posts were found to discuss multiple features of language use, including metalinguistic reflection on Peruvian Spanish and other varieties. Such comments are displayed in Table 4-1 and Table 4-2. In the examples in these tables, names of commenters are omitted. No two comments are written by the same author. The commenters' original orthography and grammar are maintained, and English translations are provided.

Table 4-1. Page follower comments about Peruvian Spanish

	Comments	Translation
1.	Y hablamos muy rápido	And we speak quickly
2.	I would say our Spanish is more understandable.	
3.	It's mixed with Quechua.	
4.	Me encanta como hablamos los peruanos.	I love how we Peruvians talk.
5.	Nuestro español es más piola.	Our Spanish is cooler.
6.	Peruvian is mix *castellano* with quechua.	*castellano* ('castilian')
7.	Hablamos más bonito.	We speak more beautifully.

Commenters described Peruvian Spanish as everything from more understandable, nicer sounding, faster, and Quechua-influenced. Other comments highlighted the use of *jerga*, or slang, and its pervasiveness in Peruvian speech: "I only knew of two [official Peruvian

languages.] I thought the third was *jerga.*" Table 4-2 displays mentions of *jerga* in page follower comments.

Table 4-2. Page follower comments about Peruvian slang

	Comments	Translation
1.	If you speak it correctly you wouldn't have to use slang.	
2.	Jajajaja! hace mucho tiempo que no escuchaba tanta jerga...que cague de risa!	Hahaha! It's been a long time since I've heard so much slang...what funny stuff.
3.	Ay me alegro ser peruana. Hace años que no escucho las jergas.	I'm happy to be Peruvian. It's been years since I have heard slang.
4.	I only knew of two [official Peruvian languages]. I thought the third was *jerga*.	
5.	¿Es en serio? Siempre creí que los peruanos no hablamos con jer- *lee los comentarios* -oh.	Is this serious? I always thought that we Peruvians don't speak using slang-*reads the comments*- oh.
6.	11 años en USA y sigo diciendo "habla!"	11 years in the U.S. and I keep saying "*habla!"* (Per. Sp. Infl. 'hey')
7.	I still do that [say *pe* after every sentence] *y ya tengo viviendo 3 años* in the states	I still do that [say *pe* after every sentence] and I've already been living 3 years in the states
8.	Yo 14 años aquí [en los Estados Unidos]. Nadie me quita mis jeringas.	I've been [in the United States] 14 years. Nobody takes my *jeringas* (Per. Sp. Infl. 'slang') away.
9.	[We say] Jato for casa	We say *Jato* (Per. Sp. Infl. 'house') for house

One comment simply mentioned that Peruvians call a house a *jato* instead of *casa.* Others, upon seeing edited content containing Peru-specific lexicon, commented on how they have not heard the slang in years and hearing it again prompted a sense of national pride: "*Ay me alegro ser peruana. Hace años que no escucho las jergas.*" ('I'm happy to be Peruvian. It's been years

since I have heard slang.') Three others commented on how in spite of having lived for some time in the United States, they still use Peruvian slang terminology. One of these emphasizes the extent of his use of Peruvian lexicon by using a slang word even for the word "slang" itself, jerga/ *jeringa*: "*Yo 14 años aquí [en los Estados Unidos]. Nadie me quita mis jeringas*." ('I've been [in the United States] 14 years. Nobody takes my *jeringas* (Per. Sp. Inf. 'slang') away.') In these cases, Peruvian slang terms were seen as a maker of national identity and their continued use is a way to maintain and assert a Peruvian identity in spite of one's time away from the homeland.

While some embraced slang, others expressed prescriptive views, insinuating that slang is a hindrance to standard Spanish: "If you speak it correctly you wouldn't have to use slang." Another commenter was under the impression that Peruvian Spanish used less slang than other varieties, but upon reading comments in *Being Peruvian* realized this was not true: "*Siempre creí que los peruanos no hablamos con jer- *lee los comentarios* -oh.*" ('I always thought that we Peruvians don't speak using slang-*reads the comments*- oh.'). Others complained that the administrator represented Peruvians negatively through disseminating the idea that slang terms, especially vulgarities, were normal in the speech of all Peruvians (Table 4-3).

Table 4-3. Evaluative comments about Peruvian Spanish and *jerga*

	Comments about who uses slang	Translation
1.	Así no es como hablan en todo el Peru, asi es como hablan en Lima, especialmente en los barrios pobres o gente con poca educación. La gente con educación no saluda asi por si acaso.	Not all of Peru talks like that, that's how they talk in Lima, especially in poor neighborhoods or among people with little education. People with education don't talk like that in case you were wondering.
2.	I don't know where you guys from but here in Paterson they ain't like that, I get excited but they be with that *culo* face.	*culo* face 'stink eye'
3.	Dude what kind of friends do you have? I never say that to my friends. I think your friends are thugs.	
4.	De que family hablas imbesshhil? Your family must of been de los barracones to be speaking that way.	What family are you talking about, idiot? Your family must have been from Los Barracones [an area of Callao] to be speaking that way.
5.	Generalizing at it's best. Some family members definitely do. But its more common among friends.	
6.	En ninguna casa creo que se permite [decir conchatumadre] pero pero cuando estas con tus amigos escuchabas eso y mas! Como se extraña!	In no house do they permit [saying *conchatumadre*] but when you are with friends you heard that and much more! I miss it!
7.	That's ghetto. Asi no habla la gente decente, haces quedar mal a los peruanos.	That's ghetto. Decent people don't talk like that, you're making Peruvians look bad.
8.	I'm Peruvian but I don't talk like that.	

In a similar way to how some viewed slang as an identifying marker of national pride, others viewed it as a misrepresentation of Peruvian identity and a marker of uneducated Peruvians: "That's ghetto. *Así no habla la gente decente, haces quedar mal a los peruanos*." ('Decent people don't talk like that, you're making Peruvians look bad.'). Others associated

Peruvian vulgar slang with specific parts of Peru: "*Así no es como hablan en todo el Peru, asi es como hablan en Lima, especialmente en los barrios pobres o gente con poca educación*." ('Not all of Peru talks like that, that's how they talk in Lima, especially in poor neighborhoods or among people with little education.') Similarly, another commenter associated vulgar speech with a specific neighborhood: "Your family must of [sic] been *de los barracones* to be speaking that way." Los Barracones is a particularly dangerous area of Callao, a city in the Lima metropolitan area, and is known for drugs, violence, vagrancy and shanty housing. Interestingly, some commenters use Peruvian references, such as Los Barracones, while others use U.S. equivalents such as "ghetto" or referring to slang users as "thugs."

Though some commenters equated the use of *jerga* with a lack of education, the exaggerated use of it appeared frequently in comments. An interesting pattern was that page followers did not always talk metalinguistcally about the use of *jerga* as in the examples (use the numbers of the examples to refer to them), rather they demonstrated Peruvian *jerga* through comments that were not directed at anyone in particular. These comments appeared on posts providing the "Peruvian Word of the Day." Commenters provided a sample sentence or a sentence using similar words or phrases. They occasionally defined the words for the rest of the page followers. These displays, or performances, of *jerga* are demonstrated in Table 4-4.

Table 4-4. Displays of *jerga* in *Being Peruvian*

	Displays of *jerga*	Translation
1.	**Habla pe** cuñao como esta tu hermana	*Habla pe cuñado* (Per. Sp. Infl. 'hey, buddy') how's your sister
2.	Haha como estan mis **patas**	Haha how are my *patas* (Per. Sp. Infl. 'friends ') doing?

Table 4-4. Continued

	Displays of *jerga*	Translation
3.	seño porfa deme la **yapita**	Sir please give me the *yapita* (Per. Sp. Infl. ‘leftovers’)
4.	**Habla pe** mi **causita**, mi **yunta**, mi **choche**, somos **barrunto** carajo	*Habla pe* (Per. Sp. Inf. ‘hey, buddy’) my *causita* (Per. Sp. Inf. ‘friend’), my *yunta* (Per. Sp. Inf. ‘close friend’), my *choche* (Per. Sp. Inf. ‘friend’), we are *barrunto* (Per. Sp. Inf. ‘homies’) damnit.
5.	**Paltearse**: to feel embarassed for something. Ex: Oe, esa flaca me miró y **me paltié**!	*Paltearse*: to feel embarrassed for something. Ex: Hey, that girl looked at me and I got embarrassed!
6.	Hay **nos vidrios polarizadoooos**!	See you later!
7.	Chevere **pajita pulenta**	Cool
8.	Son mas **floreros** que servando y florentina	They’re bigger liars than Servando and Florentina (a Venezuelan musical duo)
9.	**Calateate** de una vez y metete a la ducha carajo!	Get your clothes off and get in the shower damn it!
10.	**Habla causita**, **chochera**, **choche**, **cuñao,** mi **yunta**!	Hey buddy, pal, friend, partner!
11.	**Habla barrio**, **bateria**, aitamos listo, tu diras, **pe**!	Hey buddy, pal, we’re ready, you say the word!
12.	**Ya pe bateriaaa**!	Alright buddy!
13.	**Habla varón**! Oe **chito**!	Hey buddy! Hey *chito!* (slang term for lesbian)
14.	**Habla causita**? En que estas? Cual es tu **caucau**?	Hey buddy? What are you up to? What’s your problem?
15.	**Habla bateria**!	Hey buddy!
16.	**Habla jugador**!	Hey buddy!
17.	**Chaufa** = nos vemos	*Chaufa* = See ya.
18.	Estoy **misión imposible**	I’m broke.
19.	Estoy **aguja causa**!	I’m broke, friend.
20.	**Habla bateria** en que estas? I’m proud to be peruvian	Hi friend what are you up to? I’m proud to be Peruvian.
21.	I’m doing good, what about you my serious **battery**?	Battery is a semantic calque from *batería,* ‘friend’
22.	**Habla causa** vao pal **tono**? Hay unas hembritas que estan de la **repitri mitri**. Puta **que palta** huevon. **Alucina**!	Hey buddy let’s go to the party? There’s some nice looking girls there. Man, how embarrassing. Imagine!
23.	**Habla**, **ya fuiste**, eres bien **monse,** **nicaa**..	Hey, that ship has sailed, you’re so lame, no way.

These displays of *jerga* came from six different posts and each originated from a different commenter. Several comments contained a greeting or asked a question such as "*Habla batería en que estás*?" ('Hi friend, what are you up to?'); however, they were not directed at specific page followers. Rather, they were demonstrating a Peruvian way to greet a friend, i.e. a conversation starter that implicitly yet instantly indicates Peruvian nationality. In other examples, slang words and phrases were strewn together: "*Habla pe mi causita, mi yunta, mi choche, somos barrunto carajo" (Habla pe* (Per. Sp. Inf. 'hey, buddy') my *causita* (Per. Sp. Inf. 'friend'), my *yunta* (Per. Sp. Inf. 'close friend'), my *choche* (Per. Sp. Inf. 'friend'), we are *barrunto* (Per. Sp. Inf. 'friends from the same neighborhood'), damn it.). The string of equivalent appellatives would not sound natural in conversation, but was produced here as a way to display knowledge of the Peruvian lexicon. In one example, Peruvian slang term *batería* was translated into English, creating a semantic calque: "I'm doing good, what about you my serious battery?"

Another pattern in the displays of *jerga* was the use of masked speech, in which a slang term is hidden within an unrelated word or phrase. For example, the common phrase *ahí nos vimos,* 'see you,' was hidden within another term, *vidrios polarizados,* 'polarized glass.' Other examples were *chaufa* 'fried rice,' to mask the word *chau* 'bye,' and *misión imposible* 'mission impossible' to mask the word *misio/a*, 'broke'. These linguistic displays added yet another layer of opacity to words that were already slang terms specific to Peru; the meaning of these terms would only be decoded by speakers familiar with Peruvian Spanish and its colloquialisms.

Though not as frequently discussed as slang, the topic of Spanish vs. Castilian or *castellano* arose in page follower comments on one particular post (Figure 4-24). All comments on this topic reflected the idea that Peruvians do not speak Spanish, rather Castilian.

Interestingly, both terms refer to the same language. In Spain, the term *castellano* serves a purpose, which is to distinguish it from other languages also considered Spanish (in the sense that Spanish means 'from Spain,') such as Galician, Basque, or Catalán (Penny, 2002). The influence of Spaniards from the Castile region early in Peru's history (Silva-Corvalán, 2001; p. 14) led to the term *castellano* being used to describe what is more widely known as Spanish. Using the original name, *castellano,* has today become an indication of a "pure" version of the Spanish language. *Castellano* implies correctness and even suggests an exotic quality, i.e. from Spain where the language originated. It is perhaps for this reason that Peruvian commenters displayed a general sense of indignation at being labeled as "Spanish" speakers Table 4-5.

Figure 4-24. Post prompting comments on *castellano*

Table 4-5. Castilian vs. Spanish

	Comment	Translation
1.	Con que sepan que hablamos español me conformo. Pedirles que sepan que es castellano ya es pedirles demasiado.	I'll settle for them [English speakers] knowing that we speak Spanish. Asking them to know that it's Castilian is already asking them too much.
2.	For real we speak *castellano* not Spanish.	
3.	Castellano es el idioma oficial del Peru así lo reconoce la Constitución Peruana.	Castilian is the official language of Peru recognized in the Peruvian constitution.
4.	"No hablamos español, sino castellanooo"	"We don't speak Spanish, but Castilian"
5.	Castellano señores, castellano.	Castilian, people, Castilian.
6.	*Castilian	
7.	We speak castellano not Spanish.	
8.	More like castellano.	
9.	Hablamos castellano!	We speak Castilian!
10.	Hablamos español, castellano, cubano, dominicano.	We speak Spanish, Castilian, Cuban, Dominican.
11.	Peruvian is mix castellano with quechua.	

Out of the 11 total comments about *castellano*, ten of them argued that Peruvians speak *castellano*, not Spanish. Only two of these provided any additional information about the difference between the two terms. One commenter said that *castellano* is recognized as an official language in the Peruvian constitution, and another indicated that Peruvian Spanish is different from other varieties because it is *castellano* influenced by Quechua. Only one commenter seemed to view the two as one and the same, humorously claiming to speak Spanish, Castilian, Cuban, and Dominican. Though these dialects of Spanish are mutually intelligible, the commenter wrote about his ability to speak them as if they were separate languages.

4.3.2 Comments on Spanish in the United States

In addition to the comments that reflected attitudes toward Peruvian varieties of Spanish, there were also comments about Spanish in the context of the United States. Most comments discussed interactions with other Spanish speakers from various countries, while others touched on topics such as loss of Spanish proficiency and the acquisition of English. This section explores these comments.

Comments about interacting with other Spanish speakers were the most frequent among all those comments about Spanish in the United States. For example, commenters wrote about times when there were misunderstandings because of lexical differences between Peruvian Spanish and other varieties (Table 4-6).

Table 4-6. Interactions with non-Peruvian Spanish speakers

	Comment	Translation
1.	-¿Me puedes dar una cañita? -¿uh? -Cañita. -¿uh? -*Straw*. -Ah, sí. Aquí tienes.	-Can you give me a *cañita*? (Per. Sp. ‘straw’) -Huh? -*Cañita.* -Huh? -Straw. -Oh, right. Here you go.
2.	O cuando vas a comprar y pides palta. "Aguacate."	Or when you go shopping and you ask for a *palta* (Per. Sp. ‘avocado’). “*Aguacate.*” (Sp. ‘avocado’)
3.	True that. I lived in Mexico for two years and they didn't understand a thing.	
4.	Torta as a sandwich es para los mexicanos nomas nomas	*Torta* as a sandwich is for Mexicans only
5.	Neither call it cacahuate we call it maní.	Neither call it *cacahuate* (peanut) we call it *maní* (peanut).
6.	Quién dice ¿qué honda?	Who says *¿qué onda? (*Sp. Inf. What’s up?*)*
7.	Onda? Suena mexican people.	*Onda?* It sounds mexican people.

Table 4-6. Continued

	Comment	Translation
8.	I be saying *wey* to my Mexican friends. Let's learn from other cultures too	
9.	"PARKIAR" for "ESTACIONAR" and "SODA" for "GASEOSA" and "TROCA" for "CAMIONETA"	*Parkiar* ('park') *Soda* ('carbonated drink') *Troca* (Mex. Sp. 'truck')
10.	Troca es mexicano o chicano	*Troca* (Mex. Sp. 'truck') is Mexican or Chicano
11.	Bueno digamos que en Perú troca se usa para los prostíbulos	Well let's just say in Peru that *troca* (Mex. Sp. 'truck') is used for brothels
12.	pretty sure we always say "*chinchoso*" and "*vato*" in the same sentence	*Chinchoso* ('annoying') *Vato* (Mex. Sp. Infl. 'man')
13.	Para los mexicanos y guatemaltecos muchas palabras del verdadero español es otra huevada. Me estresa poder entablar una buena conversación con ell@s. Me da ganas de tener un coquito a la mano y regalárselo a cada uno	For Mexicans and Guatemalans many words from actual Spanish are nonsense. It stresses me out trying to strike up a good conversation with them. I feel like giving all of them a *coquito* (a book for Peruvian children learning to read and write)
14.	"Que difícil es hablar el español porque todo lo que dices tiene otra definición"	"It's hard to speak Spanish because everything you say has another definition" (lyrics from a song)
15.	O cuando les dices pendejos y se ofenden	Or when you say *pendejos* (Per. Sp. Infl. 'astute') to them and they get offended.
16.	Pinche wey! Ya sabes!	*Pinche güey!* (Mex. Sp. Infl. 'loser')
17.	Or Puerto Ricans when they offer us a *pastel*, and it's a *tamal*.	*pastel* ('cake')
18.	En Perú, nosotros llamamos torta al pastel	In Peru, we call *pastel* (cake) *torta* (cake)
19.	-"Pasame el tacho." -"¿La natacha???" Hahahaha language confusion is great.	- Pass me the *tacho* ('trash can') -The *natacha*? (Per. Sp. Infl. 'maid')
20.	The issues we have...	
21.	Nos matamos de la risa con sus dejos. Hasta mi esposo que es portugués se reía de la forma que hablan los cubanos	We die laughing about their [other Hispanics] accents. Even my husband who is Portuguese was laughing at the way Cubans talk.
22.	We are not chilean. They have their own language.	
23.	I talk mexican, argentinian, ecuadorian, and colombian too	
24.	I say *conchatumare* all the time around my non-Peruvian people. And they're like wtf???	

Commenters discussed and even mimicked words and phrases from other dialects of Spanish that they are familiar with, e.g. "*Pinche wey!*;" "*Nomás nomás.*" In other cases, commenters expressed attitudes toward specific dialects and nationalities: "*Para los mexicanos y guatemaltecos muchas palabras del verdadero español es otra huevada. Me estresa poder entablar una buena conversación con ell@s. Me da ganas de tener un coquito a la mano y regalárselo a cada uno.*" ("For Mexicans and Guatemalans many words from actual Spanish are nonsense. It stresses me out trying to strike up a good conversation with them. I feel like giving all of them a *Coquito.")* This comment is a slight to Mexicans and Guatemalans, as *Coquito* is a workbook for children that teaches literacy (Figure 4-25).

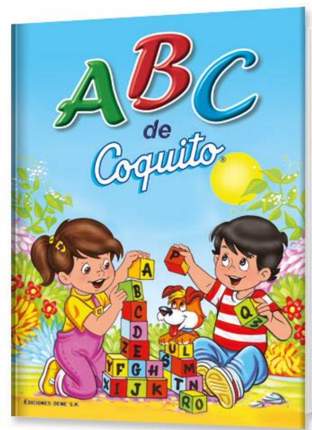

Figure 4-25. Cover page of a Coquito reading book for children (ABC Coquito, 2018)

Long-standing political tensions between Peru and Chile are likely the reason for one commenter claiming Chileans do not speak Spanish: "We are not chilean [sic]. They have their own language." Another commenter found humor in the way non-Peruvians and Cubans in particular

speak Spanish: "*Nos matamos de la risa con sus dejos. Hasta mi esposo que es portugués se reía de la forma que hablan los cubanos"* ("We die laughing about [other Hispanics'] accents. Even my husband who is Portuguese was laughing at the way Cubans talk.)

In addition to expressing views on non-Peruvian dialects of Spanish, commenters discussed different meanings associated with words such as *pendejo, soda, troca,* and *torta.* The most discussed words originated from the administrator; commenters reacted negatively when the page administrator posted about the grains *amaranto* (amaranth) and *quinoa*. Specifically, they were surprised at the administrator's usage of those words on a platform for Peruvians (Table 4-7).

Table 4-7. Lexical controversies

	Comment	Translation
1.	Amaranto is Mexican....kiwicha! Please this bein peruvian not bein mexican!	
2.	Este administrador no es peruano no habla bien el *spanish*.	This administrator isn't Peruvian he doesn't speak Spanish well.
3.	Nosotros los peruanos siempre decimos kiwicha por nuestros Incas.	We Peruvians always say kiwicha because of our Incas.
4.	Ahorita se enoja el administrador y escribira: No mamen weyes!!	Soon the administrator will get mad and write: *No mamen weyes*! (Mex. Sp. Inf. 'no way dudes')
5.	Amaranth pero si uno lo dice a un latino que busque kiwicha que si vende en EEUU jamás la encontrará como kiwicha sino amaranth	Amaranth but if one tells a Latino to look for kiwicha sold in the USA they will never find it called kiwicha, rather amaranth.
6.	Sorry but, que chucha es amaranto?	Sorry but what the hell is amaranto?
7.	Este admin es mexicano.	The admin is Mexican.
8.	Quinoa? Que mierda es eso? QUINUA! SE DICE!	Quinoa? What the hell is that? IT'S QUINUA!

Page followers associated the use of the word *amaranto* with a non-Peruvian identity*:* *"*Amaranto is Mexican...kiwicha! Please this bein peruvian not bein mexican! (sic)." In Peru, amaranth is known only as kiwicha. The administrator's use of *amaranto* was not only viewed as use of the "wrong" variety of Spanish, but as an indicator of a lack of Spanish proficiency: "*Este administrador no es peruano no habla bien el* spanish." (This administrator isn't Peruvian, he doesn't speak Spanish well.) This comment indicated that fluency in Spanish, specifically a Peruvian dialect of Spanish, is crucial to one's identity as a Peruvian. While some commenters speculated that the administrator must be Mexican, one commenter pointed out that in the United States, using the term *kiwicha* would be of no use because the commonly known term is amaranth or *amaranto*: "Amaranth *pero si uno lo dice a un latino que busque kiwicha que si vende en EEUU jamás la encontrará como kiwicha sino* amaranth" (Amaranth but if one tells a Latino to look for kiwicha sold in the USA they will never find it called kiwicha, rather amaranth.) This comment reflects resignation to the idea that using one's own variety results in miscommunication and an acceptance that using other varieties facilitates quicker communication.

The choice of *amaranto* over *kiwicha* was significant enough to cause page followers to question the administrator's identity as a Peruvian and even as a Spanish speaker at all. This theme, loss of Spanish proficiency or proficiency in the Peruvian variety, appeared in other comments as well (Table 4-8).

Table 4-8. Loss of Spanish proficiency

	Comment	Translation
1.	Si esta en USA va a ser el que no habla español bien	If he's in the US he's going to be the one that doesn't speak Spanish well.
2.	Ahora si le hablas en español no entiende.	Now if you speak to him in Spanish he doesn't understand.
3.	No puede decir una frase completa en español!	He can't even say a complete phrase in Spanish!
4.	My sister born in US. When I came to live in US with them, my sister told me: I don't speak Peruvian. Just English.	

All four comments were criticisms of the way Peruvians speak Spanish after living in the United States. They are described as not speaking Spanish well, or not speaking Spanish at all. In most comments, it is unknown if those with poor Spanish proficiency are U.S.-born Peruvians, or those that immigrated as adults. In one comment, though, the finger pointing was clearly directed at U.S.-born Peruvians: an individual that immigrated as an adult to live with a U.S. born sibling claimed that the sibling did not speak "Peruvian," only English. The page follower comments about proficiency demonstrate a negative opinion toward those that lose proficiency in Spanish in exchange for proficiency in English, or never acquire full command of Spanish to begin with.

English was discussed as a factor influencing how Peruvians are perceived when they return to Peru. Specifically, English proficiency is discussed as a marker that denotes affluence, and is associated with gold chains, nice shoes, and new clothes. These comments are listed in Table 4-9.

Table 4-9. Identity as English speakers

	Comment	Translation
1.	You might get charged the tourist price!	
2.	Haha so true! Remember guys never wear new clothes or some fly shoes lol	
3.	No vayas a caminar solo!	Don't go walking alone!
4.	Never had that problem, and I said in Callao, it all depends how you carry yourself	
5.	That's what I tell my kids now too (to not speak English)	
6.	My mom told me no brand names, I had to hide my chain, and she said absolutely no talking!	
7.	U better don't speak English!	
8.	When I go back se me sale el oe y el ya pe!	When I go back I start saying *oe* and *ya pe*!

Most commenters insinuated that speaking English in Peru is associated with a greater chance of being overcharged or robbed. Only one commenter claimed that English was not the issue: "Never had that problem, and I said in Callao, it all depends how you carry yourself." This comment indicates that other factors besides language, including the way one walks, are markers of "foreign" identity in Peru.

4.3.3 English and bilingualism in Being Peruvian

Not all page followers were content with the page's use of English to broadcast Peruvian culture. One commenter expressed displeasure at the bilingual nature of the page and the contradiction created by a page called *Being Peruvian* that posts content mostly in English, "as if it were our language." Another commented, "Why a Peruvian [sic] to another latino in another language?" Ironically, this comment was written in English and the commenter was directing herself to a Peruvian audience. Another commenter declared sarcastically, "*Claro, "ser peruano" y*

escríbanlo en ingles. Seguro que ese idioma es nuestro." ("Sure, "being Peruvian" and write it in English. This is definitely our language.") One commenter directed a comment to the page administrator: "*Being Peruvian? Apoyan lo peruano y no llaman la página en español?"* (Being Peruvian? You support all things Peruvian and you can't name the page in Spanish? The page administrator answered, "*Hola, ya existen muchas páginas peruanas en español."* (Hello, there are already a lot of Peruvian pages in Spanish.) The administrator's reply explains the intention of the page *Being Peruvian*, which was to fill a gap that no other page had succeeded in fulfilling: providing a platform for bilingual and bicultural U.S. Peruvians to connect with one another.

While the previously mentioned comments took issue with the use of English on a page for the Peruvian diaspora, other commenters took issue specifically with how other Spanish-speakers code-switch in Spanish and English. On edited content written in both English and Spanish, two commenters (who will be referred to under the pseudonyms Yesenia and Alondra) entered into a debate about the appropriacy of code-switching among educated bilinguals. Yesenia first addressed the code-switching in edited content, writing:

> Okay when people type like this I seriously want to be like "all right, pick a language, any language. We all speak Spanish on this page obviously, so why not make the posts fully in Spanish? Posts like this just make it sound like you aren't fluent in any language…and talking like this makes one sound very dumb to be honest…otherwise, I do like this page!

Yesenia's comment reflects the misconception that code-switching is a result of poor language proficiency. She also makes the assumption that all of the page followers are fluent in Spanish, which is not true. Alondra replied to her in disagreement:

> I respectfully disagree with your opinion. Not all Peruvians speak fluent Spanish. Not all Peruvians speak any Spanish. My personal opinion is that this post doesn't say anything about what language anyone does or doesn't speak. It's just an expression of what it means to be bi/multicultural. I'm Peruvian-American and speak fluent Spanish and English but I know many, many Latinos (Peruvians included) who speak no Spanish at all. I understand your perspective, though.

The discussion between Yesenia and Alondra continued. Yesenia rebutted, citing the audience that she felt the page was intended for and maintaining her stance on code-switching:

> What I understand from Being Peruvian is actually being from Peru. I understand what you're saying about this page also catering to the Peruvian-American community. In that case, the post can be fully in English. Talking like this doesn't say "I'm multi-cultural," it says "I can't speak a language fully." I wan't referring to this post only, I was referring to a number of posts that I have noticed on this page. I have livd in the USA on and off, and was born and mostly raised in Peru and this is something that pisses me off haha it's like butchering the Spanish language AND the English language. It shows lack of education.

Alondra replied, stating that the only way to "butcher" Spanish or English "would be making mistakes in those languages, not substituting words." At this point, a third commenter who had been reading the exchange between Yesenia and Alondra had scoured Yesenia's personal Facebook page and chimed in: "Well I guess you're making the mistake in not picking the right language up. Check your post on August 11th: "Jajajajajajaj buenaza y so true" It sounds awful right? I'm just saying! The third commenter found an instance of when Yesenia, who positioned herself as extremely against code-switching, had code-switched on her own page.

> Yesenia conceded that the commenter was right and code-switching is hard to avoid: #NoToSpanglish *Pero creo que lastimosamente a todos se nos ha salido una que otra palabrita (parquear, decir* "so" *en lugar de entonces, printear…*) *creo que es importante mantener las racices tambien, asi que yo sigo bien peruana*. (#NoToSpanglish But I believe that sadly we all have let a word slip (*parquear,* saying "so" instead of *entonce*, *printear*) I believe it is also important to maintain one's roots, so I keep on being very Peruvian.

Yesenia went on to offer up another a vital reason for her dislike for codeswitching, one that went beyond the simple explanation that she had given previously in which she said it sounded "uneducated": *No quiero que nos vean como los otros Hispanos como aca en EEUU hablan horrible!* (I don't want to be seen like the other Hispanics here in the United States who speak horribly.) Thus, the dislike of code-switching had its roots in the fact that it is a trait of many Spanish-English bilinguals, some of whom Peruvians such as Yesenia wish to distance themselves from in order to assert that they are "*bien peruano/a"* (very Peruvian), as she put it. With the exception of the occasional naysayers, as the exchange between Yesenia and Alondra demonstrated, the growing number of followers (250,000 as of October 2018) reflects the bilingual group's overall popularity with Peruvians in the U.S. Though ironic, the page's bilingual environment reflects the changing linguistic identity of Peruvians in the United States and proves that it is bilingualism in English and Peruvian Spanish, that maximizes group membership and allows members to best share experiences as Peruvians living in the United States.

4.4 Discussion

The online portion of this dissertation focused on the Facebook group Being Peruvian and set out to examine metalinguistic content in the group's postings. It also explored the attitudes that page followers hold toward their own and other varieties of Spanish. The results demonstrated ideas that Peruvians in the United States have about language and national identity.

One observation from page follower comments was how one's linguistic repertoire, specifically speaking English and Peruvian Spanish, promoted belonging to the group. Surprisingly, while speaking English was not a marker of non-Peruvian identity, speaking *only* English was. Commenters expressed negative attitudes towards those Peruvians in the U.S. that lose or never attain Spanish proficiency (Section 4.3.2). Similarly, speaking only Spanish precluded full membership in the group, as only 17% of edited content was in Spanish only.

Non-Peruvian Spanish was an even more divisive factor, as observed in the example of the administrator using the term *amaranto* instead of Peruvian *kiwicha*. It is important to note that the use of Peruvian Spanish on the page was what reinforced one's identity as a Peruvian; users quickly indexed the use of any other variety as "non-Peruvian." Multiple comments indicated they felt that non-Peruvian Spanish was not Spanish at all.

English proficiency served multiple purposes for page followers. First, it tied members together in a way that Spanish alone could not. Through its use, they created a common space in which their new identity was most accurately depicted: bilingual Peruvians living in the United States, operating under the norms of a new country while not forgetting those of the one they left behind. Second, English served as a *lingua franca* between dialects of Spanish with various names for the same object. One post previously mentioned in this section read, "Constantly confusing Mexicans when you offer them *torta* (cake) and they think it'll be a sandwich." This post relied on English in order for it to make sense; both 'cake' and 'sandwich' were provided to

explain what *torta* means for Peruvians and Mexicans. In another example, a page follower commented about a time when he or she asked another Spanish speaker for a *cañita*, and after not being understood, resorted to asking for a straw in English. Third, English served as a tool to help those in the United States not familiar with Peruvian speech and culture to learn more about it. "THANK GOD most post are in english so my friends who DONT speak spanish can understand and laugh with me, if u dont like it don't follow [sic]," one follower wrote. The page's content and explanations helped to bridge the gap between Peruvians and non-Peruvians and to validate experiences and identity as a Peruvian in the United States.

An awareness of Peruvian Spanish was essential to belonging to the group, but posts and comments reflected an acute awareness of the varieties spoken by larger Hispanic groups. Posts comparing varieties reflected not only how a Peruvian would say a certain word or phrase, but show mastery of other dialects and phrases as well.

A clear boundary existed in page follower discussions between Peruvian Spanish and other varieties spoken by other nationalities; however, little mention was made of the varieties that exist in Peruvian Spanish. This could be because most Peruvians in the U.S. originate from Lima and for the most part share a common dialect. In addition, Peruvians are a minority Spanish-speaking group in the U.S. and may ignore variety and focus instead on forming a "united front" to represent national identity. Discussion about differences between Peruvian dialects of Spanish arose only once in edited content with the example of *motoseo*. Commenters mentioned Quechua as a source of pride for Peruvians. However, when an Andean dialect of Spanish was mocked in a post, commenters defended the post, claiming that a shared Peruvian nationality allowed for such mocking (section 4.2.2)

In addition to disagreeing over the appropriateness of *motoseo*, page followers also disagreed about the extensive use of Peruvian slang. Those opposed associated it with ignorance or being “ghetto,” those in favor felt it was an integral part of being Peruvian (“I only knew of two [official Peruvian languages]. I thought the third was *jerga*”), and a source of national pride (“*Ay me alegro ser peruana. Hace años que no escucho las jergas.*”/I’m happy to be Peruvian. It’s been years since I have heard slang.). In most cases, the use of slang was exaggerated and often not directed toward any specific page follower. Page followers provided examples of Peruvian words and phrases for humorous effect.

Page followers have limited ways via a social network to express individual identity. Exaggerated usage of Peruvian *jerga* lets the audience know that the commenter identified with being Peruvian, as these terms are not used by other nationalities.

While this section examined a U.S. Peruvian diasporic group online, the next section is dedicated to a different set of the population, the physical community of Peruvians in Paterson, New Jersey.

5. RESULTS OF STUDY 2

5.1 Section overview

This section presents the results and discussion of the data obtained from Study 2 in which I interviewed members of the Peruvian community in Paterson, New Jersey. The results discussed in this section stem from three protocols, a language proficiency questionnaire, an attitude survey, and a semi-structured interview. Protocol 3, which contains the semi-structured interview responses, constitutes the majority of this study. The section concludes with a discussion of the protocols, including responses to the research questions: 1) What is the role of language in maintaining Peruvian identity? 2) How do Peruvians in the United States use language to "perform" their identity? And, 3) How do the attitudes and concerns of a physical linguistic community compare with those expressed in the online interactions of the community? Each protocol is included in Appendix C.

5.2 Results of Protocol 1: Language proficiency

Participants self-rated their proficiency in the languages they were expected to know or to be familiar with, English and Spanish. Participants were given the option to write in another language. Most participants (90%) rated themselves as Very good in speaking Spanish, while only 10% rated themselves as Very good in speaking English (Table 5-1).

Table 5-1. Self-rated language proficiency in speaking

Language	None (%)	A little (%)	Good (%)	Very good (%)	Total (%)
Spanish	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (10)	18 (90)	20 (100)
English	1 (5)	14 (70)	3 (15)	2 (10)	20 (100)
Other	15 (75)	5 (25)	0 (0)	0 (0)	20 (100)

All participants wanted the Protocols to be conducted in Spanish; English was never used in interviews or surveys other than an occasional code-switch. Such examples of code-switching will be presented in the discussion of the interview protocol. Five participants reported knowledge of a language other than Spanish or English: Quechua (three participants), Portuguese (one participant) and Greek (one participant), and all of these reported speaking the languages only A little. However, it is worth noting that the three participants reporting only a little knowledge of Quechua were observed in their own homes using Quechua as a primary language of communication. The questions asked during the interview in Protocol 3 revealed information about home language use that conflicted with responses in participants' rating of their own language proficiency. Social factors and underlying language attitudes are most likely to blame for this discrepancy; I expand on this observation more in depth in the discussion of the interview protocol.

It is important to reiterate that Paterson is a Peruvian enclave and therefore does not represent the reality of every Peruvian in the diaspora either in the U.S. or worldwide. Over 54% of Paterson residents (of any nationality) report speaking Spanish at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017), and about 51% of those Spanish speakers report speaking English Very well. This is

significantly higher than the U.S. average, with 13% of the nation reporting using Spanish as a household language and roughly 59% of these also reporting speaking English Very well. Paterson residents are likely to be able to use Spanish in most social spheres, which explains the responses of Protocol 1.

5.3 Results of Protocol 2: Attitude survey

The 5-point Likert-scale aimed to ascertain the general attitudes that participants held towards Peruvian varieties of Spanish. The small number of participants in this study prevents any broad conclusions from being drawn about the U.S. Peruvian diaspora in general. Taking this into account, this section describes the mean responses to each survey item and what the overall scores suggest. Table 5-2 contains all survey items and corresponding mean scores.

Table 5-2. Attitude survey mean scores

Survey items	Mean scores
1. I like hearing Spanish from Peru.	4.5
2. If I have children, it is important for them to know Peruvian words and expressions.	4.6
3. I like using Peruvian words/phrases.	4.2
4. Peruvian Spanish is more interesting (e.g. words, expressions) than other varieties of Spanish spoken in Latin America (e.g. Mexican Spanish, Dominican Spanish, etc.)	4.3
5. Peruvian Spanish sounds better than other varieties of Spanish (e.g. Mexican Spanish, Dominican Spanish).	4.2
6. I feel more understood by Peruvians than by non-Peruvian Spanish speakers.	4.5

Table 5-2. Continued

Survey items	Mean scores
7. I would not mind marrying a non-Peruvian Spanish-speaker.	4.1
8. Peruvians in the U.S. should speak to each other only in Spanish.	4.2
9. Peruvian words and expressions are worth learning.	4.4
10. Using Peruvian words and expressions makes me feel more Peruvian.	4.7

All items received a score of 4.1 or higher. The survey items with the highest scores were Item 10, “Using Peruvian words and expressions makes me feel more Peruvian,” with a mean of 4.7, and Item 2, “If I have children, it is important for them to know Peruvian words and expressions,” with a mean of 4.6. A mean score of 4.5 was given to Item 1 “I like hearing Spanish from Peru” and Item 6, “I feel more understood by Peruvians than by non-Peruvian Spanish speakers.” Item 9, “Peruvian words and expressions are worth learning,” received a mean score of 4.4. The remaining five survey items received a score between 4.1 and 4.3. Though all mean scores were at least 4, the lowest of the scores (4.1) were attributed to Item 7, “I would not mind marrying a non-Peruvian Spanish-speaker.”

In general, participant responses reflected a preference for Peruvian Spanish in different areas of their lives. Positive responses to Item 2 indicate that it was important to participants that their children speak not simply Spanish, but Peruvian Spanish. A lower score for Item 7 does not prove but may indicate that a few participants prefer to marry endogamously. Overall, the mean scores support the idea that the use of Peruvian Spanish plays a role in the expression of national identity outside of one’s country of origin.

5.4 Results of Protocol 3: Interview

Protocol 3 contains the majority of the data for this study. Full interview transcripts are found in Appendix D. Initially, I expected to conduct one-on-one interviews with each participant. However, it was much more feasible to interview participants in pairs or small groups. Interviewing participants along with someone that he or she already knew made for richer conversations and a way to break the barrier between "foreign" interviewer and participants. This was especially important given my position as an outsider culturally, ethnically, and linguistically. It was crucial to this study for participants to be able to discuss opinions candidly with a minimal amount of self-censorship, and interview data reveal that this was achieved to some degree in each interview. Section 3 discussed the demographic composition of the participant sample; this section first describes the interviews of these participants and their respective settings before analyzing the topics discussed in each of these interviews.

Each interview took place in the participants' homes, with the exception of Interview 4. Interview 1 was conducted with Rocío, a participant from Lima who had been in the United States for one year. She was one of two participants married to a non-Peruvian. Interview 2 was conducted with Alejandro and Álvaro, two construction workers that frequently worked jobs together. Alejandro had been in the U.S. for three years, while Álvaro had been in the country for over 20 years. While both interviewees provided individual responses, interviewing them together provided an immediate comparison of reported language use (what respondents claim to be true of themselves) vs. actual use. Álvaro, who was older and had more experience in the U.S. than Alejandro, occasionally stepped in to correct Alejandro. For example, Alejandro stated that in his three years in the U.S., his Spanish had not changed at all and was still very much Peruvian Spanish. Álvaro, who had known Alejandro since his arrival in the U.S., said this was a not true, and provided example of things Alejandro says that a Peruvian would never say. Interview 3 was

with Maribel, a shop owner in Paterson. She is from Lima, and had been living in Paterson for 15 years. Interview 4 was with Cristóbal, from Lima, and was conducted outside a shop in Peru Square. Cristóbal was an outlier in nearly every aspect; he had two children, one with an Irish-American mother, and the other with a Puerto Rican mother. Though he opted to be interviewed in Spanish, he claimed to be English dominant and speak mostly English in his day-to-day life. The only other participant to report the same was Rocío. Interview 5 was conducted with Roberto, a lawyer in Paterson. Alejandro, one of the first interviewees, introduced me to Roberto and the three of us met in Roberto's home. Roberto had been living in the U.S. for 35 years. Interview 6 focused on the experiences of Lourdes, a friend of Alejandro's. Interview 7 was with Lourdes' sister, Dora. Responses were mostly from Dora, while Alejandro and Lourdes also commented. Interview 8 took place with Maite and Manuela. Interview 9 was with Yonel, Lourdes' and Dora's brother. Interview 10 took place with Zulema and her family and close friends.

Section 5.4.1 discusses the responses to the lexical items from the first part of Protocol 3.

5.4.1 Lexical test

Interview settings were not ideal for the lexical test as originally intended; as a result, the test was modified to ensure quality data from this protocol. Ten of the interviewed participants were able to take part in the lexical portion of the interview. The execution of this lexical test is discussed at greater length in the study's evaluation in Section 7. Figure 5-1 through Figure 5-6 reflect participants' responses to the visual stimuli, labeling each word that was given as the first, second, third, and in one case fourth response to a particular photo. A discussion follows the graphs. Only words that prompted a variety of first responses are depicted in charts; however, all 12 visual stimuli and their respective responses are discussed in this section.

The visual stimuli that produced the most responses were “bus” (five responses), “mouse” (six responses), “roundabout” (seven responses), and “popcorn” (eight responses). The various responses indicated contact with English and other varieties of Spanish.

The visual stimuli “bus” (Figure 5-1) produced five unique responses, including *combi* as a first response for three respondents. A *combi* is a type of minibus common in Lima and other parts of Peru. Three other respondents’ first response was *bus*, one replied *ómnibus,* and another replied *micro*. Interestingly, two respondents said *guagua* as their first response. *Guagua* is a common term for bus in Caribbean Spanish, and not common at all in Peru. In Andean culture, *guagua* means “baby” and is based on the Quechua word, *wawa.*

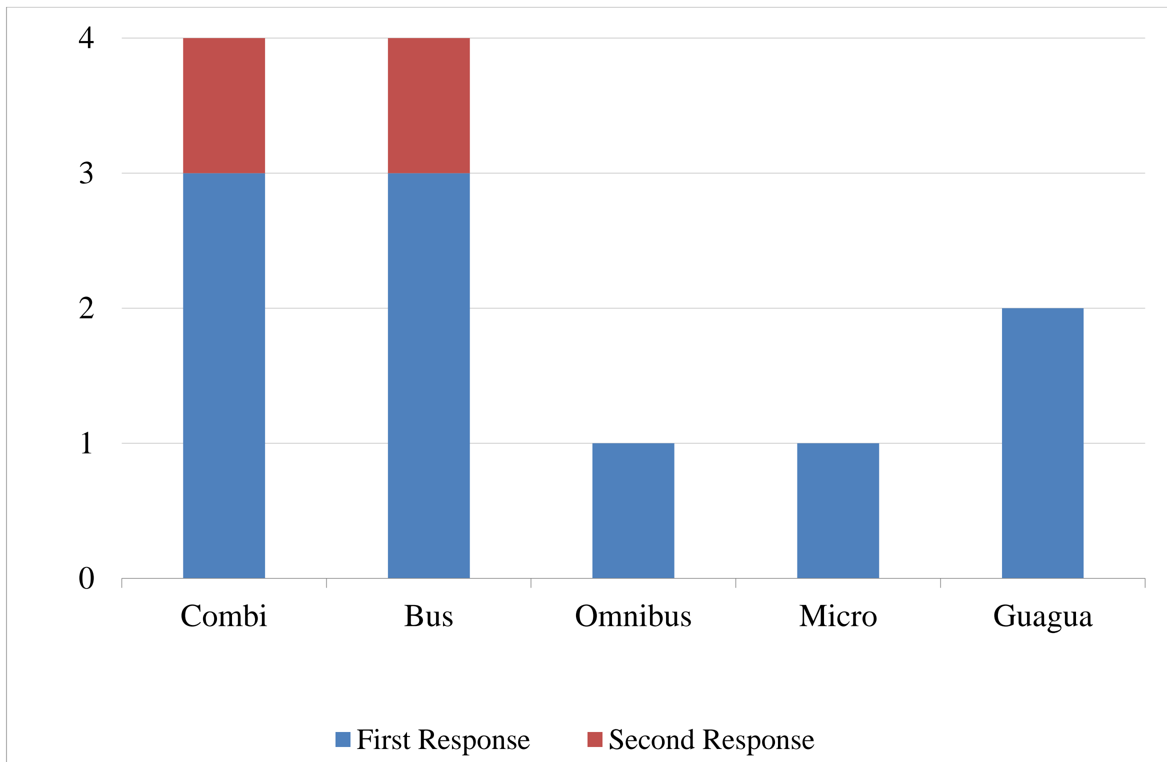

Figure 5-1. Responses to visual stimuli, “bus”

The visual stimuli "mouse" prompted four different first responses, including "*cuy*," the Peruvian word for guinea pig, *ratón* and *rata*, standard Spanish for mouse and rat, respectively, and *pericote*, a common word for mouse or rat in Andean Spanish.

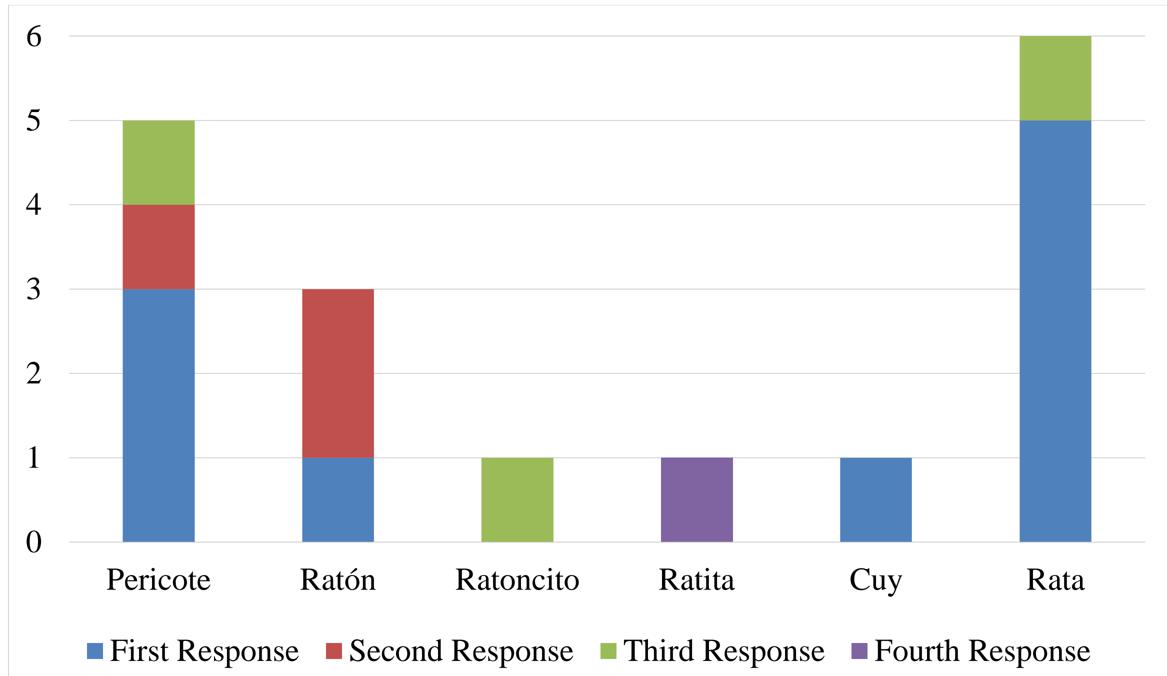

Figure 5-2. Responses to visual stimuli, "mouse"

The photo of a roundabout (Figure 5-3) prompted five different first responses, including two participants that responded "*No sé*," "I don't know." In Perú, roundabouts are known as *óvalos*. Three participants mentioned the word *óvalo* as their first response; other participants did not. Other responses such as *plazuela*'small plaza,' *círculo* 'circle,' *camino* 'road,' and *redondo* 'round,' indicated that the participants were not familiar with roundabouts and possibly do not encounter them frequently.

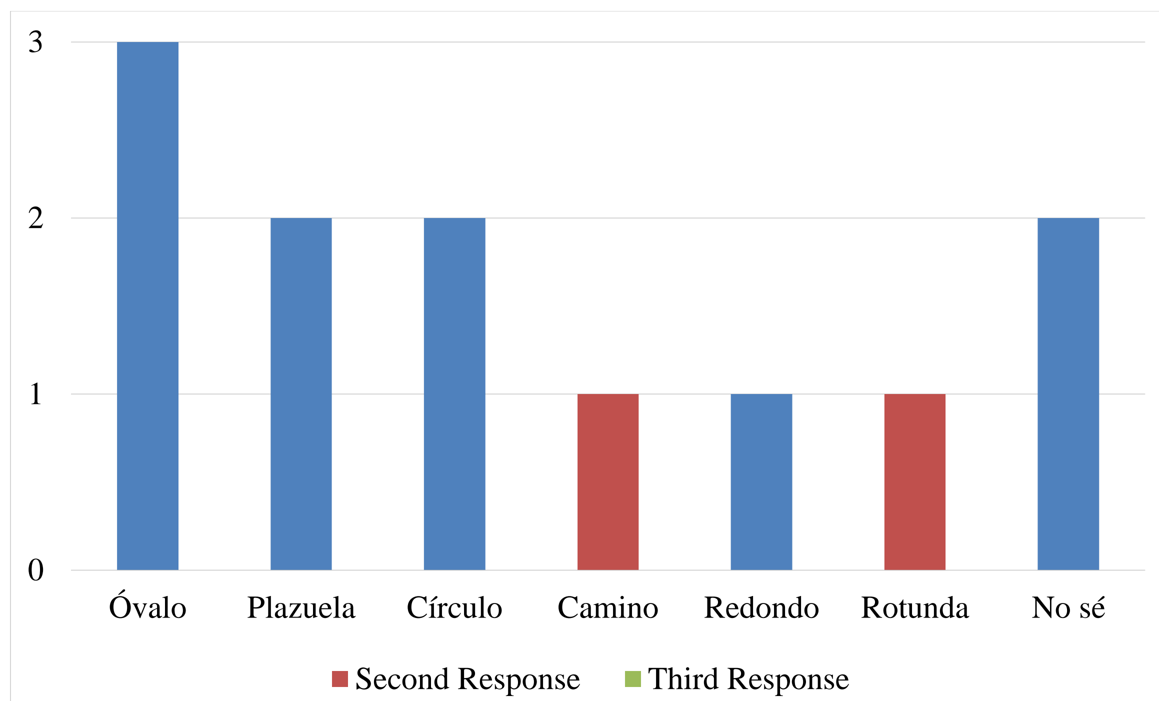

Figure 5-3. Responses to visual stimuli, "roundabout"

The visual stimuli "popcorn" (Figure 5-4) resulted in eight total responses and five different first responses. Five participants used the word *canchita,* which is the standard Peruvian word for popcorn. One participant pluralized the word as a first response, resulting in *canchitas.* Similarly, one participant responded first with the plural form of the English word popcorn, *popcorns*. Popcorn was two participants' second response. Two participants responded *cancha*, which in Peru refers not to popcorn, but to corn nuts typically served as a snack or a condiment. Two participants used non-Peruvian Spanish to describe the photo, referring to it as *palomitas blancas* and *palomitas de maíz*. The non-standard pluralization of both *popcorns* and *canchitas* may be a result of contact with the word *palomitas*, which is typically pluralized.

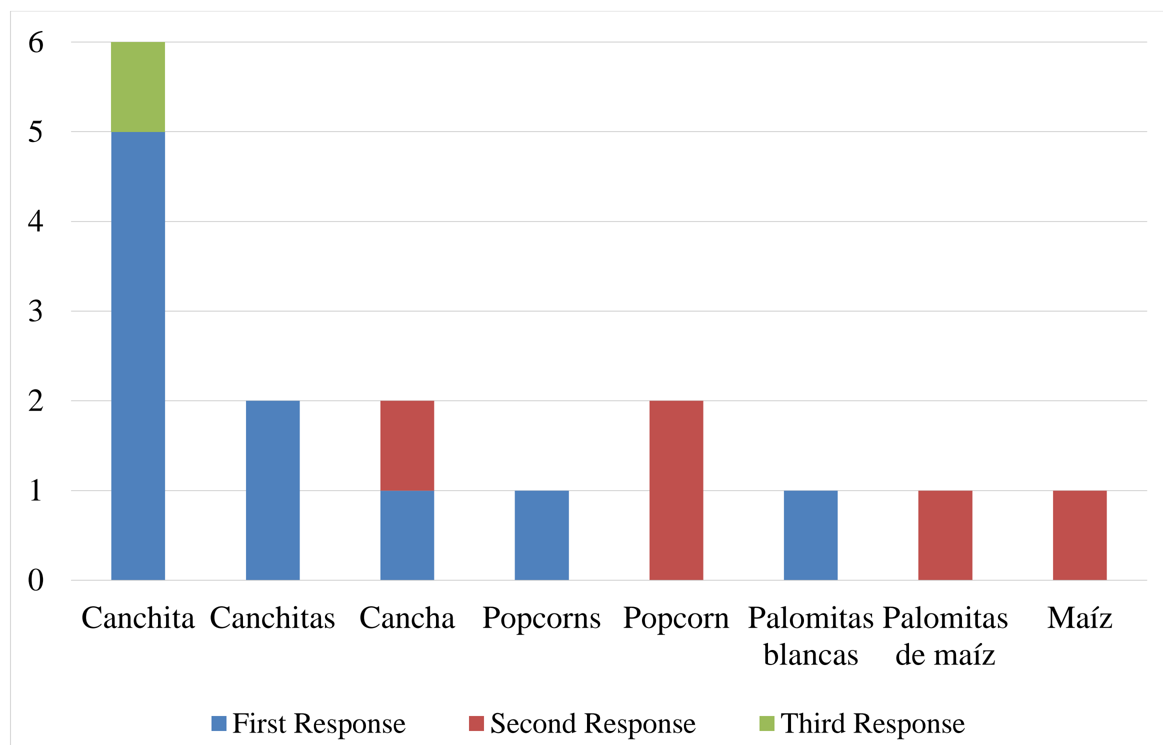

Figure 5-4. Responses to visual stimuli, “popcorn”

Cancha ‘corn nuts’ were described as such by six respondants (Figure 5-5). Other first responses were more descriptive, including *maíz tostado* ‘roasted corn’ and *cancha de Perú* ‘corn nuts from Perú.’ Only one participant referred to the stimuli as simply *maíz,* ‘corn.’ *Cancha* is the only term used in Peru to describe this food, and other responses may indicate participants’ need to compromise their own term in order to be understood by non-Peruvians. *Cancha* in Peruvian Spanish and other varieties of Spanish also refers to a soccer pitch; it is possible that *maíz tostado* or *cancha de Perú* is used to prevent misunderstandings.

Similar to *cancha*, *choclo* ‘large kernel Andean corn’ as depicted in Figure 5-6 resulted in a response that was more descriptive, *mote sancochado* ‘parboiled Andean corn.’ A second response was *mazorca*, cob, and a third response, *maíz*, ‘corn.’

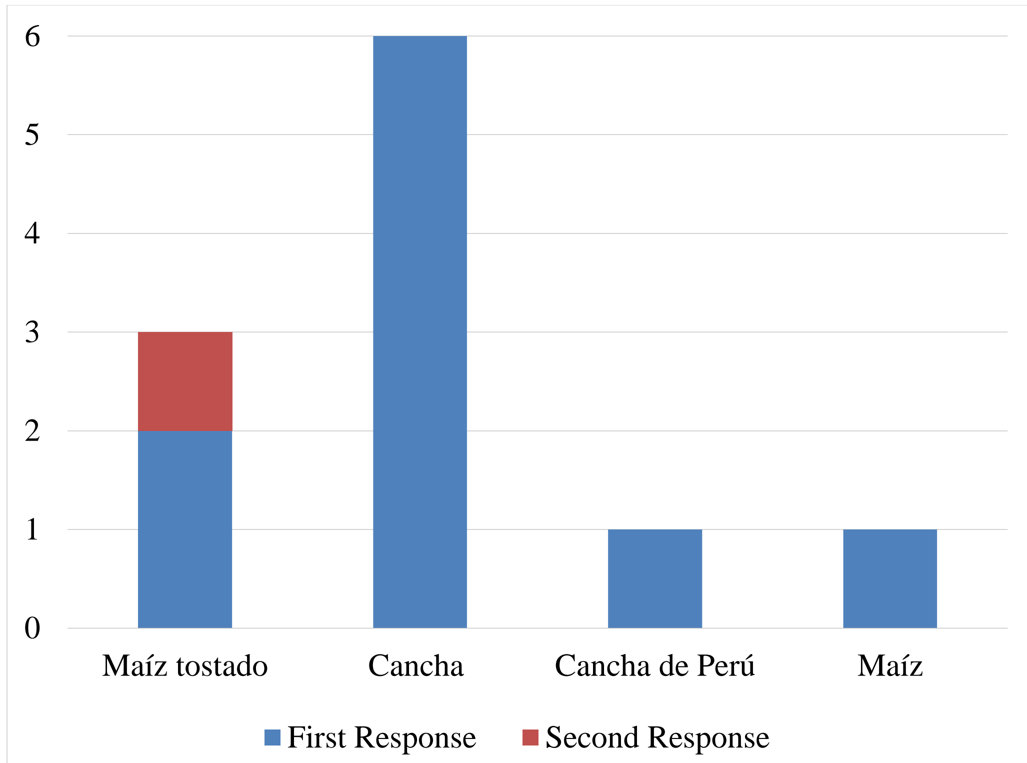

Figure 5-5. Responses to visual stimuli, "corn nuts/*cancha*"

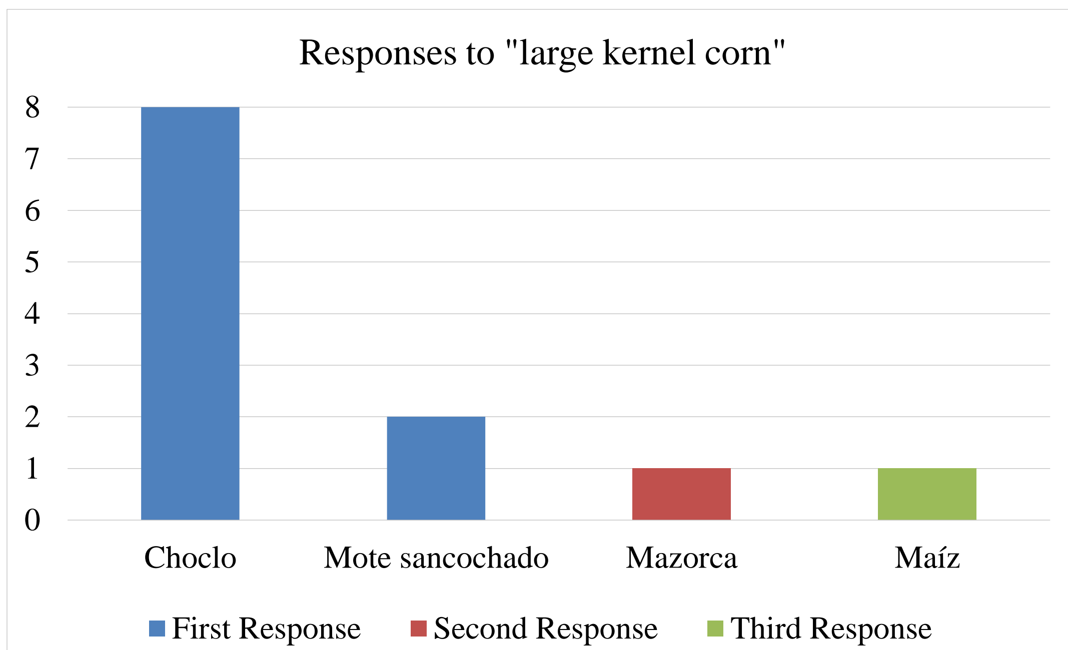

Figure 5-6. Responses to "large kernel corn"

Not included in the charts were the responses to avocado '*palta*,' cake '*keke,*' scarf *'chalina,'* Peruvian knitted hat *'chullo,'* jacket '*casaca,*' and T-shirt *'polo.'* For these visual stimuli, participants' first response was the typical Peruvian word for the item, with the exception of hat, to which one only participant responded *gorro* 'hat.' For avocado, four participants mentioned *aguacate*, a common term in other varities of Spanish, as their second response. For cake, only one participant mentioned *torta* as another word for cake. In Peruvian Spanish, *torta* is commonly used to refer to cake, but in other varieties *torta* refers to a sandwich. It is perhaps for this reason that *keke* was unanimously the first response of all interviewed: it met two requirements, namely, being a term of common use in Peru and also being unambiguous for a non-Peruvian audience.

Interestingly, the items that did not prompt a variety of responses were clothing items. After providing the response *chalina* for scarf, only two participants knew of any other word (*bufanda*). The same occurred with jacket, with two participants providing the English word 'jacket' as the only other word they knew for the item and one participant providing *chaqueta* as the only other known word. T-shirt prompted the second reponses of *polera, camiseta, blusa* and *T-shirt. Polera* is a word used by Argentines, Uruguayans, and Chileans, while several varieties of Spanish use *camiseta. Blusa* refers more commonly to a blouse. T-shirt is a clear borrowing from English.

5.4.2 Open-ended responses

The open-ended responses constitute the richest source of data for this study. As described in Section 3, participant interviews were recorded, transcribed using NVivo, and assigned codes. Some codes were developed *in vivo*; in other words, they emerged based on the exact words

repeated by multiple participants (e.g. *jerga*, *dominicanos*), while others were assigned a code based on a common theme in multiple interviews (e.g. visas, desirable dialects of Spanish, code-switching). Codes developed during interview transcription were consolidated into five major topics discussed frequently by interview participants: 1) Language contact, 2) linguistic attitudes, 3) language and identity, and 3) language change. The following sections discuss each of these topics.

5.4.3 Language contact

Participants discussed different aspects of moving to the United States and the new linguistic norms they encountered in their native language, Spanish, as well as a foreign language, English. First, I discuss participants' reports of new linguistic experiences in the U.S. Among these experiences are the misunderstandings caused by lexical differences in varieties of Spanish and interviewees' examples of linguistic convergence. In this section I also discuss interviewer observations on the effects of a new linguistic environment, including examples of dialect imitation and code-switching in participant speech. I conclude this section with participants' opinions about their experiences with the English language and on the weight it carries in both U.S. and Peruvian social spheres.

5.4.3.1 *Lexical differences*

As expected, the diversity of the Spanish language was a common topic in participant interviews, not unlike the comments on *Being Peruvian* that were discussed in Section 4. Most participants talked about taboo words that they had encountered after moving to New Jersey, such as Isela, who mentioned the terms *papaya, pepa*, and *bicho*. According to Isela, *papaya* was not to be said to Cubans, and *pepa* 'seed' not acceptable to say to Dominicans. Both of those words are taboo

names for genitalia. She talked at greater length about her past experience of saying *bicho* 'bug' in front of Puerto Ricans: "*Y nunca digas "bicho" cuando estás con puertorriqueños. "¡Un bicho, un bicho!" "No," te van a decir, "acá hay tres, hay cuatro." Porque "bicho" es la parte privada del hombre*." ("And never say *bicho* when you're with Puerto Ricans. A *bicho,* a *bicho*! "No," they're going to tell you, "here the are three, four of them." Because a *bicho* is a man's private parts.") Other examples of taboo words came from Álvaro, who frequently worked with Mexicans at job sites: "*Entonces, tú lo dices huevón, a un peruano, no hay problema. Pero si tú le dices huevón a un mexicano, ya te estás preparando. Alístate, corre*." ("Then, if you say *huevón* to a Peruvian, it's not a problem. But if you say *huevón* to a Mexican, you better get ready. Get ready, run.") Three different interviewees, Álvaro Carlos, and Ricardo talked about when they found out that *pendejo* was not polite among non-Peruvian Spanish speakers in the U.S.:

> *Ahorita conocí a un mexicano. Este, yo estaba hablando con otro peruano y estaba escuchando un mexicano. Y le dije al peruano, "Este es pendejo no le hagas caso que es pendejo." Entonces mira y se me acuerda que no sabe que es mexicano y le digo..."¿Tú qué entiendes por pendejo?" "Que solo es callado...así que había escuchado." En el Perú no es así. En Perú un pendejo es lo contrario que en México.*" (Not too long ago I met a Mexican. I was talking with another Peruvian and I was listening to the Mexican. And he said to the Peruvian, "He's a *pendejo*, don't pay any attention to him because he's a *pendejo*." Then [the Peruvian] looks at me and I remembered that he [the Peruvian] does not know that [the other man] is Mexican and I say, "What do you understand *pendejo* to mean?" "That it just means quiet...that's what I had heard." In Peru, it's not like that. In Peru a *pendejo* is the opposite of what it is in Mexico.)

Álvaro did not expand on the connotations of *pendejo* for either culture. Carlos clarified that for Peruvians, *pendejo* means 'astute,' though he was uncertain about what it meant for other nationalities: "*Nosotros cuando una persona es astuto, decimos que es un pendejo. "¡Pendejo!" Y no es nada malo, ¿no? Pero en México, ¿en México sí*?" ("For us, when a person is astute, we say that they are a *pendejo*. *Pendejo!* And it's nothing bad, right? But in Mexico, it is [bad], right?") Roberto, a lawyer in Paterson, remembered the first time he used the word *pendejo* in the United States with a non-Peruvian client:

> *La palabra este...¿cuál es una mala palabra? ¿Pendejo? Para nosotros es el vivo, el astuto. Pero para el mexicano es un tonto, un estúpido. Entonces yo le decía a un cliente, "Oh, tú eres pendejo," y dice, "¡No, yo no soy pendejo!" "¡No, que eres vivo!" No entendía.* (That word...what is it that's a bad word? *Pendejo*? For us [Peruvians] it's someone clever, astute. But for a Mexican it's someone dumb, someone stupid. So I said to a client, "Oh, you're a *pendejo*," and he says, "No, no I'm not a *pendejo*!" "No, I meant that you're clever! He didn't understand.)

Roberto was the only participant to mention the word *pendejo* and provide a specific meaning for the word in non-Peruvian circles (dumb, stupid). This could be due to his profession as a lawyer, who may be more aware of the problems with verbal confusions and the need for unambiguous speech. It could also be due to his time in the United States; Roberto had been in the country for 35 years, longer than both Carlos (19 years) and Álvaro (10 years).

Other participants, Yonel, Maribel, Cristóbal and Rocío, discussed more benign misunderstandings, such as those caused by the words *china* 'mandarin orange' for Puerto Ricans, *ahorita* 'right now,' 'later,' or 'a while ago,' *beterraga* 'beet,' and *palta* 'avocado.'

Maribel explained that moving to New Jersey revealed a new world for her, as she learned for the first time that not all Spanish speakers sound like Peruvians:

> *Cuando yo recién llegué, yo, este, no sabía cada persona de otros países hablan diferente. Entonces una vez cuando recién llegué, una chica me preguntó si me iba a la tienda entonces le digo, "sí," y me dice, "trae una china." Y yo no sabía que era china. Nosotros, para nosotros china es una persona que...es jaladita, y me dijo, "tráeme una china," "¿Una china?" "Si vas a ir eso lo tienen en la refrigeradora." "¿Una china?" Y después le digo, "¿Oye sabes qué? ¿Qué es una china? Explícame, perdón." Y yo creo que le dicen a la china la naranja...No le entendía*. (When I first arrived, I didn't know that everyone from other countries speaks differently. So one time when I first got here, a girl asked me if I was going to the store so I said, "Yes," and she tells me, "Bring a *china*." And I didn't know what a *china* was, because for us a *china* is a person with slanted eyes. And she told me, "Bring me a *china*." "A *china*?" "If you're going to go, they have them in the refrigerator." "A *china*?" And afterward I tell her, "Hey, what's a *china*? Sorry, please explain to me." And I think that they call oranges *chinas*. I wasn't understanding her.)

Participants' stories about miscommunications between dialects of Spanish revealed that they had quickly learned to index different traits of Spanish to nationalities in the area such as Dominicans or Mexicans. This was especially true in the case of taboo words, e.g. *pendejo*, *bicho*, *pepa*, *papaya*. In each of these stories, participants realized that certain words they normally used with other Peruvians were not widely understood in their new speech community. Living in New Jersey exposed participants to dialects of Spanish that many of them had never encountered before. Such misunderstandings were the result of their inexperience with different

language varieties. For many, in fact, contact with another dialect of Spanish was a feature of their life in the United States. For example, Maribel mentioned that before leaving Peru, she did not know that people in other Spanish-speaking countries spoke differently than she did. The following section discusses the participants' adaptation of their own speech after moving to the United States.

5.4.3.2 *Conscious convergence*

When discussing lexical differences in varieties of Spanish in the United States, participants occasionally discussed how they adapted their own speech to prevent misunderstandings. Isela talked about speaking differently around Peruvians than she would around other Spanish speakers:

> *Lo que pasa es que como nos has escuchado hablar a nosotros, no estaríamos hablando así con un colombiano. Con un colombiano hablas español, pero no hablas de la manera que hablamos aquí, porque ellos no te van a entender y ellos no te van a hablar a ti de la misma manera. Entonces pierde la gracia, pues. Este es un lenguaje entre peruanos nada más.* (The thing is, the way you have heard us talking, we wouldn’t be talking like this with a Colombian. With a Colombian you speak Spanish, but not the way we are speaking here because they aren’t going to understand you, and they’re not going to talk to you in the same way. So it’s not interesting anymore [to use Peruvianisms]. This language is just between Peruvians.)

Isela’s reasoning for not speaking to Colombians the way she would normally speak is because they would not understand her if she used Peruvian terms. She also mentioned that she recognizes that the Colombians probably do not speak to her how they would normally speak, either. Through this recognition, Isela makes an indirect reference to a new speech community in

which different dialects of Spanish converge into one that "gets the job done;" in other words, interlocutors speak in such a way that misunderstandings are limited, even at the expense of one's own dialect.

Cristóbal reported a similar shift in his own language use, but cited socioeconomic reasons rather than identification with a particular nationality: "*Antes yo trabajaba en periódicos, tu sabes que escribía y era otro tipo de desarrollo social pero te ves obligado de usar palabras que la gente entienda."* ("In the past I worked for newspapers, I wrote, and it was a different type of social class [that I wrote for], but you feel obligated to use words that people understand.") Thus, it was not necessarily Peruvianisms that Cristóbal abandoned for the sake of being understood, but a variety of Spanish that he considered to be inappropriate for an audience with more formal education. Cristóbal's comment echoes census data that Peruvians in the U.S. on average have more education than U.S. Hispanics as a whole. Cristóbal viewed his former way of speaking as a divisive factor, and instead consciously opted to imitate local varieties. Cristóbal was an outlier, having been a journalist accustomed to writing formally in Spanish.

5.4.3.3 *Influence of other dialects*

While participants explicitly discussed the consequences of finding themselves in a new linguistic environment, I observed other manifestations of contact with English and other dialects of Spanish in their responses. Participants demonstrated knowledge of non-Peruvian dialects via reported speech in which they "performed" other dialects. Other instances of code and tag switching also appeared in the interviews, indicating influence from English and in once instance, Quechua. Finally, participants discussed instances when they realized that their way of speaking changed as a result of living in the U.S.

5.4.3.4 *Code-switching: Reported speech*

At different points in their interviews, six participants imitated other dialects of Spanish, both phonologically and lexically, when reporting speech. Caribbean dialects of Spanish were the most imitated, including Puerto Rican, Dominican and Cuban varieties. Each time the dialect was imitated, the interviewee was poking fun at the speakers. Roberto mimicked a Dominican accent as he told a story of a Dominican client of his: *Tenía un cliente que era dominicano, y le dije "Señor, ¿cuál es su nombre?" Y me dice, "Sóstenes". "¿Ah?" "Sóstenes." "Ah, ok perdón. ¿Y su apellido?" "Blanco." ¡Sostén blanco! ¡Sóstenes Blanco!"* (I had a client that was Dominican, and I said, "Sir, what is your name?" And he tells me, "Sóstenes." "Huh?" "Sostenes. "Oh, okay, sorry." "And your last name?" "Blanco" Sostén blanco! Sóstenes Blanco! A *sostén* is a bra in many dialects of Spanish, and the surname Blanco also means "white." So, Roberto was laughing at the way his client's name sounded like "white bra." Each time he reported the speech of his client, he mimicked his client's tone and aspiration of /s/.

Roberto also mimicked his idea of a Cuban accent as he talked about a movie he had recently seen:

> *Vi una película, que el papá le había puesto a su hijo el nombre Usnavy. Usnaaavy, Usnavy, Usnavy. "Por que te puso Usnavy?" "Es que mi papá como siempre pasaba a trabajar por el mar y siempre pasaba un barco decía U.S. Navy."* (I saw a movie where a dad had named his son Usnavy. Usnaaavy, Usnavy, Usnavy. "Why did he name you Usnavy?" "It's because my dad always worked near the sea and he always passed a boat that said U.S. Navy.")

Roberto talked about how he felt his own language changing as a result of contact with Spanish speakers from other countries, mimicking the speakers that use the calque *llamar para atrás* 'to call back,' and the Caribbean slang term *encojonado,* 'pissed off':

> *Porque cuando uno trata con diferentes países, gente de diferentes países, su español es, como te contagia. Una cosa que dicen es "¡Oye te llamo pa' trás!" "¿Qué?" "Atrás." Te dicen muchas cosas y se te pegan, ¿no? "Estoy encojonado." Se me pegó encojonado. "¡Eh, encojona'o!"* (Because when one deals with people from other countries, their Spanish rubs off on you. One thing they say is "Hey I'll call you back!" "What?" "Back." They say a lot of things that stick with you, right? "I'm *encojonado*." *Encojonado* stuck with me. "Hey, *encojona'o*!"

Roberto performed Domincanness via his pronunciation of *encojonado*, pronouncing /d/ when talking about the word in his own speech, and eliding intervocalic /d/ when reporting others' speech.

Alejandro also mimicked an accent, including lateralizing every instance of /r/ as he talked about one of his first encounters with a Dominican. He claimed to not have realized that the two of them were even speaking the same language: *"¿Cuál es su nombre?" Y me dice, "Enrique Martinez." "Usted habla este...inglés o español?" Este...pero me dice este, "¡¿pero qué estamos hablando?!"* ("What is your name?" And he tells me, "Enrique Martinez." "Do you speak English or Spanish? And then he says to me, "Well, what are we speaking [right now]?")

Each time the Dominican Spanish accent was mimicked, it was within an anecdote that portrayed Dominicans in an unfavorable light, such as having a laughable name, or speaking a variety so distant from the standard as to be considered something other than Spanish. In doing so, participants positioned Dominican as others.

Two other accents were described in interviews, namely, Colombian and Spanish accents. Dora and her sister Lourdes both performed a Spanish accent as when they were asked about which dialects of Spanish they thought to be most prestigious: "*¡Joder, jolín, gilipollas!*"

(Spanish expletives). This was not due to contact with Spanish speakers from Spain, however. They reported that their familiarity with the dialect came from watching several Spanish television shows. Lourdes also performed Colombian Spanish, as she reported having a few Colombian friends and admired their accents: *"¿Qué hubo?"* (What's going on?)

Though other participants mentioned contact with Anglo English speakers, Zulema was the only participant that mentioned specific conversations in English. Her job as a cashier at a clothing store in the suburbs placed her in contact with this linguistic demographic. She mimicked non-native Spanish when she told the story of how some customers interact with her in Spanish, while others disapprove of the use of Spanish in the United States:

> *En mi trabajo, por ejemplo, entra una señorita [anglohablante] y digo, "Buenos días." Y voltea, "What you want?" "Sorry," le digo, "Good morning." "It's okay!" La otra vez que viene, ella me dice, "¡Buenos días, Zulema!" Entonces ellos como que se interactan a mi forma.* (At my job, for example, an [English-speaking] woman comes in and I say, "*Buenos días."* And she turns around, "What you want?" "Sorry," I tell her, "Good morning." "It's okay!" The next time she came in, she tells me, *"Buenos días, Zulema!"* So they begin to interact my way.

In this case, Zulema was so accustomed to speaking Spanish at work that she greeted a non-Spanish speaker in the language. While her reaction was to apologize to the woman, the woman returned the next time and greeted Zulema in Spanish, albeit a Spanish heavily influenced by English phonology. Zulema's initial apologetic reaction reveals the tension between monolingual English speakers and Spanish speakers in the area. She assumed that the English speaker was offended by her use of Spanish in a country where the Anglo majority expects English in places

of business. The customer surprised her by showing interest in the Spanish language and attempting it herself. Zulema's surprise indicates that this is not a normal reaction.

5.4.3.5 *Code-switching: Quechua, Spanish, and English*

The effects of exposure to English were seen in participants' code-switches. Three participants demonstrated code-switching or tag-switching in their responses. Yonel was one of these participants, switching to English when telling a story of someone that would not speak Spanish with him:

> *Tiene papás peruanos y no habla español*. He is Peruvian and all he was saying when I talked to him was "I'm American. I can't speak it; I'm born here; I can't speak it." *¡Pero entiende!"* "I'm American," *así me decía cuando yo le decía, "Háblame en español," yo le decía.* (He has Peruvian parents and he doesn't speak Spanish. He is Peruvian, and all he was saying was, "I'm American. I can't speak it. I'm born here; I can't speak it." But he understands! "I'm American," is what he was telling me when I told him, "Speak to me in Spanish.")

Yonel was astounded that another Peruvian would not speak Spanish with him and did not consider that a Peruvian born and raised in the United States may not speak Spanish. Yonel used English himself only to best report the speech of his interlocutor. Zulema did the same when talking about an encounter with an Anglo English speaker in her workplace: *"Y voltea [y dice],* "What you want [sic]?" "Sorry," *le digo,* "Good morning." "It's okay!" *La otra vez que viene, ella me dice, "¡Buenos días, Zulema!""* (And she turns around [and says], "What you want [sic]?" "Sorry," I tell her, "Good morning." "It's okay!") Like Yonel, Zulema used English to report speech in the language in which it originally occurred. Twice, Zulema used a single English word or phrase: "*A veces hablo lisuras, pero*...bad words." ("Sometimes I curse, but…bad

words.") In this case, Zulema used the Peruvian term *hablar lisuras* ('to say bad words') and follows the phrase up with the English equivalent to ensure comprehension of the phrase. Another time, Zulema used an English term not to emphasize the meaning, but rather for humourous effect: "*Averigua en el* dictionary." ("Find out in the dictionary.")

One last example of code-switching was Lourdes' use of the word *so* as a tag, once when talking about her children, "Mi primer idioma es el español, so tienen que saber ellos el español." ("My first language is Spanish, so [my children] have to know Spanish,") and again when discussing which varieties of Spanish have influenced her most: "So, *eso sí he aprendido, y de México, he aprendido como lo hablan. Dominicanos también. Diferente hablan.* So*, unas cuantas palabras, ya.*" ("So, I learned that and I've learned from Mexicans and how they talk. Dominicans, too. They speak differently. So, a few words.") A study by Aaron (2004) asserted that among a group of New Mexican bilinguals, *so* and its Spanish counterpart *entonces* were used in the same way in both English and Spanish. Lourdes' preference for *so* over *entonces* could be due to the people with whom she spends most of her time. She reported more contact with speakers of other languages as well as speakers of other dialects of Spanish than most participants in this study because of her job at a fast food restaurant. She also rated her English proficiency as "Good," which was higher than other participants in this study, who mostly (75%) reported "None" or "A little" proficiency. Thus, her English proficiency along with her frequent contact with English speakers are most likely contributors to Lourdes' tag-switching.

The topic of code-switching appeared explicity only once in an interview. Though Dora did not code-switch in her speech during her interview, she discussed the practice in her language habits at home. She discussed how she switches between Quechua and Spanish at with her mother and siblings:

> *Yo sé [hablar] quechua pero no sé contar. Lo que no sé hablar, como mi mamá entiende español no me esfuerzo tanto en hablarlo en quechua correctamente. Yo sé lo básico y lo que no sé lo meto en español. Mi mamá me entiende.* (I know Quechua, but I don't know how to count. What I don't know how to say, I don't try so hard to say it correctly in Quechua because my mom understands Spanish. I know the basics and what I don't know, I put in Spanish. My mom understands me.)

Though all participants except for one reported some level of English proficiency, Yonel, Zulema, and Lourdes were the only ones to employ Spanish-English code-switching in their interviews. Moreover, in most examples the switch was brief and limited to one or two sentences, and in most cases one or two words. There are several reasons why participants may not be frequent code-switchers despite being bilinguals living in the United States. Among these are language ideologies about code-switching and/or infrequent contact with others with English proficiency. It is also possible that in the context of an interview, participants may not have deemed it appropriate to code-switch between languages. This is an area that should be addressed in future studies, including asking participants specifically about code-switching in interviews.

5.4.4 Linguistic attitudes

Throughout the interviews, participants expressed their thoughts on varieties of Spanish in their speech community as well as on the use of English. This section is dedicated to these instances and discusses attitudes toward various dialects of Spanish, comments about slang (*jerga*) use, and English language ideologies. Peruvian dialects were favored among participants, while Dominican dialects were the least preferred.

5.4.4.1 *Attitudes toward dialects of Spanish*

Interview responses also reflected feelings about dialects of Spanish in the United States and their respective speakers. A total of eight countries/regions were mentioned, namely, Peru, Dominican Republic, Chile, Central America, Colombia, Spain, Mexico, and Uruguay. In each case, these varieties were described by the participants according to how they perceived the Spanish of that country/region (Table 5-3): These items are listed in decreasing order of the frequency with which they were mentioned.

Table 5-3. Labels ascribed to varieties of Spanish

Place of origin	Descriptors	Translation
Peru	*Tranquilo; más pegado a las normas de la regla del idioma castellano; más básico; no tiene tantas variaciones; el que más le pueden entender; vulgar; más pausados; el más correcto; meten su jerga; es castellano; es español normal*	Calm; closer to the norms of Castilian Spanish; most basic; not as many variations; the one that is most understood; vulgar; more paused; the most correct; they insert their slang; it's Castilian; it's normal Spanish
Dominican Republic	*Vulgar; léxico distinto; no se entiende; escriben mal; hablan muy rápido; hablan malísimo*	Vulgar, different lexicon, not understood, they write poorly, they speak very quickly; they speak very poorly
Chile	*Cantan; cortan las palabras; pronuncian diferente las palabras; mucha rima*	They sing; they cut off words; they pronounce the words differently; lots of rhymes
Central America	*Menos educados; falta de educación; no se entiende*	Less educated; lack of education; not understandable
Colombia	*Las malas palabras son diferentes; es cantado*	The bad words are different; it is sung

Table 5-3. Continued

Place of origin	Descriptors	Translation
Spain	*Hablan bonito; hablan el español original, de lo que realmente tiene que ser.*	They speak beautifully; they speak original Spanish, how it really should be.
Mexico	*Tienen muchos vicios del lenguaje; mucha jerga*	They have a lot of bad language habits; lots of slang
Uruguay	*Demasiado sonoro*	Too sonorous
Venezuela	*Hablan muy rápido*	They speak very quickly.

In terms of content, positive comments were given to only two dialects of Spanish, those of Peru and Spain. Spaniards are mostly absent from the Paterson area and participants mentioned hearing the dialect only on television or in film voiceovers. Equally as absent form Paterson are Chileans, of whom four different participants mentioned. This is most likely due to prevalent anti-Chilean sentiments in Peru that have persisted since the 19th century War of the Pacific in which Peru lost part of its southern territory to Chile. Thus, despite having translocated to the U.S., attitudes about certain varieties of Spanish are still guided by factors such as national history and the narrative surrounding that history, and not necessarily personal experience with speakers of the dialect.

By the same token, Peruvians in Paterson have little contact with Spaniards in their community, yet three participants reported they felt that Spain had the best Spanish. Dora commented, "*España es lo que habla el español original. De lo que realmente tiene que ser... Literalmente es España que lleva el número uno. Me fascina.*" (Spain speaks the original Spanish, what it really should be...Literally it's Spain that takes first place. It fascinates me.)

Spain appeared to be in a category of its own in Alejandro's mind when it came to dialects of Spanish. In his description he excluded Spain, saying "*[Con España] no podemos comparar. Hablamos de Sudamérica, ¿no?"* ([With Spain] we cannot compare. We're talking about South America, right?)

Linked with the idea of Spaniards having the most desirable dialects of Spanish is the idea that Peruvians speak *castellano*, not *español.* Zulema mentioned that Peruvians speak "*el español más pegado al castellano,"* or the Spanish closest to *castellano*. Álvaro corrected Alejandro at one point, saying, "*En Perú no decimos español. Es castellano*." (In Peru we don't say Spanish. It's *castellano*.) These two quotes are unusual, because Zulema positions Spanish and *castellano* as two different languages or dialects, while Álvaro says that *castellano* is another word for Spanish. This contradiction supports the nebulous idea of the definition of *castellano* that was first seen in the comments of *Being Peruvian* in Section 4. This comparison will be discussed in greater depth in the following section.

Peruvian Spanish was most cited as the best variety of Spanish, with participants giving plenty of supporting details. Daniel commented, "*Nuestro español es el normal. Nosotros no cantamos, no hablamos muy rápidamente, lo que hablamos es mucha jerga."* (Our Spanish is normal. We don't sing, we don't speak very quickly, but we do speak with a lot of slang.) Isela, Zarela, Carlos, agreed that Peruvian Spanish was the best variety of Spanish, without elaborating much. However, when Laura, who was also present at that particular interview, suggested that Colombians might speak the "best" variety, she was quickly refuted by Daniel, "*No, es cantado, cantan...tienen acento*." (No, it's sung, they sing... they have an accent.) Álvaro stated with certainty, "*Obvio...el peruano. No, no, yo le digo, eso es cierto.*" (Obviously, Peruvian [Spanish is best]. No, no, I'm telling you, it's true.).

Two participants expanded on their feelings about an ideal variety of Spanish, more specifically that one does not exist. Yonel took multiple viewpoints into perspective when asked about his opinion on the best varieties of Spanish, "*No sé, sería decir mi país, pero depende de cada quién. Sé que otros dirán "No, el Perú, el Perú, el Perú!"...A mí me gusta no decirlo, sino que otros lo digan."* (I don't know, I would say my country, but it depends on each individual. I know that others will say, "No, Peru, Peru, Peru!" ...I don't want to be the one to say it, I want others to say it.) Though Yonel did not overtly say that he felt Peruvian Spanish was a more desirable variety, he did insinuate that if others say that Peruvian Spanish is bad, it is because they are envious: *"Entonces así se siente más orgulloso...en su opinión, su criterio de ellos, si es positivo pues es bueno, si es malo pues es envidia."* (That way one feels more pride. That others say it, not you...in [others'] opinion, their criteria, if it's positive it's good, and if it's bad, it's envy.).

Cristóbal also made a unique comment about a "best" variety of Spanish:

> *Nadie va a hablar mejor, eso que...en primer lugar, no es nuestra lengua...En Perú dicen que los peruanos hablan bien el idioma porque era el capital del virreinato. Entonces yo te puedo decir que así que entonces en Santo Domingo hablan bien el idioma porque los españoles llegaron primero a esa tierra. ¿Me entiendes? Entonces no, no, no hay un sentido.* (Nobody is going to speak it better...first of all, it's not our language. In Peru they say that Peruvians speak the language well because it was the capital of the viceroyalty. So, then I could tell you that in Santo Domingo they speak well because the Spaniards arrived there first. You get me? So no, no, it doesn't make sense.)

Cristóbal began by saying there is no best variety, and he did not name any variety as more prestigious or desirable than another. However, existing language attitudes made a subtle

appearance in his example of areas in Latin America that Spaniards first had influence. To refute the idea that Peruvians speak Spanish well because Peru was a viceroyalty, Cristóbal compared this to believing that Dominicans speak well because Spain staked their claim to the island early on. His comparison relies on the belief that Dominicans speak a less desirable variety of Spanish.

Negative comments prevailed in most varieties mentioned. Such comments touched on level of education, lexical differences, and even the tone of certain varieties. Dominican Spanish received the most criticism; one such complaint was that they speak very quickly and poorly. In addition, they were described as less educated, with one participant saying, "*escriben mal*" ("They write poorly.") Education was also discussed when talking about Central American dialects of Spanish, with two participants claiming that the speech of these groups could be attributed to lack of education. Lexical differences were a complaint about Dominican, Colombian, and Mexican Spanish, while phonetic and intonational features were the reason for the rejection of Chilean, Colombian, and Uruguayan Spanish.

5.4.4.2 *Participant comments on jerga*

Jerga, or slang, was a common topic of discussion in Section 4. It was also present in Paterson interviews, mentioned as a feature of Peruvian Spanish in all but two interview. *Jerga* played a role in how participants viewed the prestige of a Spanish variety, with more *jerga* often equating to less prestige.

A recurrent view among participants was that Peruvian Spanish would be the best variety of Spanish if it were not for the use of *jerga.* Daniel commented the following: *Lo que pasa es que en realidad no hablamos un español peruano. Nuestro español es, el normal. Nosotros no cantamos, no hablamos muy rápidamente. Lo que hablamos es mucha jerga.* (The thing is that in reality, we don't speak Peruvian Spanish. Our Spanish is normal. We don't sing, we don't speak

very quickly. What we do use is a lot of slang.) Daniel's comment reveals his idea that Peruvian Spanish is the norm by which to measure all other varieties, and that *jerga* is the only marked feature of the dialect, and thus, potentially, its only negative characteristic. In the same interview, Laura seconded this notion: "*Si [los peruanos] no hablaran con tantos modismos y sin tantas jergas, hablarían un buen español. Español que debe ser.*" ("If [Peruvians] didn't speak with so many idioms and [spoke] without so much slang, they would speak a good Spanish. Spanish as it should be.") Roberto made a similar comment about Peruvian Spanish to those already mentioned, but added that age is a factor in how well one speaks: "*Me gusta [como hablan los peruanos] con la excepción de las jergas. Con las jergas no le entiendo. No estoy al día tampoco. Pero generalmente yo entiendo que las personas mayores hablan muy bien, muy claro.*" ("I like [Peruvian Spanish] with the exception of slang. With slang, I don't understand. I'm not up to date with it either. But generally I understand that older people speak very well, very clearly.")

Yonel also expressed his concern that non-Peruvians view Peruvian Spanish as inferior when *jerga* is abundant:

> *No me gusta porque otros dicen que todos los peruanos hablan de una manera vulgar. Como los dominicanos, o como otros. La verdad no es así. A veces los peruanos hablamos de una manera tranquila como estamos dialogando. Pero hay otros peruanos que siempre meten su jerga.* (I don't like that others say that Peruvians speak in a vulgar way. Like Dominicans, or others. This isn't the truth. Sometimes Peruvians talk calmly like we are talking now. But there are other Peruvians that always insert their slang.)

Yonel compares Peruvian Spanish to Dominican Spanish and asserts that they are not the same. He referred to the way he was speaking during the interview, indicating that ideally, Peruvians

speak calmly and only those that insert too much slang in their speech should be compared to speakers of more "vulgar" varieties. He went on to give an example of what this might sound like: *"Están con su, "Causa, brother, concha tu madre, te cuento que salí ayer con mis patas." Pienso yo que, eso puedes hablar dependiendo con quién tú estés."* ("They're going around with their, "Buddy, brother, *concha tu madre,* yesterday I went out with my pals." I think that you can talk like that depending on who you're with.") Maribel gave a similar "performance" when she talked about the only reason why she did not like the way Peruvians speak: *"A veces los peruanos hablan en jerga. A una señora le dicen "¡tía, oye tía!" No me gusta eso."* ("Sometimes Peruvians talk in slang. To a woman they say "*tía,* hey *tía!"* No, no, I don't like that.") Yonel and Maribel did in person what commenters frequently did online in *Being Peruvian*, which is perform features of a Peruvian dialect, mostly through employing a series of *jergas*.

Jerga was considered among most participants as something that "soils" the language and should be avoided in polite company. The use of *jerga* was twice referred to in interviews as a *vicio*, or a bad habit. Isela incidentally provided a contrast between her idea of how Spanish should be spoken and the reality of how it is used in her immediate family: "*Pero tú vas a encontrar a peruanos que van a hablar un español limpio. Sin jergas. Mi papá habla cinco palabras, cuatro son jergas."* ("But you're going to find Peruvians that speak clean Spanish. Without slang. My dad says five words, four are slang.") Thus, "clean Spanish" was widely considered to be that which is spoken without slang, specifically Peruvian Spanish without slang.

Slang was also a reason why other varieties were perceived as inferior: One of the reasons that Rocío viewed Chilean Spanish as less desirable was their use of *palabras raras*, 'strange words,' which she clarified were the slang terms she had heard. Álvaro evaluated his coworker Alejandro's Spanish, saying specifically that it had become worse because "*usa*

bastante jerga mexicana" (he uses a lot of Mexican slang). Álvaro went on to say more about Mexican Spanish and how this group's *jerga* was a factor that impeded comprehension: "*Muchos usan jerga. Mucha. Por eso no se entiende. Por ejemplo chingar, no sé qué cosas, yo no entiendo qué dirán. Pero ellos hablan así. No entiendo, pero bueno. Tengo la idea de lo que está, pero…*" ("Many use slang. A lot of slang. That's why you can't understand them. For example, *chingar,* I don't know what, I don't understand what they say. Buwt they talk like that. I don't understand, but oh well. I have an idea of what it means, but…") In this case, Álvaro did not know the meaning of the swear word *chingar*, but had heard it frequently enough to have an idea of who uses it and its connotations.

Daniel expressed similar sentiments as he talked about different Spanish speakers with whom he worked:

> *Una vez trabajé en la casa de un cubano. Y su esposa era mexicana. Y yo hablo con varios mexicanos y a veces no entiendo porque tienen mucha jerga. Pero esta señora hablaba el español perfecto. Trabajaba en las Naciones Unidas como traductora. Brother, que bonito español. Qué nítido. No tenía dejos.* (Once I worked in a Cuban's house. And his wife was Mexican. I speak with many Mexicans and sometimes I don't understand because they have a lot of slang. But this lady spoke perfect Spanish. She worked for the United Nations as a translator. Brother, what beautiful Spanish. How pristine. She didn't have an accent.)

Not unlike Álvaro, Daniel expressed that *jerga,* specifically that used by Mexicans, reduces comprehensibility. However, he went on to describe his surprise at a Mexican woman who spoke "perfect Spanish." His comments reveal that his idea of ideal Spanish is a variety in which

speakers have "no accent" and do not use slang. His idea of no accent is most likely a dialect that conforms to a standard variety Spanish, such as those used in textbooks, or in movie voiceovers.

While others discussed that non-Peruvian Spanish speakers use *jerga* that causes misunderstandings, Cristóbal and Dora brought up that Peruvian slang could also impede comprehensibility. Cristóbal talked about being misunderstood: "*En otros países sabes hay muchos hispanos que no entienden la jerga que nosotros lo llamamos*." ("In other countries you know there are a lot of Hispanics that don't understand the slang that we say.") Dora made it clear that other Spanish speakers never misunderstand her for the simple reason that she never uses slang: "*Me entienden siempre. No uso jergas."* ("They always understand me. I don't use slang.") Dora and Cristóbal were the only two to mention any possibility that Spanish spoken by Peruvians may not always be understandable to other Spanish speakers. These comments reveal that very few participants understand there is some type of reciprocity occurring in their interactions with other Spanish speakers, with both sides having to relinquish words or phrases to facilitate communication.

In most examples given by participants, *jerga* was an undesirable feature of Peruvian and other dialects of Spanish. In only one example, the ability to use slang in a language other than one's native language was a marker of belonging and proficiency. Roberto talked about a man that once visited Paterson and surprised many people with his proficiency in Quechua:

> *Habla quechua clarito. Habla más quechua que cualquier. Usa sus jergas. Un día vinieron de NYU a hacer una reunión de academia en este, el museo de Paterson. Y todos hablaban quechua. Los americanos, los estudiantes, gente, comenzaron a hablar en quechua. Muy interesante.* (He speaks Quechua clearly. He speaks more Quechua than anyone. He uses slang. One day they came from NYU for an academic function in

Paterson's museum. And everyone spoke Quechua. The Americans, the students, people, started to speak in Quechua. Very interesting.)

The ability to use slang in Quechua is what convinced Roberto of this person's high proficiency in the language. This contrasts with native speakers' use of *jerga,* which was equated with a lack of education and/or not part of an ideal variety of Spanish. A discussion of this contrast follows in Section 6.

5.4.4.3 *English language ideologies*

While participants primarily discussed their thoughts about their own and other dialects of Spanish in their community, the English language was also a topic of discussion. With the exception of one participant (Rocío), participants used Spanish at home and in most day-to-day interactions. However, all participants had some degree of contact with the English language and native English speakers. They described their own use of English at work, at home, and in their communities. One participant, Dora, described the forced use of English at her job at a fast-food restaurant chain in Paterson: "*La jefa no quiere que hablemos español. Hay tres hispanos que trabajamos pero nos ha prohibido hablar español. Y eso es racismo. No nos dejan ni saludarnos en español. Nada. Es americana. Ellos son así."* ("The boss doesn't want us to speak Spanish. There are three Hispanics that work there, but she has prohibited us from speaking in Spanish. And that is racism. She doesn't even let us greet each other in Spanish. Nothing. She's American. They're like that.") Dora's experience touches on the English-only ideology that exists in the United States, even in Paterson, where Spanish dominates the linguistic landscape. Zulema also provided an example of this when she discussed the criticism toward her use of Spanish at her job at a clothing store:

> *Pero hay algunos que se fastidian. Porque no, dicen, "Esto es América." Y yo no tengo porqué. Ha habido clientes que han dicho que por qué hablo español. Pero como la tienda es para todos que entran, tú no vas a hablar solo el inglés. Hay que hablar todo."* (There are some that get annoyed. Because they say "This is America." And I don't know why. There have been customers that ask me why I speak Spanish. But because the store is for all that enter, you're not going to speak only English. It's necessary to speak everything.)

Rocío, the only participant to speak English at home, held a differing opinion on the importance of Spanish in a predominantly English-speaking country:

> *Yo creo que [los niños] deberían aprender a hablar inglés porque por ejemplo con las chicas con las que estaba, con las que trabajo, ellas no tienen intención de aprender el inglés. Están rodeadas de su familia y todos hablan español y eso es un...no no quieren, no quieren adaptarse a donde ellos se han mudado, a vivir.* (I believe that [children] should learn to speak English because for example, with the girls I work with, they have no intention of learning English. They are surrounded by their family who all speak Spanish and they don't want to adapt to where they have moved to live.)

Rocío is one of two participants married to a non-Peruvian. Her husband spoke only English. She considered learning English as a vital step toward "adapting" to life in the United States, and saw Spanish alone, as in the case of her coworkers, as a resistance to full membership in one's new country. Her comments reveal that she believes that her coworkers do not want to learn English, while Rocío herself may have embraced the ideology of English only.

It was in such discussions about English and Spanish occupying the same linguistic spaces where the topic of identity arose most frequently. These themes are discussed in the next section.

5.4.5 Language and identity

Participants provided anecdotal evidence that speaking only English is a way to achieve a more American identity, while speaking Spanish, though not necessarily monolingually, is key to retaining one's identity as a Peruvian. Yonel, a taxi driver in Paterson, talked about an encounter in which he tried speaking Spanish with someone he knew to be of Peruvian heritage:

> *Le estaba contando del chico peruano que no quería hablar español. Tiene papás peruanos y no habla español. He is Peruvian and all he was saying when I talked to him was "I'm American. I can't speak it, I'm born here, I can't speak it." ¡Pero entiende!" "I'm American," así me decía cuando yo le decía, "Háblame en español," yo le decía. No sé. Pero yo le hablaba a veces en español y el me respondía perfectamente.* (I was asking a Peruvian guy why he didn't want to speak Spanish. He has Peruvian parents and he doesn't speak Spanish. He is Peruvian, and all he was saying was, "I'm American. I can't speak it. I'm born here; I can't speak it." But he understands! "I'm American," is what he was telling me when I told him, "Speak to me in Spanish." I don't know. But I talked to him in Spanish sometimes and he responded to me perfectly.)

Yonel expected a child of Peruvian parents to speak Spanish, and was surprised when the American-born Peruvian only spoke to him in English. National identity is interwoven into this conversation, in both the label Yonel assigns to the interlocutor, and what the interlocutor assigns to himself. Yonel identifies him as Peruvian ("*un chico peruano")* and asserts that he *is* Peruvian, despite being born in the U.S., yet Yonel also quotes his interlocutor as claiming an

exclusively American identity. Yonel's surprise that a child of Peruvian parents would not speak Spanish could possibly be due to the length of time that he had been in the United States, five years, which is lower than the average for most study participants (approximately 13.8 years). However, this doesn't seem to be the whole story, since Roberto had spent over 35 years in the U.S. and made a similar remark: "*Conocí a un chico que tenía la cara más peruana que la papa. De verdad. Y no habla nada de español y todo inglés"* ("I met a guy that had a face that was more Peruvian than a potato. Really. And he didn't speak any Spanish, only English.") In Roberto's remark, phenotype, i.e. having a "Peruvian" face, was a clear sign of national identity, closely associated with speaking Spanish. For both Yonel and Roberto, it was difficult or even impossible to separate phenotype and ancestry from linguistic identity.

Zulema also described an observation of others consciously adopting a new linguistic identity in order to reinforce a desired national identity. She told the story of monolingual Spanish-speaking parents from Mexico who came into her clothing shop. Zulema addressed their young son in Spanish, when his mother asked her to speak only English with him. When she asked the mother why the child could not speak Spanish, she was met with the response that the father wanted the child to be raised as a *gringo*, and Spanish was a hindrance to the child's identity as American:

> *Su papá le dice que él es gringo y él no tiene por qué hablar español. Sino inglés." "Oh, okay." Boca cerrada. Como a los dos meses, viene el chiquito con un corte así como que te cuento, y su pelo de acá, como el color de tu pelo* [*rubio*]. *Mira. Y lo miro y le digo, "¡Qué lindo!" le digo. Y me dice, "No. El chico viene llorando de la escuela, me dice, "*Mom. *Mi papá dice-," en inglés, pues, ¿no? "¡que yo soy ameri-gringo! ¿Y por qué no tengo el pelo rubio como Robert?" Y dice que el señor le agarró de la mano, lo llevó al*

> *barber, y le cortó así y le pintó rubio.* (His father told him that he's a gringo and he doesn't need to speak Spanish. Just English. "Oh, okay," [I said]. I kept my mouth shut. Then after two months the boy comes in with a haircut, and his hair [blonde]. And I look at him and say, "How nice!" And [the mother] tells me, "No. The boy came home from school crying, he told me, "Mom, my dad says-" in English, of course- "that I'm *Ameri-gringo*. So why can't I have blonde hair like Robert?" And she said that the man took him by the hand, took him to the barber, and they cut his hair like that, and dyed it blonde.)

Zulema's story showed how this particular family felt that their son would be accepted as more American if he only spoke English in public, even with other Spanish-speakers. When it became clear that this wouldn't be enough, they took more drastic measures and went as far as to alter his physical appearance to match that of the monolingual English-speaking Caucasian children at his school. The invented term "Ameri-gringo" indicates that the parents desired for the child to fit in with the U.S. cultural and ethnic hegemonic ideology. In other words, looking as well as sounding like a white, monolingual English speaker was important to the child and his parents, who viewed these as traits of a true American.

Zulema was shocked that any parents would not want their children to know Spanish. She was proud of the language and wanted her daughter and grandson to continue using Spanish at home. Despite her 28 years in the United States, she considered herself to be Spanish dominant. So did her daughter, Isela, who came to the U.S. as a teenager and had been in the country for 15 years. She expanded on Zulema's story in her interview and disagreed with the idea of Spanish-speaking parents encouraging their children to speak English only. She talked about her own young child and her desire for him to know Spanish:

> *Hay gente que está acá que no quieren que sus hijos hablen español. Ellos viven en los Estados Unidos, quieren que hablen solamente el inglés. Por ejemplo nosotros, nosotros le hablamos en español aunque todavía no habla, ¿no? Pero vamos a inculcar el español. Porque el inglés va a vivir acá de todas maneras. Quiera o no lo va a aprender.* (There are people here that don't want their kids to speak Spanish. They live in the United States, they want them to only speak English. For example, we speak to [our son] in Spanish even though he doesn't speak yet. We want to instill Spanish in him because English will survive here no matter what. He will learn [English] whether he wants to or not.)

The attitudes of Zulema and her family are in line with census data about Peruvians in the U.S. and their home language. Most Peruvians continue to speak Spanish at home (80%), a rate considerably higher than all other Hispanics (66%). The ability to retain Spanish is most likely a reflection of having more education and more specialized job skills.

5.4.6 Language change

Participants were reluctant to say that the way they speak Spanish had changed over time after immigrating to the United States. Speaking differently than their counterparts in Peru might make them feel that they had lost part of their national identity. When asked if the way they spoke had changed since moving to the United States, a few participants replied that it had not: *No creo que haya cambiado. Pienso que es lo mismo. Tal vez el dejo. Un poco diferente.* (I don't believe [my Spanish] has changed. I think it's the same. Perhaps the accent is a little different.) However, several participants who initially felt that their Spanish had not changed, followed up with examples of the most recent time they traveled to Peru and how they were identified as foreigners, sometimes as soon as getting in the taxi at the airport. Zulema recounts:

Una vez un taxista me lleva, voy a sentar atrás, y el señor me queda mirando y me dice, "señora usted es de acá?" Le digo, "sí," le digo. "Ah ya," me dice. "No, es que soy de Amazonas," le dije yo. No le dije que vine de [los Estados Unidos], porque me daba miedo. ("Once a taxi picked me up, and I went to sit behind, and the man kept looking at me and said, "Ma'am are you from here? I said, "Yes." "Oh, right," he tells me. "No, it's that I'm from Amazonas," I told him. I didn't tell him that I came from the United States, because I was scared.")

As soon as Zulema got into the taxi in Lima, the driver realized that she was not Peruvian. When Zulema realized that her accent was indexing her as a foreigner, she lied and told the taxi driver that she was from Amazonas, a region in northern Peru that borders Ecuador. She wanted the driver to attribute her "foreign" accent to being from a different region of Peru, not from the United States. Those coming from the U.S. are considered wealthy and easy to swindle because of unfamiliarity with the area and the culture. She most likely expected to be taken advantage of and charged an unfair rate unless the driver was convinced she was Peruvian. She may have even feared being robbed.

Like Zulema, Maribel also traveled back to Peru and described how she had to convince others that she was not foreign:

Cuando he viajado, hay personas que nosotros cuando vamos a decir de dónde venimos, y me dice este, "Ay, usted no es de aquí," me dice. Y le digo, "Sí, sí soy una peruana," le digo, "yo vivo aquí en el Perú." Y me dice, "No, porque su forma de hablar es diferente." "¿Cómo es diferente?" Me dice, "No, porque tu hablas diferente, nosotros hablamos diferente." ...Porque dicen que este el modo de hablar o sea los peruanos hablan un poquito cantando, yo no he entendido eso. No, nunca, no... debe ser que hablo

con gente de otros países y se te queda un poquito. Debe ser eso. (When I have traveled, there are people that when we go to say where we came from, they say, "Oh, you're not from here," they say. And I tell them, "Yes, yes I am a Peruvian," I say, "I live here in Peru." "And they tell me, "No, your way of speaking is different." [I say,] "How is it different?" They tell me, "No, because you speak differently, we speak differently." Because they say that Peruvians talk a little as if they're singing, and I haven't understood that. Never. It must be that I speak with people from other countries and what they say sticks with you. It must be that.)

Just as Zulema was reluctant to admit that time in the U.S. made her somehow "different" from her counterparts in Peru, Maribel also insisted that she was "from here," here meaning Peru, though she had left the country as a young teenager. Trips back to Peru after time in the U.S. caused them to realize that they indeed had changed as a result of their new community.

Yonel shared a similar story of how Peruvians thought he was foreign when he did something as simple as try to purchase a drink:

> *...nosotros estamos acostumbrados, igual, mecanizamos el quechua con español, y nosotros el inglés con español. Cuando decimos, "Soda, soda," es la gaseosa. Tú me entiendes. Y se confunden. Y yo digo, "Me das dos sodas por favor," entonces en Perú son las galletas, son Soda. Y me dan dos Sodas. "No, oh shit, no la gaseosa, perdón," le digo.* (We are used to using Quechua with Spanish, and English with Spanish. When we say, "Soda, soda," it's really *gaseosa*. You understand me. And they get confused. And I say, "Give me two sodas please," but in Peru [Sodas] are the crackers, they are Soda. So they give me two Soda [crackers]. "No, oh shit, no the *gaseosa*, sorry," I say.

Yonel drew parallels between code-switching and borrowing between languages in Peru and the U.S.. He was using the term ‘soda,’ to ask for a carbonated beverage in Peru because among Spanish and English speakers in the Paterson area, ‘soda’ is the accepted term. In Peru, Soda is a brand of crackers; only the term *gaseosa* refers to a carbonated beverage. Yonel remembered the “correct” term only after being given the wrong item and switched codes.

Isela claimed that Peruvians in Peru know when someone had spent time in the United States before even hearing any speech: “*Se dan cuenta. Pero no se dan cuenta por la hablada, dicen cosas como que, “Hueles diferente. Hueles a nuevo.””* (“They realize. But they don’t realize because of one’s speech; they say things like, “You smell different. You smell new.””)

Those that agreed their language had changed gave specific examples of things they say now that they did not used to say when they first relocated to the United States. These are presented in Table 5-4.

Table 5-4. Lexical change through English influence

New word/phrase	Standard Spanish or Peruvian equivalent
Okay.	Sí/Bueno/Bien/Vale
Soda	Gaseosa
Printear ‘to print’	Imprimir
Parquear ‘to park’	Estacionar
Schedule	Horario
Te llamo para atrás. ‘I’ll call you back.’	Te devuelvo la llamada/ Te llamo luego.
Estoy encojonado. ‘I’m angry.’	Estoy enojado.

Interestingly, some of the words (*soda, schedule*) are directly from English, while others come from English and other varieties of Spanish (*printear, parquear, para atrás, encojonado*).

In some cases, the dialect shift was apparent not from what the participants said explicitly, but from what they did in the course of the interview. For example, Alejandro and Álvaro's interview revealed a discrepancy between reported language use and actual use. Alejandro replied that his Spanish had not changed at all, to which Álvaro quickly interjected and provided me with his account of how Alejandro's Spanish had changed significantly in only a short amount of time:

> *[Él] ha sumado algunos vicios del lenguaje, unas jergas. Él sí ha cambiado en su corto tiempo, que yo lo conozco poco tiempo pero en tres años ha empezado a hablar mucho más mexicano. Usa bastante jerga mexicana. Suena diferente, su léxico. El tono también ya está cambiando. Pero yo no.* (He's acquired a few bad language habits, some slang. He has changed in his short time here, I've known him for a short time, but in three years he has started to speak much more Mexican. He uses a lot of Mexican slang. His words sound different. The tone is also changing. But I haven't changed.)

Álvaro not only reported that Alejandro's speech had changed, but also gave specific ways in which it had changed in his three years in the U.S. as a result of daily contact with other dialects of Spanish at work. They both worked as freelance construction workers, advertising for themselves in the parking lots of local home improvement stores. Alejandro reported that he rarely worked with other Peruvians, but rather with Mexicans and Dominicans. Álvaro proudly commented that his own Spanish had not changed, to which Alejandro did not comment. Their relationship may explain Alejandro's silence; Álvaro was older and had spent more time in the U.S. than Alejandro.

Two participants, Cristóbal and Isela, believed that their Spanish had become markedly worse as a result of living away from Peru. Cristóbal thought that his own Spanish had changed from a Peruvian variety to a more neutral and intelligible dialect, which made it worse in his opinion: "*Mi español es malo en conversación, tanto escribiendo y leyendo. Ahora es más internacional."* ("My Spanish is bad in conversation, as well as in writing and reading. Now it's more international.") The question made Isela start to monitor even her own response to the question as to whether she felt her Spanish had changed: *Oh, sí. Ha cambiado para peor. Bien, en lo que acabo de decir. "Para peor."* ("Oh, yes. It has changed for the worse. Well, in what I've just said. For the worse.") In expressing that she felt her Spanish had changed for the worse, she used the phrase *para peor*, which is similar to the way the same idea is expressed in English. Though *para peor* is used in many dialects of Spanish, it is possible that Isela's bilingualism and time in the United States made her feel paranoid about pervasive English influence. Her way of expressing the idea would be most likely understood by Spanish speakers in her speech community; however, because she perceived it as a non-standard expression, she saw it as something that made her Spanish worse.

Dora was the only participant to believe that her Spanish had become better as a result of living in Paterson: "*Algunas cosas, he mejorado. Porque hay algunas palabras que he aprendido a usarlas correctamente y no las usaba en Perú. Porque en Perú era más...creo que he aprendido a ser más respetuosa.*" ("Some things I have improved. Because there are some words that I have learned to use correctly and I didn't use them in Peru. Because in Peru I was more...I think I have learned to be more respectful.") It is important to mention that Dora used mostly Quechua at home with her mother, and Spanish with her siblings. As mentioned in Section 1, previous studies on dialects of Spanish in Peru have shown a preference toward varieties of

Spanish spoken in Lima and a disdain for those varieties spoken by those that also speak Quechua (De los Heros, 2001; 2007; Placencia, 2001). It could be for this reason that Dora felt that her Spanish was improving, as in Peru she spoke a variety of little social prestige.

Lourdes, Dora's sister, was more unsure of changes in her own language use:

> *No, no lo sé.... sí, un poco porque por ejemplo, en mi trabajo yo lo hablo casi mayormente inglés, inglés, inglés, en mi país y casi toda la vida español, siempre es español entre todos. Me tendría que decir alguien que escucha mi español. Nadie me ha dicho nada. Sé que ha cambiado, pero yo no sé cómo.* (No, I don't know...yes, a little because for example, at work I speak mostly English, English, English, and in my country and almost all of my life [I spoke] Spanish. It's always Spanish between everyone. Someone that listens to my Spanish would have to tell me. Nobody has told me anything. I know that I've changed, but I don't know how.")

Lourdes' response showed that she did not consider contact with non-Peruvian dialects of Spanish as the force driving her own language change, but rather contact with English.

5.5 Discussion

This section examined the role of language in maintaining Peruvian identity as well as whether and how Peruvians in the United States use language to perform their national identity. It also set out to ascertain the attitudes that Peruvians in Paterson hold toward their own and other varieties of Spanish in their community. The results revealed strong preferences toward Peruvian varieties of Spanish, competing attitudes toward Peruvian slang, unplanned linguistic convergence, and mixed ideologies on English proficiency. More importantly, comments about what it means to belong to the Peruvian diaspora appeared in interview responses and included not only different aspects of language use, but even phenotype.

Peruvian Spanish was touted by most participants not only as a "best" variety, but also as a standard variety. It was described as "normal" Spanish in comparison with other varieties. Participants' reasons for this belief ranged from Peru's early history with Spain, to the erroneous idea that Peruvian Spanish does not possess the markers of other varieties, such as changes in pitch and tone, consonantal aspiration, and/or lexical variation. When a variety was cited as an undesirable dialect of Spanish, it was because the participants believed that the variety had too much slang, sounded too uneducated, was spoken too quickly, or was too far removed from what he or she believed to be "original" Spanish. Among these varieties were Dominican, Central American, and Mexican Spanish. Non-coincidentally, these varieties also tended to belong to groups that were socially or ethnically marginalized in the United States, and in Latin America as well, such as Afro-Hispanics or mestizos with clear indigenous traits.

Generally, participants expressed that the only negative aspect of Peruvian dialects of Spanish was the use of *jerga*, slang terminology. Participants (Yonel and Isela) mentioned that slang should be used in certain contexts and only with close friends or family. Isela hinted at this idea when commenting that close family members use slang frequently, something that she accepted, but labeled as Spanish that was not "clean."

Using *jerga* was not a factor that increased a sense of membership in the Peruvian diaspora. Instead, it was seen as a linguistic trait that placed Peruvians in the same category as non-Peruvians in the Paterson community who were thought to speak less desirable varieties of Spanish. Regardless of nationality, *jerga* was considered a bad habit, a marker of poor education, and a factor that impeded comprehensibility. The reported abandonment of *jerga* did not necessarily make participants feel more Peruvian; however, their comments revealed that not

using slang dissociated them with Spanish-speaking groups whose Spanish they considered as less desirable.

Participants discussed the linguistic convergence of which they were aware. This included adapting speech and omitting features of one's dialect that were known from personal experience to cause confusion with other Spanish speakers. Examples of this included words with more than one meaning such as *bicho*, *china,* and *pendejo,* while others (*palta, gaseosa*) simply did not exist in other dialects. Finally, other words such as *parquear*, *soda*, and *printear* were clearly identified as examples of the influence of the English language in Paterson's Spanish speech community.

Avoiding confusion was not the only reason why participants altered their speech, with some choosing to adapt speech so as to fit in with a certain social class. Others claimed not to use Peruvian slang for the simple reason that they wanted to be understood.

Some participants commented that their speech had evolved to reflect local varieties of Spanish after time in the U.S. and that trips back to Peru made them more aware of how much their speech had changed. In two cases (Zulema and Maribel), participants found themselves having to defend their Peruvian nationality while in Peru because they did not look, sound, or even 'smell' Peruvian.

In addition to the participants' own opinions about language change, the interviews provided further examples of convergence that participants did not specifically mention, such as code-switching, or the use of non-Peruvian lexicon. This occurred through sporadic words or phrases in English. Participants were also found to perform dialects of Spanish when reporting conversations with others in the community. When describing others' speech, participants reported it as they remembered it, imitating the dialect of the interlocutor. Participants mimicked

salient phonological and lexical features of various dialects. This shows exposure to a variety of different dialects in their community and a perceived position as distinct from these other groups of Spanish-speakers.

As discussed in Section 1, according to the Census Peruvians as a whole have more English proficiency than other Hispanics, but simultaneously, they were also more likely to use Spanish as a household language. The latter was borne out by all participants, except for Rocío. However, most reported having little English proficiency. The discrepancy between this information and the census data is likely due to the nature of Paterson as a Peruvian enclave: most day-to-day interactions in and around Paterson's Peru Square are in Spanish.

While English is nearly absent from the linguistic landscape of Paterson, participant interviews revealed that for many, English was necessary for work. However, many spoke Spanish even at work, though not without criticism from Anglo English speakers. Some workplaces enforced an English-only policy, while other participants were allowed to speak Spanish even if they felt disapproval from customers. The only outlier when it came to ideas about language maintenance was Rocío, who was married to an Anglo-American man. She saw English as the standard to which all newcomers need to adapt, perhaps at the expense of Spanish. However, others spoke Spanish even at work, though not without criticism from Anglo English speakers. Some workplaces enforced an English-only policy, while other participants were allowed to speak Spanish even if they felt disapproval from customers.

While participants did not express any negative attitudes toward learning English, a common theme from interviews was the disappointment and disbelief that participants expressed when encountering someone that had "lost" his or her Spanish proficiency at the expense of English. For Yonel and Roberto, one should speak Spanish if one looks Peruvian and has

Peruvian parents. Spanish was an integral part of identity as a Peruvian, and losing proficiency or never learning Spanish was met with disapproval. Participants reported the same disapproval for other ethnicities that were expected to be Spanish-speaking, as demonstrated in Zulema's anecdote of the young child and his Spanish-speaking parents.

The following section of this dissertation compares the findings of Study 2 with those of Study 1 and analyzes these findings in light of relevant literature. It bridges the gap between the two studies and makes the connections between the online and offline environments that in several ways are not unlike one another.

6. DISCUSSION OF STUDIES 1 AND 2

6.1 Chapter overview

This section compares the online and onsite studies. It examines the language use and attitudes reflected through the two methods of data elicitation, highlighting their similarities and differences and discussing these comparisons in relation to relevant literature on minority language use.

6.2 Similarities

Even though the online and offline samples were two separate sets of the Peruvian diaspora, they still shared features. In many ways, the ideas expressed on *Being Peruvian* were an extension of those expressed during the face-to-face interviews in Paterson, supporting previous research that advocates that the two settings are not separate spheres of reality (Ellison et al., 2007; Cunliffe et al., 2013; Wagner, 2013). Topics of discussion were similar, even though online participants were not prompted via interviews but simply observed as they posted comments. The next sections describe the commonalities of the two studies.

6.2.1 Castellano vs. español

Users of *Being Peruvian* and Paterson interviewees alike stated that they feel that their dialect is actually *castellano,* and not Spanish at all. At no point does anyone offer an in-depth explanation of what *castellano* is, nor how it differs from Spanish. In both study settings, the topic arose without a specific prompt about the term *castellano*. In *Being Peruvian*, the comments about *castellano* appeared on edited content that commented on how non-Peruvians ask if Peruvians speak “Peruvian,” highlighting the misconception that there is an official language called

‘Peruvian.’ Onsite participants discussed *castellano* even when there was no specific interview question about this. *Castellano* was positioned as some sort of standard language that Peruvian Spanish nearly achieves; it was also described as the language that Peruvians speak. Referring to their own dialect as *castellano* in both studies served to separate Peruvian Spanish speakers from other Spanish speakers in the U.S. and the rest of the world.

6.2.2 Dialect and identity

In both online and onsite environments, imitation of other dialects of Spanish occurred to some degree. Of course, written imitation as observed on *Being Peruvian* was limited to lexical differences, whereas interviews in Paterson allowed for observation of imitated lexical and phonetic qualities. In both cases, the ‘performance’ of other dialects of Spanish revealed with whom the participants have contact. Online, there were only comments that represented Mexican Spanish, and these instances were limited to single words and phrases, e.g. güey*; carnal; no mamen weyes* [sic]. Paterson participants mimicked both lexical and phonological properties of a wider array of varieties, including Dominican, Cuban, Mexican, and Colombian Spanish. The lexical representation of other varieties included words such as *encojonado* ‘angry,’ *pendejo,* ‘idiot,’ and phrases like *“¿Qué hubo?” ‘*What’s going on?’ The phonological representations included the intervocalic elision of /d/, such as in the word *encojonado* ‘angry,’ producing *encojona’o* /ɛŋkoxonao/, /r/ lateralization in “Enrique Martinez” /enrike maltines/, and /s/ aspiration in words such as *estamos* ‘we are,’ producing *ehtamoh* /e^{h}tamo^{h}/, especially when imitating Caribbean dialects of Spanish.

The fact that online comments only mimicked Mexican Spanish most likely reflects the reality of many Peruvians in the United States, which is that they are most familiar with the dialect of the group that makes up the majority of Hispanics in the U.S., Mexicans. As was

discussed in Chapter 1, only a few areas of the country have become enclaves for the diaspora (Paterson, Miami, Los Angeles). Though Paterson is a Peruvian enclave, a third of the city's Hispanic population is still composed of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans. If the heterogeneity of Paterson's Hispanic population were not enough, its geographic proximity to New York City puts Peruvians in even more contact with speakers of many dialects of Spanish.

Imitating other dialects of Spanish in both *Being Peruvian* and Paterson served to demonstrate knowledge of other dialects, often in a humorous way. In a sense, it also demonstrated knowledge of one's own dialect, creating an in-group and an out-group. This was seen in a *Being Peruvian* comment that combined Mexican "*No mames güey*" 'No way,' and Peruvian particle "*pe*" to create *"No mames pe."*

Zentella (2003) discussed such wordplay between dialects, asserting that its purpose is to transcend national boundaries to reaffirm how a certain group says things and to share the dialect with a wider audience. She also asserts that in areas where varied dialects of Spanish are spoken, speakers demonstrate lexical and phonological features in pan-Latino ways that "reinforce positive identification with other Spanish speakers" (p. 59). As described in this section, participants demonstrated lexical and phonological features of other dialects through imitation. However, the findings of Study 2 in Paterson did not completely support the idea of the positive pan-Latino identification that Zentella (2003) describes. Instead, several varieties were at the receiving end of jokes and negative stereotypes. In Paterson interviews, imitation of Caribbean dialects of Spanish appeared in anecdotes in which speakers of these varieties were represented unfavorably. Adding to this, the descriptors that Paterson participants assigned to other varieties of Spanish confirmed an underlying antipathy to these varieties, citing Dominican Spanish and Central American Spanish as vulgar, incomprehensible, and uneducated-sounding.

The negative descriptors of Dominican and Central American Spanish are not attitudes unique to the Peruvian diaspora. In the case of Dominican Spanish, the attitudes most likely stem from deep-seated racism that took root even before the Dominican Republic became a sovereign state in the mid-19th century (Torres-Saillant, 1998). Power struggles between Spain and the Dominican Republic continued into the late 19th century, with the point of contention being that the Spanish wanted to reinstate slavery on the island. Though Dominicans recovered sovereignty, the ideology that those with African and mixed ancestry were inferior beings still prevailed in Spain and in other colonial countries. Dominicans' blackness was even a factor when the United States was considering granting official recognition to the island's sovereignty, and again when the U.S. considered annexation (Torres-Saillant, 1998: 128). Today, Dominican Spanish, culture, and phenotype carry vestigial traits of African heritage, a reminder of their nation's history (Lipski & Schwegler, 1993; Magenney, 1990).

Though Central Americans do not have the same history as Dominicans, their demographic composition may be to blame for the negative attitudes expressed toward them by Peruvians in this study. Central American migrants come with less education than other Hispanic groups and are often fleeing financial insecurity, crop failure, gang violence, and corruption (Batalova, Bolter, & O'Connor, 2019). Nearly 70% of Central Americans in the U.S. are from El Salvador (39.7%) and Guatemala (27.2%). Most Central American immigrants have limited English proficiency (77%) and nearly half (47%) have less than a high school diploma. Central American immigrants are also more likely than other immigrants in the U.S. to live in poverty, with 19% at or below the poverty line (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017).

Freely expressing a negative identification with other dialects of Spanish could be due to (1) the nature of *Being Peruvian* as being mostly for a Peruvian-identifying audience, and (2) the

nature of Paterson as a Peruvian enclave. In both cases, participants are in a setting with other in-group members and not “performing” for Hispanics of other nationalities. The setting of *Being Peruvian* and the interviews in Paterson provided participants with a sense of anonymity or cover, i.e. an Internet group full of relative strangers and a physical community comprised mostly of Peruvians among whom the views are probably shared.

Representing other dialects through writing and speech reveals a sense of identity that is in line with Mayer’s (2004) notions of pan-Latinidad. She uses the U.S. Argentine diaspora as an example of a Hispanic group that is demographically distinct from other Spanish-speakers and rejects the homogenization that a pan-Latino label suggests. Instead, she suggests that focusing on “New Diaspora” research would “reveal how individuals accept, resist, and modify their identities as “Latinos” within the everyday spaces that are rarely observed in communication research” (p. 120). The present studies of Peruvian identity online in *Being Peruvian* and Paterson examine these spaces that have gone unobserved and suggest a reexamination of pan-Latinidad.

6.3 Differences

Though the two studies do not represent separate spheres of reality, i.e. offline and online, reported linguistic attitudes and behaviors differed in some ways between the two samples. Some differences can be attributed to the availability or absence of other Peruvians in a physical environment, while other differences have more to do with generation and language proficiency. The following sections discuss such differences in more detail.

6.3.1 Markers of national identity

Being Peruvian's online platform allowed members to discuss language metalinguistically in a way that the onsite participants did not. Language online is permanent; comments remain visible to all in the community unless the commenter or administrator deletes them. The permanence of the written record in an asynchronous environment creates a heightened awareness of language that is impossible in fleeting face-to-face interaction. As a result, users have more control over their own identity as expressed through language.

Unlike participants in an online environment, members of a physical community rely on markers of national identity that cannot be conveyed in an online environment, such as accent, intonation, or gestures. A physical environment also allows for extralinguistic markers of national identity or belonging to a certain speech community, such as music, clothing, or cultural objects.

Physical markers of national and linguistic identity fit within Michael Billig's (1995) concept of banal nationalism. Banal nationalism encompasses the idea that one's nationality and even the very notion of national identity depends not on overt displays of patriotism, but routine, everyday, "banal" displays of nationality. Objects that represent a nation found in mundane places, such as flags flown on public buildings or emblazoned on shop windows, embed notions of national identity in the collective consciousness of a society.

Non-linguistic markers of identity were observed frequently in Paterson, from *huayno* music and rear view mirror hangings in vehicles, to T-shirts (Figure 6-1 through Figure 6-4). Though Peru boasts several unique genres of music, *huayno* is distinctly Peruvian and is strongly connected with Andean culture. After Yonel's interview, he and his sister gave me a ride to

where I was staying. On the trip, he played popular *huayno* songs with the windows down, sending a clear message of national identity to anyone in the streets that overheard.

Rearview mirrors also served as a canvas to display national identity. In Paterson, it was common to see small flags of various Spanish-speaking countries hanging from them. This was the case with the Peruvian participants as well. One participant had a Peruvian flag and a *chullo*, a Peruvian hat, on display. Another also had a *chullo,* along with a *cholita* doll, fashioned after indigenous Andean women's clothing and hairstyle (Figure 6-1).

Figure 6-1. A Peruvian *cholita* doll hanging from a participant's rearview mirror

Figure 6-2. The Peruvian flag and a toy *chullo,* a Peruvian hat, hanging from a participant's rearview mirror

Figure 6-3. Paterson participant's Perú shirt: "*Yo quiero mi Perú, con su cebichito, sus anticuchos, su pisco y su gente que son de la concha de su madre*" 'I love my Peru, with its ceviche, its anticuchos, its pisco and its fucking people'

Figure 6-4. Peru's official logo, created by British design firm FutureBrand, on a restaurant window in Paterson

Overall, the banal displays of nationalism filled in the gaps that language alone could not cover. They served as a way for others to be able to quickly index the individual as Peruvian, as their nationality may have not been recognized through language alone. Online, an edited post commented on how Peruvians know the slang of other dialects of Spanish, insinuating that nobody knows Peruvian slang except for other Peruvians. Onsite, a participant (Isela) mentioned that she saw no point in using lexicon unique to Peru, because nobody else would understand it. Thus, many Peruvians in the United States cannot display dialect as a marker indicative of nationality unless speaking to other Peruvians. The visual channel then becomes an important marker of a national identity, making up for the concessions and accommodations the speakers have had to make to their new surroundings.

6.3.2 Population density

A major purpose of *Being Peruvian* was bringing members of the Peruvian diaspora together in the absence of physical communities. This purpose was evident in the edited content and the

comments from page followers. The exact demographic composition of commenters in *Being Peruvian* is not known. However, there were several indicators that commenters were mostly first-generation Peruvians in the U.S., including frequent mentions of Peruvian-born parents and the hashtag #GrowingUpPeruvian (Figure 6-5).

Figure 6-5. #GrowingupPeruvian

In addition to *Being Peruvian* users' position as first generation Peruvians in the United States, many also had in common that they had limited access to others in the Peruvian diaspora, or that such encounters were rare. This limited access to others that share the same culture and dialect contrasts greatly with the reality of Study 2 participants in Paterson. Paterson's Peruvian grocery stores, restaurants, clothing stores, and other Peruvian-owned businesses put participants in close proximity with others in the diaspora on a daily basis.

6.3.3 Language Choice

The geographic proximity to or distance from other diaspora members most likely explains the discrepancy in language choice. For the most part, online communication was in English (73.6% of edited content). Page followers were bilinguals, with rare comments voicing concern about content about Peru being posted in English instead of Spanish. Conversely, all participants in Paterson opted to do the interviews in Spanish.

6.3.4 Bilingualism

Bilingualism was not widely discussed during onsite interviews. This was in part because the participants did not see themselves as bilinguals. When bilingualism in Spanish and English was discussed, it mostly pertained to the participants' children. García and colleagues (1988: 497) suggested that South Americans are less likely to report using both Spanish and English because this is a characteristic of more racially marked Hispanics, such as Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, whose history with the United States extends farther back than more recently arrived groups such as Peruvians. That said, online users in Study 1 communicated primarily in English, most likely because of their status as first- and second- generation Peruvians in the U.S. and/or weaker writing skills in Spanish. Study 2 participants, regardless of years in the U.S. and amount of exposure to the English language, reported Spanish as their dominant language and low proficiency in English. This was the case even for even those that had to use English at work. This finding supports the idea that being bilingual in English is associated in the minds of Peruvians with varieties of Spanish that Peruvians in Paterson found less desirable, e.g. Dominican Spanish (Garcia et al., 1988). However, as Section 5 showed, during interviews participants both used and reported using Spanish influenced by English, e.g. *parkear, printear,* schedule, etc.

Online, bilingualism was a uniting factor; both English and Spanish had a place in *Being Peruvian*. By contrast, in Paterson, Spanish dominated daily interactions in the community. Interacting in English on *Being Peruvian* would not immediately mark one as an outsider, but in Paterson, English does raise eyebrows, especially when spoken by those who "look" Hispanic.

Similarly, there were few discussions about varieties of Peruvian Spanish in the Paterson study. This was not an interview prompt, so it was not expected for participants to discuss this topic. Indeed, only one participant mentioned that Peruvians from the north speak differently, and another mentioned that he thought people from an affluent area in Lima used the word "popcorn" instead of *canchita*.

Language choice and code-switching on *Being Peruvian* functioned as a gatekeeping strategy to limit the community to members of the U.S. Peruvian diaspora. To enjoy full belonging in the group and to decode edited content, members needed to posess linguistic competence in Peruvian Spanish and English. Zentella (2003) reported a similar phenomenon when discussing Spanish-English bilinguals, noting specifically that the ability to switch between two languages is a "badge of authentic membership in two worlds" (p. 56). She also mentioned that bilinguals use both languages for heightened effect, meaning that both languages together can communicate ideas that neither could do alone. Figure 6-6 demonstrates how English and Peruvian Spanish work together in an example of edited content to appeal to bilingual and bicultural page followers.

Figure 6-6. English and Spanish for effect**:** #growingupperuvian when your mom hits you with the "*tu eres o te haces*" 'Are you stupid or just pretending?' (Being Peruvian)

The image contains the hashtag in English, #growingupperuvian, which when activated links to other edited content about Peruvian experiences. The part written in English, "When your mom hits you with the…" borrows its wording from a series of memes in English with the same theme (Figure 6-7).

Figure 6-7. English language meme format (Reddit meme, 2019)

The English language connects *Being Peruvian* content with mainstream Internet trends. Meanwhile, the Spanish "*te eres o te haces,"* 'Are you stupid or just pretending?' evokes a shared cultural experience, i.e., it is a phrase page followers have heard their mothers say. The presence of Spanish in memes that are already popular in English heightens the effect of the material, allowing it to resonate with a specific group more than if it were composed of either language alone.

While the use of Spanish and English enhanced communication in *Being Peruvian*, it is also important to note that dialect played an exclusionary role on the site. Page followers exhibited English and Peruvian Spanish as evidence of membership in two worlds, but language use on the site did not serve to create community among all Spanish-speakers. It did the contrary, including Peruvians and excluding other Spanish speakers through nuanced cultural references and lesser-known features of Peruvian dialects (Figure 6-8).

Figure 6-8. Reference to "San Martincito," a whip to discipline children

A *San Martín* is a type of *chicote*, a whip, often used for disciplining school-aged children. It is probable that edited content that mentioning the *San Martín* would not carry any significance to Spanish-speakers not familiar with Peruvian culture. Furthermore, the edited content did not provide any explanation for those unfamiliar with the *San Martín*. In this way, such content excludes non-Peruvians and creates an in-group for those who speak English, Spanish, and know the subtleties of Peruvian customs and culture.

6.3.5 Attitudes toward slang

The two environments differed in the reported attitudes toward slang. Online, slang was used frequently in ways that performed the dialect. Slang was used as a linguistic display for the

whole *Being Peruvian* community and served to strengthen membership and "Peruvianness." Two comments in particular reflected the significance of slang to national identity: "I only knew of two [official Peruvian languages]. I thought the third was *jerga,*" and "*Ay, me alegro ser peruana. Hace años que no escucho las jergas.*" (I'm happy to be Peruvian. It's been years since I have heard slang.) In most cases, the use of slang was exaggerated and often not directed toward any specific page follower. Instead, it functioned as a display of knowledge of linguistic features of Peruvian Spanish that are mostly incomprehensible to the rest of the Spanish-speaking world.

Though online slang was displayed frequently in comments on edited posts, some page followers disagreed with its frequent usage, associating this language with poor neighborhoods in Lima and a lack of education. However, overall in *Being Peruvian*, knowing all the slang terms and using them humorously was an effective way in the community to affirm national identity and belonging.

Unlike the online study, in Paterson slang was widely reported as a feature of Peruvian Spanish that tarnished the dialect and hindered it from being "perfect" Spanish. Most participants reported negative attitudes toward its usage, and only one participant (Yonel) commented that there is a time and place for slang and it should not be used all of the time.

The discrepancy in the attitudes toward slang use in Peruvian Spanish can most likely be attributed to the differences in the demographic characteristics of the study samples. At a glance, content on *Being Peruvian* suggests that the page is geared toward young Peruvian bilinguals. Paterson participants did not fit this description for the most part, and there was little crossover between the two groups. Though some participants reported that they routinely find out about Peruvian events through social media, only one participant (Lourdes) reported being a member

of *Being Peruvian*. Lourdes was one of the younger participants (26 years old) and reported frequently speaking English with coworkers. She was one of the few participants to code-switch during interviews. Her membership in *Being Peruvian* is indicative that the page indeed is composed of young Peruvian bilinguals, unlike most of the Paterson participants who mostly reported monolingualism in Spanish.

Another possibility for the differences in attitudes toward slang is the influence of a foreign interviewer. Paterson respondents may have been unsure of the personal views of both the interviewer and in some cases, other people overhearing their comments. In addition, questions about language naturally drew participants' attention to the way they were speaking, resulting in participants reporting the way they think they should speak, versus how they actually speak. Regardless, reported usage still provides valuable insights into language attitudes and ideology.

6.3.6 Spanish proficiency

Online there were few comments about Spanish proficiency, and each comment referred to a conversation about proficiency that took place outside of the online environment. One commenter talked about family members losing Spanish after the family relocated to the United States: "My sister [was] born in U.S. When I came to live in [the] US with them, my sister told me: I don't speak Peruvian." This comment and others touch on language proficiency; however, users rarely directed comments to other page followers about his or her own proficiency. In all of the comments and edited content collected, only one edited post prompted comments about the page administrator's Spanish proficiency. In a post, the page administrator referred to *kiwicha* 'amaranth,' as *amaranto*, prompting comments such as "*este administrador no es peruano no habla bien el* spanish." ("This administrator isn't Peruvian he doesn't speak Spanish well.")

Interestingly, this comment critiquing the administrator's Spanish was not written following standard Spanish writing conventions and even used the English word "Spanish" instead of *español.* Thus, the main criterion for speaking Spanish well was not replacing terms unique to Peru with terms from other varieties. Other than the issues with the administrator posting using lexicon from non-Peruvian varieties of Spanish, there were no collected instances of commenters correcting one another in either Spanish or English.

The online environment provided only a small window into each commenter's language proficiency, a stark difference from synchronous face-to-face communication where one's words are not so easily curated. As observed in Paterson interviews, those with little or no proficiency in Spanish are described as less Peruvian than those that do speak the language. *Being Peruvian* provided page followers with a safe place to use writing to communicate in both English and Spanish, the latter of which they may have only heard spoken and may feel insecure about writing. Writing can serve to raise consciousness and strengthen one's sense of self (Ong, 1982: p. 174); and that is what it did in *Being Peruvian.* Through membership in a Peruvian page based on written communication, page followers could use language to assert national identity without others deciding their Peruvianness based on Spanish proficiency, accent, phenotype, or other markers.

As mentioned, Spanish proficiency was cited as a marker of Peruvianness among Paterson respondents. All participants preferred to do the interviews in Spanish and more closely identified with Spanish rather than English. Several comments indicated that losing Spanish proficiency also meant losing one's identity as a Peruvian, and this was especially true for those who were phenotypically Peruvian, i.e. darker skin. Interview comments revealed a sense of disappointment and disbelief when attempting to speak Spanish with someone who "looks

Peruvian," only to be met with a response in English. Johnathan Rosa (2019: p. 149) discusses similar occurrences of how the ethnoracial makeup of Latinos and Latinas in the U.S. causes others to imagine them to speak Spanish regardless of their actual Spanish proficiency. This is what occurred among Peruvians in Paterson; however, the anecdotes participants shared indicated that the Peruvian label was ascribed not simply to those who looked Latino, but to those possessing physical features common of Andean populations: black hair, high cheekbones, and dark skin.

Paterson participants have a greater chance of maintaining the Spanish language than Peruvians in the U.S. that do not live in an enclave, as is the case with many members of *Being Peruvian*. Attinasi (1979: 31) posits that ethnic density is a key factor in explaining continued language use and positive attitudes toward Spanish. The number of Peruvians in Paterson most likely explains participants' continued use of Spanish and positive attitudes toward the Peruvian variety. While in *Being Peruvian* English was the primary language of communication, members exhibited positive attitudes toward Peruvian dialects and performed these dialects often for humorous effect. This suggests that *Being Peruvian* creates a sense of "ethnic density" in an online environment that does not exist in members' physical environments.

6.4 Conclusion

As observed in this section, analyses of the language attitudes of the two study samples revealed that they are two distinct sets of the U.S. Peruvian population, especially in terms of English proficiency. Nonetheless, the two studies complement each other to provide a more holistic view of the U.S. Peruvian diaspora that neither could do alone.

Being Peruvian was a rich data source of linguistic behavior online, and was expected to be an extension of attitudes held by physical communities of Peruvians in the United States

(Cunliffe et al., 2013; Ellison et al., 2007). In many ways, the attitudes expressed in *Being Peruvian* echoed those of Paterson participants, mainly in the sentiments about their own varieties of Spanish and non-Peruvian varieties. In both studies, non-Peruvian Spanish was discussed with some degree of hostility, while Peruvian Spanish was celebrated. In both studies, language was also an important marker of Peruvianness, though the two environments functioned under different assumptions of acceptable language use. Online, bilingualism was widely accepted and comments only in Spanish were less frequent than those in English and in both Spanish and English. Mistakes in Spanish were rarely criticized, with the only instances not actually being mistakes but instead instances of using a non-Peruvian word. In Paterson, Spanish was an expected characteristic of the Peruvian diaspora, with English use lessening how Peruvian respondents viewed another person.

The following section summarizes the entirety of this work and its findings. It also concludes with an evaluation of the study, discussing its strengths, weaknesses, implications and possibilities for future research.

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Section overview

This conclusion summarizes the previous sections, focusing on the data gathered online and in Paterson and places this information in relation to the research questions discussed at the beginning of the study. The section then discusses the significance of the study and what it reveals about Spanish in the United States and less common dialects that are in contact with a larger speech community. Finally, it discusses limitations and areas for future research that this study prompts.

7.2 Summary of previous sections

Section 1 introduces the research questions about the role of language in the national identity of the U.S. Peruvian diaspora and if and how this group "performs" national identity through language. In addition, it introduces a snapshot of the two study populations, members of *Being Peruvian* and Peruvians in Paterson, New Jersey. Section 1 discusses Peru's ethnic and linguistic makeup and provides a brief history of both internal and international migration. It covers the major push and pull factors that influence Peruvian migration to the U.S., Argentina, Chile, Spain, Italy, and Japan. Section 1 also provides an overview of the Peruvian diaspora in the U.S. via Census data on age, sex, household language, income, and education. These factors are compared with larger Hispanic groups in the U.S, revealing several differences in age, education, English proficiency and household languages.

Section 2 presents a review of the literature on language contact and variation, focusing on third wave linguistic variation and the concepts of linguistic identity and language attitudes from other speech communities, including those that speak languages other than Spanish. The

section places the Peruvian diaspora in context with similar studies on language contact, language attitudes and linguistic variation. Section 2 concludes with an overview of minority language media, or the presence of minority dialects of a language in an online environment and the validity of studying language use in such an environment.

Section 3 is divided into two parts detailing the methodology used for this study's data collection and analysis. The first part of the section is dedicated to the online study of the Facebook group *Being Peruvian*. I explain how and why *Being Peruvian* was chosen for the study, as well as how edited content and comments were selected. The second part of Section 3 explains procedures for the onsite study in Paterson, New Jersey. It describes the protocols used to collect data and also how participants were contacted.

Section 4 presents the results, discussion, and analysis of data collected online in *Being Peruvian*. It examines common themes appearing in edited content and in posts and presents users' comments about Peruvian and other dialects of Spanish. Section 4 discusses the findings, including user attitudes on slang and other dialects of Spanish. It also touches on users' concept of Peruvian Spanish as actually being *castellano* not Spanish, and what *castellano* means to members of the Peruvian diaspora. The most salient finding from this study is that bilingualism in Spanish and English promotes a sense of belonging to the group, while monolingualism in either language excludes full membership. Another finding from this section is the disapproval of the use of non-Peruvian Spanish, at least in the group itself. This was evidenced by the comments expressing outrage on the edited content that contained the word *amaranto* 'amaranth,' when most Peruvians refer to the grain as *kiwicha.* One last important finding from this study included the erasure of dialect variation within Peruvians themselves. When one commenter took offense to edited content that mocked Andean Spanish, the administrator and

other group members expressed that no offense should be taken as all in the group are Peruvians. This is reflective of Peruvians status in the U.S. as a microminority; individual Peruvian identity is erased and is deemed not as important as a more general, unified national identity to ensure differentiation from Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and other nationalities.

Section 5 presents the results, discussion, and analysis of data collected in Paterson, New Jersey. It begins with the results of the attitude survey, followed by the findings of the lexical test. Finally, it examines the largest dataset, the audio-recorded interviews. In this section, I organize quotes from interviewees into common themes that appeared in our discussions. Unsurprisingly, the data reveal preferences toward Peruvian varieties of Spanish with the exception of Peruvian slang, unplanned linguistic convergence, and mixed ideologies on English proficiency. Much like the findings of Section 4, the results of Section 5 indicate strong preferences for Peruvian varieties of Spanish and even the idea that Peruvian Spanish is the standard by which all other varieties should be measured. *Jerga*, or slang, was widely discussed both positively and negatively. Most comments indicated that *jerga* was some sort of impediment to good Spanish, while others indicated that it is appropriate but only in certain situations. Another finding was that participants were indeed using words borrowed from other dialects of Spanish in their speech communities and were not always aware of the use until "corrected" by another Peruvian. Another indicator of participants' extensive contact with other dialects of Spanish was the frequency with which other dialects were imitated in the interviews. Participants imitated both lexical and phonological features of Dominican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Mexican Spanish. Finally, participants discussed phenotype as an indicator of if one "should" speak Spanish, with a particular disdain for those who look "as Peruvian as a potato," but do not speak Spanish.

Section 4 compares the results of the online and onsite studies, focusing on themes that appeared in both studies, as well as aspects that were unique to each.

7.3 Evaluation of the study

This section aims to evaluate the study data and the extent to which they answer the research questions on language and national identity of the U.S. Peruvian diaspora. It evaluates the online study of *Being Peruvian*, examining the data and results, and if and how they inform about attitudes within the Peruvian diaspora about their own and other dialects of Spanish. This section also evaluates the onsite study in Paterson and how well the study answered the questions about language and its role in performing and maintaining a national identity. Finally, this section includes an evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of each study.

The overarching question guiding this dissertation was if and how Peruvians in the U.S. use language to assert national identity. Their status as a microminority is indicative that this group may be experiencing changes within their own linguistic practices, such as converging with other varieties of Spanish, as has been observed in other studies (Otheguy et al., 2007; Potowski, 2014). Conversely, Peruvians in the U.S. might resist change to their own dialect, holding strong positive attitudes toward their own speech, as was the case in other studies (Eckert, 2000; Johnson, 2005). In addition, demographic statistics of the U.S. Peruvian diaspora indicate that they are better educated, have more English proficiency, and a higher median income than Hispanics in the United States as a whole. All of these factors place the Peruvian diaspora in prime position for maintaining their own dialect instead of assimilating with others, as was the case among disadvantaged Domincans in Zentella's (1990) study of the impact of dialect power and prestige in New York City. For these reasons, this study set out to examine

speech of Peruvians in the United States, both online through the Facebook group *Being Peruvian* and onsite in the Peruvian enclave of Paterson, New Jersey.

7.4 Strengths and limitations

One strength of Study 1, which used data from *Being Peruvian*, was capturing examples of authentic language use that were not censored or monitored for the sake of the researcher. Thus, the Observer's Paradox was effectively avoided, allowing a glimpse into how a particular group uses language when not being systematically observed (Jiménez, 2018; Labov, 1972: 209). This was achieved by maintaining the anonymity of the participants and using comments that were publicly available on *Being Peruvian's* Facebook page.

Another strength of the online study was the amount of edited content included in the study. A total of 583 instances of edited content were examined over the course of 15 months. The quantity of posts included in this study allowed for an accurate idea of the day-to-day interactions that occur within the group as well as sufficient instances of user comments related to language use.

A limitation of Study 1 was that specific information was not known about users whose comments were included as study data. While other studies focus on generational language shift and take into account place of birth and number of years in the U.S., (Cooper & Greenfield, 1969; López, 1978; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Sankoff, 2004), the present study could not consider these factors. This was in part because of the nature of both study environments; the online portion simply observed existing comments in a group geared toward the U.S. Peruvian diaspora without using more intrusive measures with participants. Such measures would have provided more information about the participants and perhaps would have allowed for a more in-depth discussion on language use as it relates to demographic factors.

The interview protocol of Study 2 in Paterson, New Jersey also allowed for a good amount of spontaneous speech. Though the interview protocol was comprised of structured sections and specific questions, participants were allowed to use the questions as starting points to talk about other issues important to them. Many times, participants answered the questions and added further anecdotal evidence to support their answer as well as introduce new topics that were not initially part of the interview questions, e.g. phenotype, slang use, status as an undocumented individual.

By the same token, a strength of the onsite portion was that participants appeared quite comfortable speaking to an unknown interviewer, with most participants inviting me to their homes during my short stay in Paterson and even preparing Peruvian meals for my visit. As someone geographically, ethnically and linguistically foreign to the Paterson community, my use of the snowball sampling method was crucial to successful recruitment. After meeting with the first participant, Manuela, I had an "in" and was able to earn the trust of others in the Paterson Peruvian community who might otherwise be skeptical of an outsider looking to obtain information about them.

Another aspect of Study 2 that is a strength in some ways and a limitation in others was the decision to conduct interviews in pairs or groups, as the participants were most comfortable. Though interviews were initially intended to be carried out one-on-one, I ultimately chose a format in which I knew participants would speak the most and provide the most information about their own language use and attitudes about varieties of Spanish. When discussing varieties of Spanish, I wanted participants to feel comfortable expressing opinions that were not necessarily politically correct, and I felt this would not be achieved were all participants interviewed individually. By interviewing participants together, I feel the objective of them

speaking freely was achieved and authentic responses were gathered. Though interviewing participants together in Study 2 allowed for more bouts of spontaneous speech, this technique along with the small sample size precluded any large-scale quantitative analysis. It would not be justified to generalize conclusions about the diaspora from a sample size of 20 speakers living in a Peruvian enclave, which is not the reality of many Peruvians in the U.S.

The method of carrying out interviews with more than one participant also complicated the first part of Protocol 3, the lexical test. It was intended to be carried out one-on-one, with neat and quantifiable results. However, it was determined that the conditions needed for the lexical test were not ideal for the interview questions, which took place in the same session. As a result, the lexical test as originally intended was modified to ensure quality data from the open-ended interview questions. Though the test was still included in the results of Study 2, the descriptive approach was not ideal; alternative methods of carrying out such tests, such as online surveys, will be considered in the future.

Finally, a limitation of the onsite portion of the study was that none of the participants were born in the United States. This is most likely because of the nature of Paterson as an enclave and a starting point for many Peruvians that come to the U.S., only to move elsewhere after becoming more established. Thus, Study 2 only gathered viewpoints from those that had been born in Peru and immigrated to the U.S. Though over half (55%) of study participants had spent over 12 years in the U.S.; none had grown up in the country.

7.5 Implications

This study deals with the linguistic attitudes and behaviors of the U.S. Peruvian diaspora, a group seemingly negligible in number. However, the idea behind this study can be extrapolated to other microminority diasporas in the U.S. and around the world. Two salient implications emerge from

this study: (1) online platforms including social networking sites are instrumental in giving a voice to the underrepresented; thus, they are important resources to consider when embarking on studies of such groups, and (2) microminorities of any language possess unique features and attitudes that are distinct from others held by the larger minority. This carries implications for any multiethnic society, where homogenizing labels are often applied to highly heterogeneous groups. Though not a pedagogical study, this second implication should inform practices in the foreign language classroom. While it is agreed that a standard variety of any language must be taught in the classroom, individual varieties and attitudes deserve acknowledgement to best respect and present the reality of the culture(s) that the language represents.

7.6 Recommendations for further study

A possibility for further research is to recruit more participants in both the online and onsite studies. Participants in the online study provided content relevant to the research questions; however more demographic information about the study participants as well as a large number of participants could lend itself to statistical analysis that takes into account age, gender, generation and place of birth. This information could be used to determine the effect of each feature on language use and attitudes expressed by the participants in the comments. Furthermore, online environments are always evolving and it is possible that Peruvian diasporic groups as popular as *Being Peruvian* arise in the future and can be included in additional studies. Groups that were initially examined but discarded due to limited member interaction and amount of regular edited content could be reevaluated for any developments in either of these areas. Even then, *Being Peruvian* was the largest group and the only one to span across multiple platforms, including Instagram and Twitter. The present study looked at only a fraction of the interactions that occur

among Peruvians in the U.S. on social networking sites, leaving open endless possibilities for future research.

Likewise, a larger number of participants in Paterson would allow for a more quantitative analysis on language use within the Peruvian diaspora. Securing a quiet place would be necessary to yield high-quality results for any quantitative analysis. Furthermore, more cities with Peruvian populations should be included to allow for a broader perspective of the U.S. Peruvian diaspora, rather than a snapshot of the habits of a small group within a Peruvian enclave. Of course, more time and resources would be necessary for a larger study in the same area.

The results of both studies lead to other avenues of related research. One possibility includes repeating either of the present studies with other underrepresented Hispanic groups in the United States, including Uruguayans, Argentines, or Chileans. As immigrants of these nationalities are demographically similar to those that emigrate to the U.S. from Peru, it would be of particular interest to observe if these groups hold similar opinions to those of Peruvians, and whether and how they use similar linguistic strategies as a marker of national identity.

Another possibility includes research on attitudes toward slang and its reported and actual use in microminority speech communities. Slang is often indicative of national origin; however, in the present study, there were negative attitudes toward its use. The present study suggests that asking participants further questions about slang would certainly prompt lively discussion about slang and its usage and appropriacy, as groups both online and onsite discussed it without being prompted.

The present study's goal was to investigate the linguistic attitudes and behaviors of a group that few studies have examined (Durand, 2010; Francesco, 2014; Paerregaard, 2010). Its

contribution includes presenting the use of language on social networking sites not as a separate sphere of reality, but as an authentic resource for studying language use as evidenced by the similarities in the findings from the onsite and online studies. It also contributes to the documentation of the sociolinguistic behaviors of a specific group, supporting literature that some groups benefit from certain demographic factors that allow them to use their dialects as a symbol of pride and a marker of national identity.

This study is a starting point for future studies on the U.S. Peruvian diaspora and other groups who are situated as a minority within another minority. It also suggests that future studies should be carried out with online diasporic groups, as this environment proved to be rich in dialect-specific linguistic interaction.

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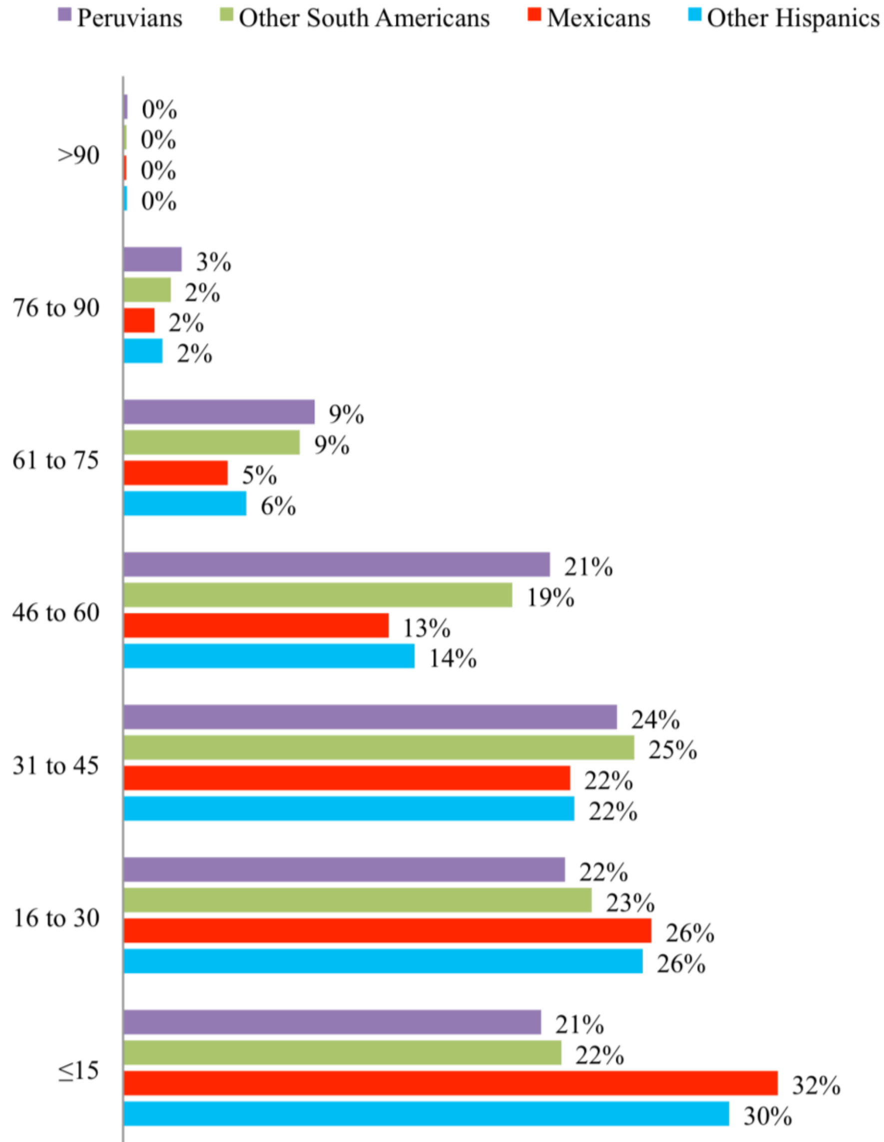
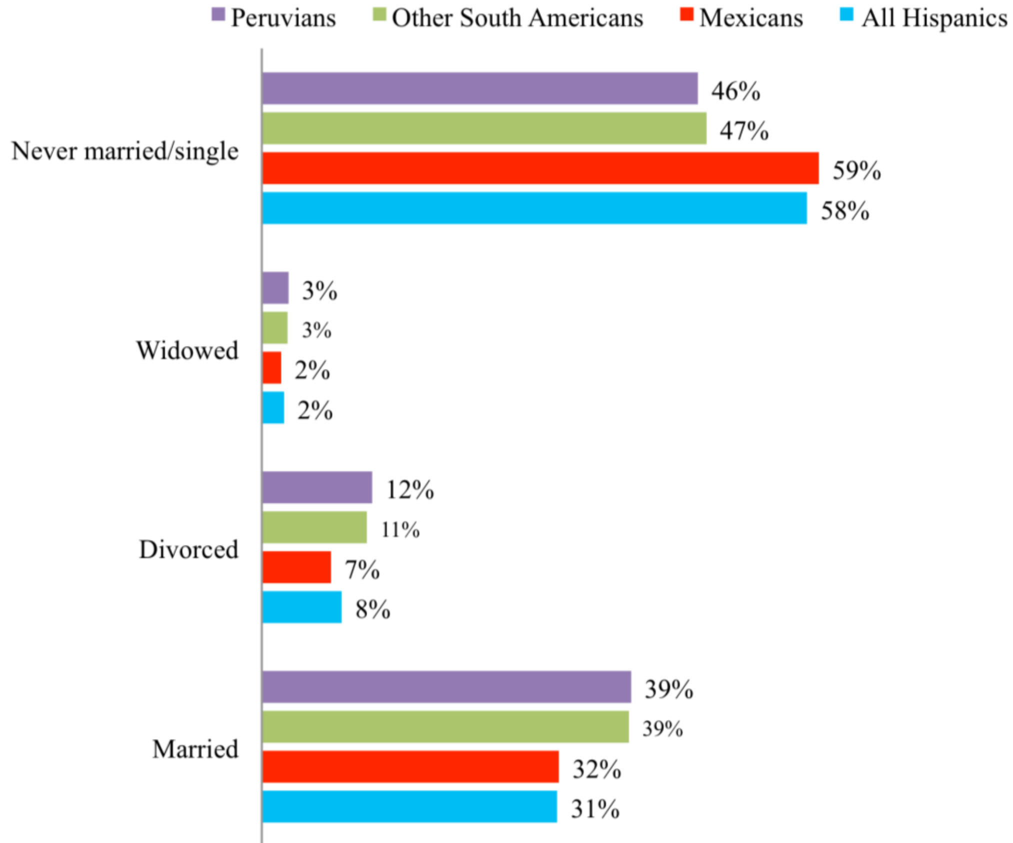
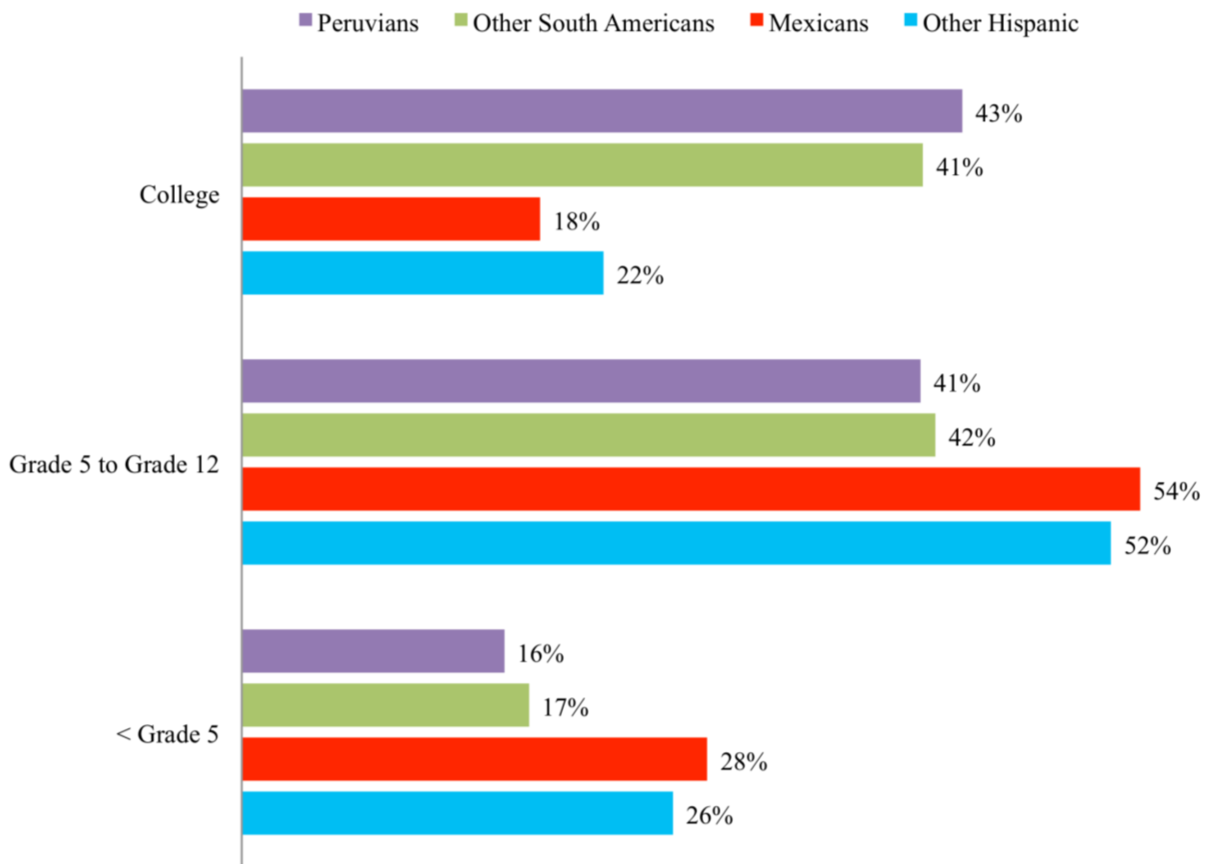
APPENDIX A

PERUVIANS IN THE U.S. IN CHARTS




Marital Status of Peruvians vs. Other Hispanic Groups
Peruvians
Other South Americans
Mexicans
All Hispanics
Never married/single
46%
47%
59%
58%
Widowed
3%
3%
2%
2%
Divorced
12%
11%
7%
8%
Married
39%
39%
32%
31%


Level of Education of Peruvians vs. Other Hispanic Groups
Peruvians
Other South Americans
Mexicans
Other Hispanic
College
43%
41%
18%
22%
Grade 5 to Grade 12
41%
42%
54%
52%
< Grade 5
16%
17%
28%
26%

APPENDIX B

INITIAL NVIVO INTERVIEW CODES

Code		Number of References
1.	Adapting to a New Linguistic Environment	18
2.	Age and Speech	1
3.	American Government	1
4.	Expired Visas	1
5.	Annoyance with Non-Peruvian Hispanics	2
6.	Argentines	1
7.	*Castellano*	2
8.	Claiming Low Proficiency in Quechua	5
9.	Codemixing	3
10.	Code-switching	5
11.	Colombians	6
12.	Contact with Non-Peruvian Varieties of Spanish	2
13.	Guatemalans	1
14.	Correcting Others' Spanish	2
15.	Cubans	4
16.	Cultural Preservation	2
17.	Desirable Spanish	5
18.	Peruvian Spanish as the best variety	14
19.	Dominicans	20
20.	English as a Marker of American Identity	6
21.	English at Work	2
22.	English Proficiency	2
23.	English in the Home	4
24.	Future of Spanish in the U.S.	10
25.	Children's Proficiency	19
26.	*Gringos*	9
27.	Hondurans	2
28.	Imitation of Another Accent	14
29.	Importance of Bilingualism	4

30.	Influence of English	5
31.	Learning to Understand Other Dialects of Spanish	11
32.	Lexical Differences in Varieties of Spanish in the U.S.	19
33.	Linguistic Discrimination	1
34.	Losing Spanish Proficiency	5
35.	Meeting Other Peruvians	1
36.	Metalinguistic Comments	2
37.	Dialects of Quechua	2
38.	Mexicans	2
39.	Misunderstandings	5
40.	Networks	1
41.	Neutral Spanish	3
42.	No Best Variety	1
43.	Non-Hispanic Spouse	6
44.	Non-Peruvian Latinos	2
45.	Peruvian dialects of Spanish	7
46.	Peruvian Diaspora	5
47.	Peruvian Spanish as an In-Group Marker	2
48.	Phenotypes	3
49.	Policing One's Own Language	3
50.	Proficiency in Quechua as marker of Peruvian identity	6
51.	Puerto Ricans	1
52.	Puerto Rico	6
53.	Quechua at Home	6
54.	Quechua Lexicon	5
55.	Self-Perception of Language Change	17
56.	Self-Rating of Proficiency	1
57.	Social Media	5
58.	Facebook	6
59.	Smartphone	1
60.	WhatsApp	9
61.	Spaniards	2
62.	Spanish as a Marker of National Identity	2
63.	Tag-Switching	3

64.	Undesirable Spanish	5
65.	Central American Spanish	6
66.	Chilean Spanish	2
67.	*Cortar las palabras*	1
68.	Dominican Spanish	16
69.	Mexicans	7
70.	Using *Jerga*	11
71.	Uruguayans	2
72.	Venezuelans	2
73.	Vocative	1

APPENDIX C

PROTOCOLS

Protocol 1: Self-rated language proficiency questionnaire in English

	Language Skills				
Spanish	***Speaking***	None	A little	Good	Very Good
	Listening	None	A little	Good	Very Good
	Reading	None	A little	Good	Very Good
	Writing	None	A little	Good	Very Good
English	***Speaking***	None	A little	Good	Very Good
	Listening	None	A little	Good	Very Good
	Reading	None	A little	Good	Very Good
	Writing	None	A little	Good	Very Good
Other: ________	***Speaking***	None	A little	Good	Very Good
	Listening	None	A little	Good	Very Good
	Reading	None	A little	Good	Very Good
	Writing	None	A little	Good	Very Good

Protocol 1: Self-rated language proficiency questionnaire in Spanish

	Destreza lingüística				
español	***Hablar***	Nada	Un poco	Bien	Muy bien
	Escuchar	Nada	Un poco	Bien	Muy bien
	Leer	Nada	Un poco	Bien	Muy bien
	Escribir	Nada	Un poco	Bien	Muy bien
inglés	***Hablar***	Nada	Un poco	Bien	Muy bien
	Escuchar	Nada	Un poco	Bien	Muy bien
	Leer	Nada	Un poco	Bien	Muy bien
	Escribir	Nada	Un poco	Bien	Muy bien
Otro: ________	***Hablar***	Nada	Un poco	Bien	Muy bien
	Escuchar	Nada	Un poco	Bien	Muy bien
	Leer	Nada	Un poco	Bien	Muy bien
	Escribir	Nada	Un poco	Bien	Muy bien

Protocol 2: Attitude survey in English

Here are some statements about the Spanish language. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible and answer with only **one** of the following options:

	Circle
Strongly Agree:	5
Agree:	4
Neither agree nor disagree:	3
Disagree:	2
Strongly Disagree:	1

	Strongly Disagree-------------------Strongly Agree				
1. I like hearing Spanish from Peru.	1	2	3	4	5
2. If I have children, it is important for them to know Peruvian words and expressions.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I like using Peruvian words/phrases.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Peruvian Spanish is more interesting (e.g. words, expressions) than other varieties of Spanish spoken in Latin America (e.g. Mexican Spanish, Dominican Spanish, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
5. Peruvian Spanish sounds better than other varieties of Spanish (e.g. Mexican Spanish, Dominican Spanish).	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel more understood by Peruvians than by non-Peruvian Spanish speakers.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I would not mind marrying a non-Peruvian Spanish-speaker.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Peruvians in the U.S. should speak to each other only in Spanish.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Peruvian words and expressions are worth learning.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Using Peruvian words and expressions makes me feel more Peruvian.	1	2	3	4	5

Based on Lasagabaster 2003

Protocol 2: Attitude survey in Spanish

Aquí hay algunas frases acerca del español. Por favor indique si está de acuerdo o no con estas frases. No hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas. Por favor sea lo más honesto posible y elija solamente **una** de las opciones siguientes:

	Ponga un círculo
Muy de acuerdo:	5
De acuerdo:	4
Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo:	3
En desacuerdo:	2
Muy en desacuerdo:	1

	Muy en desacuerdo----------------------Muy de acuerdo				
1. Me gusta escuchar el español peruano.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Si yo tuviera hijos, sería importante que entendieran palabras y expresiones peruanas.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Me gusta usar palabras y expresiones peruanas.	1	2	3	4	5
4. El español peruano es más interesante (ej: palabras, expresiones) que otras variedades del español hablado en Latinoamérica (ej: el español mexicano, dominicano, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
5. El español peruano suena mejor que otras variedades del español (ej: el español mexicano, dominicano, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
6. Siento que los peruanos me entienden mejor que los hispanohablantes de otros países.	1	2	3	4	5
7. No me importaría casarme con un hispanohablante no peruano.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Los peruanos en los Estados Unidos deben hablar en español cuando hablan con otros peruanos.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Vale la pena aprender las palabras y expresiones peruanas.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Usar palabras y expresiones peruanas me hace sentir más peruano/a.	1	2	3	4	5

Encuesta basada en Lasagabaster 2003

Protocol 3: Lexical items. All images are from Google, labeled for reuse and not the property of the author.

Bus

https://www.flickr.com/photos/kk70088/42812226114

Mouse

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%D0%9C%D1%8B%D1%88%D1%8C_2.jpg

Roundabout

https://www.flickr.com/photos/thienzieyung/27226869391

Popcorn

https://pxhere.com/en/photo/741739

Corn nuts
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cancha_290809.JPG#filelinks

Avocado

https://www.publicdomainpictures.net/en/view-image.php?image=161097&picture=avocado

***Choclo*, Large-kernel corn**

https://www.flickr.com/photos/infomofo/530570972/

Cake

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Pound_layer_cake.jpg

Scarf

https://www.flickr.com/photos/andrewtoskin/15368112417

Hat (*Chullo*)

https://www.pexels.com/photo/andean-cstyle-chullo-hat-with-earflaps-1865164/

Jacket

https://www.flickr.com/photos/porcupiny/316283653

T-shirt

http://www.freestockphotos.biz/stockphoto/14944

Protocol 3: Interview questions in English

Participant #: ____________________

I. Demographic Information

1. Name: _____________________________________
2. Gender:
3. Age:
4. Years in the U.S.: _________ Generation:__________

II. Icebreaker: Begin with lexical primer, color photos.
Look at the following photos. What do you call this? What other words do you know for it? Who uses those words?

III. Open-Ended Questions

A. Language Use

1. What language(s) do you speak? How did you learn these? (e.g.; native language, learned in high school, etc…)
2. Which language(s) do you speak most of the time at home? At work? With friends?
3. Which language(s) do you feel most comfortable using?

B. Maintenance of Linguistic Identity

1. How do you keep in touch with friends/relatives in Peru? How often?
2. How often are you able to go to Peru? When was the last time? For how long?
3. What do you use to connect with other Peruvians in the U.S.? (e.g., social media)

C. Dialects in Contact

1. Has there ever been a time when a non-Peruvian Spanish-speaker didn't understand what you were saying in Spanish? What happened?
2. Has there ever been a time when you didn't understand another non-Peruvian Spanish-speaker? What happened?
3. How has your Spanish changed as you have spent more time in the U.S.?

D. Language Attitudes

1. What do you think is good about the way Peruvians speak Spanish? Bad?
2. Which group(s) do you consider to speak the "best" Spanish? The worst? (Your answers will remain anonymous)
3. Those with children:
    a. Do your children speak Spanish? What languages do they speak?
    b. If yes: What do you think about the way they speak? What do friends/relatives think about the way they speak?

E. Future of Peruvian Spanish (Gibbons & Ramirez 2004)

1. What are the chances that Peruvian Spanish will survive in the US? Spanish in general?
2. How important is it to you that your children speak Spanish? Peruvian Spanish?
3. How important is it that the community uses Spanish?
4. What do you think are the challenges involved in maintaining your language/dialect?

Participante #: ____________________

I. Información demográfica

1. Nombre: ____
2. Sexo:
3. Edad:
4. Tiempo en los EEUU: __________ Generación:___________

II. Icebreaker: Begin with lexical primer, color photos.
Mire las fotos siguientes. ¿Cómo se llama esto? ¿Qué otras palabras sabe para esto? ¿Quién(es) usa(n) estas palabras?

III. Open-Ended Questions

A. El uso del idioma

1. ¿Qué idiomas habla usted? ¿Cómo los aprendió? (ej: idioma nativo, aprendido en el colegio/la universidad/el trabajo/etc.)
2. ¿Qué idioma(s) habla en casa? ¿En el trabajo? ¿Con amigos?
3. ¿Con cuál(es) idioma(s) se siente más cómodo/a?

B. Maintenance of Linguistic Identity

1. ¿Cómo mantiene Ud. el contacto con amigos y parientes en Perú? ¿Con qué frecuencia se comunica con ellos?
2. ¿Con qué frecuencia visita el Perú? ¿Cuándo fue por última vez? ¿Por cuánto tiempo?
3. ¿Qué usa para comunicarse con otros peruanos en los Estados Unidos? (ex: Facebook, otros medios de comunicación)

C. Dialects in Contact

1. ¿Ha habido alguna vez en que un hispanohablante no peruano no entendió lo que Ud. dijo en español? ¿Qué pasó?
2. ¿Ha habido alguna vez en que Ud. no entendió lo que dijo un hispanohablante no peruano en español? ¿Qué pasó?
3. ¿Cómo ha cambiado su español en los años que lleva en los EEUU?

D. Language Attitudes

1. ¿Qué le gusta sobre la manera en que los peruanos hablan el castellano? ¿Qué no le gusta?
2. ¿Cuál(es) grupo(s) hablan el "mejor" español? ¿El peor? (en su opinión- su respuesta es anónima)
3. Los que tengan hijos:
    a) ¿Hablan español sus hijos? ¿Qué idiomas hablan?
    b) ¿Qué opina Ud. sobre la manera que hablan? ¿Qué piensan sus amigos y parientes sobre la manera que hablan sus hijos?

E. Future of Peruvian Spanish (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004)

1. ¿Cuáles son las posibilidades de que sobreviva el español peruano en los EEUU? ¿Y el español en general?
2. ¿Qué tan importante es que sus hijos hablen/sepan el español? ¿El español peruano (específicamente)?
3. ¿Qué tan importante es que la comunidad hable/use español?
4. ¿Cuáles son las dificultades para mantener el español/el español peruano?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Interview 1
Participant: Rocío (ROC)
Duration: 23:35

Transcript	Speaker
¿Por cuánto tiempo has estado en los Estados Unidos?	INT
Un año. Pero yo he ido como dos veces creo, tres veces, pero solo por tres meses, no tres semanas.	ROC
Ok. ¿Y de dónde eres en Perú? ¿De qué parte?	INT
De Lima. De San Miguel.	ROC
¿Qué idiomas hablas?	INT
Sólo español e inglés. Y bueno, un poquito de...lo que pasa es que estudié un poco de portugués pero es muy similar al español.	ROC
Sí claro, muy similar. ¿Cómo aprendiste el inglés?	INT
En el colegio. En Lima.	ROC
¿Con quién vives? ¿Vives con una familia o vives sola en los Estados Unidos?	INT
Vivo con mi esposo. Y bueno sus hijos vienen dos veces a la semana a la casa.	ROC
¿Y qué idiomas hablan en casa?	INT
Inglés	ROC
¿Solamente el inglés?	INT
Sí.	ROC
¿Y en el trabajo? Hablas inglés o español o los dos?	INT
Los dos, sí.	ROC
¿Y con amigos?	INT
Ehm, inglés.	ROC
Inglés. ¿Porque no conoces a otros peruanos por allá verdad…?	INT
No, no, los que conozco son sus amigos.	ROC
Y tu esposo es peruano, o ¿de dónde es?	INT
Es americano.	ROC
¿En qué idiomas te sientes más cómoda?	INT
Con el español.	ROC
¿Cómo mantienes el contacto con amigos y parientes en el Perú?	INT

Por teléfono porque siempre hablo por FaceTime o WhatsApp, o en Facebook también.	ROC
¿Con qué frecuencia te comunicas con ellos?	INT
Todos los días.	ROC
¿Visitas el Perú?	INT
Um, sí a veces la última vez fue en enero.	ROC
¿Por cuánto tiempo estuviste allá?	INT
Em, por tres semanas.	ROC
¿Qué usas para comunicarte con otros peruanos en los Estados Unidos? Hay muchos grupos en Facebook por ejemplo.	INT
No, hay unos familiares que viven en New Jersey, y yo creo que también en New York. Pero con ellos hablo por WhatsApp.	ROC
Y...No si hay otros hispanohablantes por allá donde vives, pero...?	INT
No.	ROC
No, la verdad es que no, como yo trabajo como para mi misma, entonces la mayoría de mis clientes, casi todos son americanos.	ROC
Entonces, no mucho y a veces las chicas que trabajan para mi sí son latinas.	ROC
Oh ok. Entonces hablas mayormente el inglés. En los Estados Unidos, ¿ha habido alguna vez en qué un hispanohablante no peruano no entendió algo que dijiste en español?	INT
Oh sí. Eso me pasa. Con las chicas, con las que trabajan conmigo son de Guatemala y una era de Puerto Rico y yo no entendía lo que decían.	ROC
¿Qué dijiste te acuerdas?	INT
No porque a veces hablan muy rápido o usan palabras que yo no entiendo.	ROC
¿Ha habido alguna vez en que no entendiste lo...has dicho algo que ellos no entienden? ¿Cómo una jerga peruana o algo?	INT
Claro, no entienden cuando...es que yo no uso muchas jergas tampoco pero ehmm, algunas palabras, no me suena ninguna a la cabeza, pero por ejemplo cuando tu vas a manejar el carro dices, bueno, "estoy manejando," y los de Puerto Rico dicen...ay, no me acuerdo como me decía una amiga, la chica esta, (inaudible) y palabras que me explicaban.	ROC
¿Crees que haya cambiado tu español en los años que has estado en los Estados Unidos?	INT
No, nada. Entiendo más a los otras personas cuando hablan, pero yo no he cambiado.	ROC
¿Qué te gusta sobre la manera en que los peruanos hablan el español?	INT
No me gusto. Hay muchas (inaudible) que hablan con *pe*, con *pes,* y eso no me gusta.	ROC
En tu opinión, ¿Qué grupos hablan el mejor español, o el peor? El mejor primero.	INT
Yo creo que el peruano es el más básico, el más correcto, es que no tiene tantas variaciones.	ROC
¿Y el peor?	INT
Yo creo que el chileno. Porque hablan, cortan las palabras.	ROC
¿Cómo qué?	INT

Pronuncian diferente las palabras. Y las cortan.	ROC
Cambian las...también usan palabras raras.	ROC
¿Palabras raras? ¿Sabes unas palabras de ellos?	INT
Este...jergas...	ROC
¿Tienes hijos?	INT
Yo sí, yo tengo una hija.	ROC
¿Y habla ella....¿Ella habla español?	INT
Sí ella habla español.	ROC
¿E inglés?	INT
Sí el inglés no le gusta y está luchando con el inglés.	ROC
¿Qué piensas sobre la manera que habla tu hija? ¿Tiene acento o qué piensas de su español?	INT
Ella habla bien. Usa palabras bastante elaboradas. Siempre lo he usado desde pequeña. Tiene un buen...tiene mucho conocimiento de las palabras. Ahorita ella ya tiene 9 años, y sí se sabe expresar muy bien.	ROC
Cuando ella habla con tus padres o con tus parientes, ¿qué piensan ellos sobre cómo habla tu hija?	INT
Que habla muy bien, dicen que habla como una persona mayor.	ROC
Ahora, vamos a hablar sobre tus pensamientos sobre el futuro del español en los Estados Unidos. ¿Cuáles son las posibilidades que sobreviva el español o el acento peruano en los Estados Unidos?	INT
Sinceramente no lo sé. Todo depende del grupo de gente que tu tengas alrededor, ¿no? Porque definitivamente si estás rodeado de personas que hablan igual que tu, tu vas a seguir hablando. Pero si tienes gente por ejemplo si estás rodeado de un grupo de colombianos tu vas a adaptarte a ellos.	ROC
Para ti, ¿que tan importante es que tu hija hable o sepa el español?	INT
La verdad, yo pienso, mi idea es que si yo he venido a un país donde hablan inglés, es el idioma al cual yo tengo que adaptar. Por ejemplo, ella no habla español en la casa.	ROC
¿Es importante para ti que tu hija hable el español peruano? ¿O no importa?	INT
No, pero yo creo el peruano porque es el más básico. Es el que más le pueden entender.	ROC
¿Para ti que tan importante es que la comunidad use el español?	INT
¿Acá? No es importante. Yo creo que deberían aprender a hablar inglés porque por ejemplo con las chicas con las que estaba, con las que trabajan, ellas no tienen intención de aprender el inglés. Están rodeadas de su familia y todos hablan español y eso es un...no no quieren, no quieren adaptarse a donde ellos se han mudado, a vivir.	ROC

Interview #2
Participants: Alejandro (ALE), Alvaro (ALV)
Duration: 26:22

Transcript	Speaker
¿Por cuánto tiempo has estado en los Estados Unidos?	INT
Tres años.	ALE
¿Cuántos años tiene usted?	INT
Treinta y tres.	ALE
¿Y usted cuántos años tiene?	INT
Yo cuatro ocho.	ALV
Cuarenta y ocho...	ALE
Tío. En español decimos tío a los viejos.	ALV
Sí a veces dicen "Viejo.." "Tío"...	ALE
En Huancayo me decían "tía."	INT
Es otra cosa.	ALE
Tía te decían porque probablemente había un muchacho que era tía de él y...lo relacionó.	ALV
¿Cuántos años has estado en los Estados Unidos?	INT
Yo, diez.	ALV
Tengo unas preguntas para ustedes para otros dialectos del español que escuchas aquí en Paterson o a dónde esté en los EEUU.	INT
¿Quechua?	ALE
Por ejemplo, sí. ¿Ustedes hablan quechua?	INT
Yo no.	ALE
Entiendo un poquito, no lo hablo. Entiendo.	ALV
Allín. Hachi. Hachi es sal.	ALE
No...esto es *káchi*.	ALV
Káchi.	ALV
Veo que sí hablan un poco de quechua pues...	INT
Yo....no no es que yo hablo...lo que pasa es que el quechua es un dialecto, y en el quechua hay diversidad de dialectos. El Perú tiene cuántos tipos de quechua. Debe ser ocho, diez, no son iguales. Hay palabras que son parecidas, pero luego cambian a unas palabras. El quechua de Cuzco es diferente que el quechua de Huancayo. El quechua de Huancayo es diferente que el quechua de Huaraz.	ALV
Es cierto. Sólo he escuchado el quechua de Ayacucho.	INT
Es diferente. Y de Huaraz es otro. Otro quechua. Son diferentes.	ALV
Entonces ustedes hablan quechua y español.	INT
El 50% el inglés.	ALE

Yo sólo español. Entiendo el inglés un poquito.	ALV
El 50% es bueno. Y un poco de quechua, y ¿nada más?	INT
Yo estaba queriendo aprender el aymara. Pero no lo creo. Quería aprender el francés y el chino mandarín pero ya no.	ALE
Y ¿en casa hablan español?	INT
Yeah.	ALE
Sí.	ALV
¿En el trabajo qué hablan?	INT
Español	ALE
¿Trabajas con peruanos?	INT
Sí	ALV
Hay poco. Muchos son de acá. Gringos.	ALE
Hay varios. Y un gringo. Pero no todos los días.	ALV
¿No hablan español?	INT
No me comunico con él.	ALV
¿Cómo mantienen ustedes el contacto con amigos y parientes en Perú? O ¿qué usan?	INT
Uhh, por WhatsApp.	ALE
Hoy en día, WhatsApp.	ALV
El número eso, por WhatsApp. Y si no, por el Face.	ALE
Las redes sociales.	ALV
Ya no se usa el correo electrónico casi...solo por el trabajo.	ALV
¿Con qué frecuencia se comunican con ellos?	INT
Diario.	ALV
Depende de la conveniencia. Una vez a la semana. No me digas...	ALE
No no no, yo estoy diario es que mira, todos están con teléfono. Cómo tu tienes, tiene contactos, pues tu entras y tienes activo, ves a mucho de ellos. Si te conversan tu hablas. Empiezas a hablar.	ALV
En cierta medida la pregunta es ¿con cuántos hablas todos los días? No es con todos.	ALE
No, no, con cualquiera. Yo tengo mis amigos del colegio, están en España, Italia, ellos siempre me hablan. Muchas veces no les contesto cuando estoy ocupado. Siempre me contactan. Y mi amigo ayer hablé de mi amigo de mi promoción de Japón. Él vive en Japón.	ALV
¿Con qué frecuencia visitan el Perú?	INT
Yo voy dos veces al año.	ALV
¿Y tú?	INT

Se venció mi visa. Pero no me importa. Yo trabajo mucho. Me gusta este país. Me porto muy bien para no tener que volver.	ALE
Él no se ha podido volver. Ya entendiste.	ALV
Todavía no.	ALE
Hay mucha gente muy buena.	ALV
Y yo estoy acá, o en mi país igual me porto bien. Yo nunca he tenido problemas. Y por eso yo estoy tranquilo, trabajo duro duro duro.	ALE
Estamos ya (inaudible)	ALV
¿Tienen mucho contacto con otros hispanohablantes no peruanos?	INT
Claro. Todo el tiempo con peruanos..hispanos, todos hispanos.	ALV
Hay guatemaltecos, de todo. Hondureños, todo tipo.	ALE
¿Ha habido alguna vez no peruano no entendió lo que usted dijo?	INT
Lo que pasa es que los dominicanos tienen un léxico distinto. No se entiende.	ALV
Los mexicanos también.	ALE
Muchos usan jerga. Mucha. Por eso no se entiende. Por ejemplo *chingar*, no sé qué cosas yo no entiendo qué dirán. Pero ellos hablan así. No entiendo pero bueno. Tengo la idea de lo que está pero...	ALV
Los vicios del lenguaje es que muchos utilizan. Entonces, tu lo dices huevón, a un peruano, no hay problema. Pero si tú le dices huevón a un mexicano, ya te estás preparando. Alístate, corre. ¿No es cierto?	ALE
¿Al revés les ha pasado? ¿Ustedes han dicho algo...qué pasó?	INT
A veces no entienden...cuando les dices una broma, como "eres un sonso." Hay unas palabras. Ahorita conocí a un mexicano...este, yo estaba hablando con otro peruano y estaba escuchando un mexicano. Y le digo al peruano, "Este es pendejo no le hagas caso que es pendejo." Entonces mira y se me acuerda que no sabe que es mexicano y le digo..."Tú que entiendes por pendejo?" Que solo es callado...así que había escuchado. En el Perú no es así. En Perú un pendejo es lo contrario que en México.	ALV
¿Se ofendió?	INT
Sí, sí.	ALV
Pero ya se van acostumbrando porque no es malo decirlo.	ALE
¿Te ha pasado a ti cuando has dicho algo y no te entendieron?	INT
Sí cuando recién he empezado a trabajar en hacer techo pero ya se habían que...como ya hay antiguos que...Perú y de México en el trabajo. Y dice "bueno te pasa porque eres peruano." Muchos ya saben el significado.	ALE
¿Porque ya han trabajado con otros peruanos, como que hay muchos en este área?	INT
Sí.	ALE
Tú has estado aquí tres años y diez años. ¿Crees que ha cambiado tu español desde que llegaste?	INT
No.	ALV

Ha sumado algunos vicios del lenguaje, unas jergas.	ALE
Él sí ha cambiado en su corto tiempo, que yo lo conozco poco tiempo pero en tres años ha empezado a hablar mucho más mexicano. Usa bastante jerga mexicana. Suena diferente, su léxico. El tono también ya está cambiando. Pero yo no.	ALV
Empieza a ponerse con mexicanos.	ALE
Es que con mexicanos no he trabajado.	ALV
Por eso no hay contacto...	INT
¿Tienen hijos aquí?	INT
Yo no.	ALE
Cuatro. Uno nació acá.	ALV
¿Qué idiomas hablan ellos?	INT
¿Qué idiomas hablan ellos? ¿Hablan español?	INT
Sí.	ALV
¿Cómo hablan español?	INT
Bien. Igual que nosotros. Pero mi hijita que nació acá, no. Ella no habla bien el español. Conversa pero no como uno. Habla inglés. Y habla español porque yo le obligo. Para que entienda los dos idiomas.	ALV
Cuando tus hijos hablan con parientes en Perú, ¿qué dicen los parientes? Dicen que suena raro, o...	INT
No, no, definitivamente ellos más...mis hijos vinieron de 7 años. Más hablan el inglés. Hay muchas palabras que no saben. En español no saben. Pero si comunican muy bien.	ALV
En tu experiencia en los EEUU, ¿cuál es el grupo que habla el mejor español?	INT
Obvio, el peruano. No no, yo le digo, eso es cierto.	ALV
Creo que en la gramática estamos...o sea en pronunciación estamos un poco bien....porque en Chile, mucha rima tiene, en Colombia es cantado, el mexicano tiene muchos vicios del lenguaje...¿quién faltaría una comparación...? Con Bolivia. Bolivia no tampoco. Ecuador, menos. Porque por más que...Peru veo un más se daba al...bueno no podemos decir a los españoles, no podemos comparar. Hablamos de Sudamérica, ¿no?	ALE
El lenguaje como español. En Perú no decimos español. Es castellano.	ALV
¿Y el peor castellano?	INT
Los centroamericanos. No se entienden....los dominicanos.	ALV
¿Qué piensan sobre el futuro del español en los EEUU?	INT
Mira, para mí, en este país algún día espero que los dos lenguas sean aceptados. Pero con este gobierno, no creo.	ALV
La comparación es que este país no puede tapar eso con un dedo. El tema de la globalización es algo que se incremente mucho el español. No van a poder pararlo. Si sigue incrementando, tanto el inglés como el español, al final va a tener que reconocer el idioma. Hay mucha investigación muy buena del español, muy buena. Investigadores muy buenos que lo hacen en español. Y lógicamente también en inglés hay mucha información valiosa.	ALE

Asombra en estos aspectos. Pero al final, yo quiero comunicarme contigo. Uno o one, es la misma cantidad. La misma cantidad te dije, one o uno. Es el mismo mensaje, ¿me entiendes? Solo de manera diferente.	
Si tuviera hijos, ¿sería importante que aprendieran español? ¿Y de qué dialecto?	INT
Los dos, inglés y español. No puedes obligarles a hablar un dialecto específico. Porque el español nuestro no es perfecto. Uno tiene que aprender lo que nosotros hablamos. Esto sucede en mi casa. Pero en casa, la televisión es peruana. Entonces, se cuenta con peruanos.	ALV

Interview #3
Participant: Maribel (MAR)
Duration: 11:11

Transcript	**Speaker**
¿Cuántos años tienes?	INT
37	MAR
¿Cuánto tiempo has estado en los Estados Unidos?	INT
Llegué aquí en el año 97.	MAR
¿Tienes hijos?	INT
Sí	MAR
¿Nacieron aquí o en Perú...?	INT
No, aquí.	MAR
¿Qué idiomas hablas?	INT
El español. Bueno, el inglés. Los dos.	MAR
¿Hablas bien el inglés?	INT
Mmm, no no, no.	MAR
¿Hablas otros idiomas? Quechua...	INT
No. No más que el español.	MAR
¿De qué parte de Perú eres?	INT
De Lima.	MAR
¿Cómo aprendiste el inglés?	INT
Cuando primero fue estudiar en mi país y me estudié en un instituto y después aquí también.	MAR
¿En casa qué idiomas hablas?	INT
El español.	MAR
¿En el trabajo?	INT
El inglés.	MAR
¿Con amigos/amigas?	INT

El español. Más tengo amigas, es que son hispanas.	MAR
¿Te sientes más cómoda en español o inglés?	INT
En español, mmhmm.	MAR
¿Cómo mantienes el contacto con amigos o parientes en el Perú?	INT
Con Facebook.	MAR
¿Con qué frecuencia te comunicas con ellos?	INT
A la semana, casi 3 veces.	MAR
¿Con qué frecuencia visitas el Perú?	INT
Bueno no he ido hace 3 años. O sea yo voy cada 3 años.	MAR
Y cuando vas, ¿por cuánto tiempo vas normalmente?	INT
Dos semanas o tres.	MAR
Ahora vamos a hablar sobre tus experiencias con otros hispanos no peruanos. ¿Te ha pasado alguna vez en que un hispanohablante no peruano no te entendió?	INT
Cuando yo recién llegué, yo, este, no sabía cada persona de otros países hablan diferente. Entonces una vez cuando recién llegué, una chica me preguntó si me iba a la tienda entonces le digo "sí," y me dice "trae una china," y yo no sabía que era china, nosotros para nosotros china es una persona que...es jaladita, y me dijo "tráeme una china," "¿Una china?" "Sí, vas a ir eso lo tienen en la refrigeradora y lo sacan." "¿Una china?" Y después le digo, "¿Oye sabes qué? ¿Qué es una china? Explícame, perdón." Y yo creo que le dicen a la china la naranja. A esa le decían china. No le entendía.	MAR
¿De dónde era? ¿La que dijo china?	INT
De Puerto Rico.	MAR
¿Al revés te ha pasado, cuando dijiste algo y alguien de otro país no te entendió?	INT
No. No me ha pasado.	MAR
¿Crees que ha cambiado tu español desde que llegaste a los Estados Unidos?	INT
Hay palabras que sí. Que yo me olvidaban. Por ejemplo una señora me preguntó qué era el schedule entonces para nosotros significa horario, y yo traté de explicar a la señora, "ay sí sé qué es eso en español" y le digo, "señora, yo sé pero no me acuerdo." Es palabras así que uno se va olvidando.	MAR
¿Tus parientes en Perú te han dicho que suenas diferente?	INT
Sí. Me ha pasado. Que cuando he viajado hay personas que nosotros cuando vamos a decir de dónde venimos, y me dice este, "ay, usted no es de aquí," me dice. Y le digo, "sí, sí soy una peruana le digo yo vivo aquí en el Perú y me dice no, porque su forma de hablar es diferente. ¿Cómo es diferente? Me dice no porque tu hablas diferente, nosotros hablamos diferente. No le digo...porque dicen que este el modo de hablar o sea los peruanos hablan un poquito cantando yo no he entendido eso. No, nunca, no. Y dicen que no. Ya no es lo mismo. Que hablamos diferente. Y digo debe ser que hablo con gente de otros países y se te queda un poquito. Debe ser eso.	MAR
¿Qué te gusta sobre la manera en que los peruanos hablan el castellano?	INT

Yo creo que hablamos...hablamos mejor que otras personas, o sea que otros países que no...ellos hablan un español que no se les entiende. Yo creo. Es mi forma de pensar.	MAR
¿Hay algo que no te gusta?	INT
Que no...a veces los peruanos hablan en jerga. A una señora le dicen "¡tía, oye tía!" No no no me gusta eso.	MAR
¿Qué grupos hablan el mejor español en tu opinión?	INT
Para mí, los españoles. Yo creo.	MAR
¿Y aquí en esta comunidad, o en Nueva York, Nueva Jersey, de los hispanohablantes que has conocido? ¿O conoces españoles?	INT
No es que tengo familia que vive allá.	MAR
¿Quiénes hablan el peor español?	INT
Para mí, los dominicanos. Porque a veces hay palabras que no les entiende. Más de allí, no hablan y le escriben mal una palabra que tienen que decir correcta dicen en una forma que no es.	MAR
No se les entiende, y le escriben tal y como lo hablan.	MAR
Dijiste que tienes hijos, ¿sí? ¿Hablan español?	INT
Sí.	MAR
Hablan inglés y español.	MAR
¿Qué opinas sobre la manera que hablan?	INT
No lo hablan perfecto, pero sí, lo hablan. Me entienden.	MAR
¿Qué dicen tus familiares sobre la manera en que hablan español?	INT
No pues ellos se ríen. "¡Está mal hablado!" Pero le digo al menos entienden. Eso es lo importante que ellos te entienden. Te hablan a su manera pero te entienden. Eso es lo importante.	MAR
¿Qué tan importante es que tus hijos hablen español?	INT
Bueno yo creo que ahora en este país, tantas personas hispanas que hay, en la mayoría de los trabajos aquí se necesitan personas que hablan varios idiomas. Así que creo que ellos les va a usar. Como te digo. Para su futuro les va a servir que aprendan los idiomas y si pudieran aprender más idiomas, encantada.	MAR
Hay mucha gente en los Estados Unidos que solamente quieren el inglés y no entiendo porque. Siempre es bueno saber más.	INT

Interview #4
Participant: Cristóbal (CRI)
Duration. 10:12

Transcript	**Speaker**
Tengo 37 años.	CRI
¿Cuánto tiempo has estado en los EEUU?	INT

25	CRI
¿Qué idiomas hablas?	INT
Español, inglés y griego	CRI
¿El quechua?	INT
No.	CRI
¿Qué idiomas hablas en casa?	INT
Igual, si hablo con mi hijo hablo inglés porque su mamá es Irlandesa. También con mi hija, su mamá es puertorriqueña pero hablamos en inglés.	CRI
¿En el trabajo qué idiomas hablas?	INT
Los dos.	CRI
¿Con tus amigos?	INT
Depende, si son gringos el inglés. Si son hispanos, el español.	CRI
¿Con qué idiomas te sientes más cómodo?	INT
Ah, los dos porque a veces si estás con gringos, depende. Pero es igual al final, igual.	CRI
¿Cómo mantienes el contacto con amigo o parientes en Perú?	INT
Bueno, mi familia ya está aquí. Soy periodista, creo artículos, *videos live,* estas cosas.	CRI
¿Visitas el Perú?	INT
Muy poco. Que tengo mucha familia aquí, toda mi familia.	CRI
¿Cuándo fue la última vez que fuiste?	INT
Hace 5 años.	CRI
¿Usas algo para comunicarte con otros peruanos en los Estados Unidos?	INT
WhatsApp.	CRI
¿Ha habido alguna vez en que un hispanohablante no peruano no entendió algo que dijiste?	INT
Claro en otros países sabes hay muchos hispanos que no entienden la jerga que nosotros lo llamamos.	CRI
¿Puedes pensar en un ejemplo?	INT
Claro cuando digo "beterraga," para ellos es la remolacha, *beets*. *So*, digo "beterraga" y no me entienden. Si digo "palta," no porque en muchos países dicen "el aguacate." O también hay palabras en unos países que son malas o no son malas, y al revés.	CRI
¿Siempre entiendes a los de otros países?	INT
Bueno, ya, mayormente sí, de toda la gente que hay aquí, sí. Se diferencia de dónde acá sí	CRI
¿Qué te gusta sobre la manera que los peruanos hablan el español?	INT
Me da igual a mí.	CRI
¿Quién habla el mejor español?	INT
Nadie, nadie, nadie. Nadie va a hablar mejor, eso que...en primer lugar, no es nuestra lengua. Si tu te pones a leer Quixote, (inaudible) que no lo entiendo. Y soy periodista. Estudio	CRI

griego y yo sé bastante del idioma y eso de que uno habla el mejor idioma que otro...En Perú dicen que los peruanos hablan bien el idioma, porque era el capital del virreinato. Entonces yo te puedo decir que así que entonces en Santo Domingo hablan bien el idioma porque los españoles llegaron primero a esa tierra, ¿me entiendes? Entonces no, no, no hay un sentido. Puede depender del nivel de educación, existe *(inaudible).*	
¿Crees que tu español ha cambiado desde llegar a los EEUU?	INT
Mucho, muchísimo. Para mal. Porque antes yo trabajaba en periódicos tu sabes que escribía y era otro tipo de desarrollo social pero te ves obligado de usar palabras que la gente entienda. Ha cambiado.	CRI
Has cambiado para acomodar a los demás.	INT
Claro. Mi español es malo en conversación, tanto escribiendo y leyendo. Ahora es más internacional.	CRI
Dijiste que tienes hijos, ¿hablan español?	INT
La niña habla español. El niño no.	CRI
Mi hija habla 110%.	CRI
¿Tiene acento de algún país?	INT
No.	CRI
¿Qué piensan tus parientes sobre la manera en que tus hijos hablan el español?	INT
Bueno, el niño no habla el español. Vive con su mamá y su mamá es americana así que para él es difícil hablar. Y no le gusta hablar el español. A veces yo le habla pero no lo quiere.	CRI

Interview #5
Participants: Roberto (ROB), Alejandro (ALE)
Duration: 39:15

Transcript	**Speaker**
Conocí a un chico que tenía la cara más peruana que la papa. De verdad. Y no habla nada de español y todo inglés, woh.	ROB
Yo llegué en el 1983.	ROB
Me gusta usar palabras y expresiones peruanas. Hmmm. Depende de la situación. Con un dominicano, un boricua, no me entienden. La palabra este...¿cual es una mala palabra? ¿Pendejo? Para nosotros es el vivo, el astuto. Pero para el mexicano es un tonto, un estúpido. Entonces yo le decía a un cliente me acuerdo que (inaudible) "oh, tú eres pendejo" y dice "¡NO yo no soy pendejo!" "¡No, que eres vivo!" No entendía.	ROB
Hemos hecho una película que se llama Sueños de gloria. Sobre el Perú.	ROB
Fui anoche al estreno de "El gran criollo."	INT
Es un musical que hicimos. Este criollo es este...el chivo que ha hecho otra versión. Nosotros es de la marinera. Cuando tengas chance, entra al YouTube, y puedes ver todo lo que hemos hecho. Es el primer musical que se ha hecho a nivel cultural en Perú. Entonces este y bueno nos ha ido bien y estamos viajando a diferentes ciudades, diferentes países. Entonces este, estaba mencionando al hombre de repente lo que pasa es que pensamos	INT

trabajar en las universidades de repente nos puede recomendar o referir a alguien o presentarnos en el futuro pero no ahora.	
Si, bueno le dejo mi información.	INT
Si hay alguien en el departamento que conozcas entonces, tú has visto la película "Soy andina"? De Mitch Deprinski. Y allí hablan de los peruanos. Y una chica que, que, nació acá, peruana, de padres peruanos, pero que no se identifica con las danzas que le enseñaban acá. Entonces para saber más se va al Perú. Y en Perú aprende, en realidad la película…ehm…Se llama "Soy andina." Y bueno, lo recomiendo y quizás te pueda servir también. Para lo que necesites. Pero ya, entrevístame.	ROB
¿Cómo se llama usted?	INT
Roberto.	ROB
¿Cuántos años tiene?	INT
Tengo...¿puedo mentir? Tengo 48.	ROB
¿Cuánto tiempo has estado aquí en los EEUU?	INT
Tengo como 35 años en este país.	ROB
Al que debes entrevistar es el primo. Habla quechua clarito. A Percy. Habla más quechua que cualquier. Usa sus jergas. Jaja. Un día vinieron de NYU a hacer una reunión de academia en este, el museo de Paterson. Y invitaron...y todos hablaban quechua. Los americanos, los estudiantes, gente...comenzaron a hablar en quechua. Muy interesante.	ROB
Mi abuelita hablaba quechua. Pero yo, que te digo. A veces, a veces hablo poquito poquito.	ALE
Sí sé las malas palabras. Todas malas palabras. Mi papá habla bien el quechua y mi mamá también. Porque su gente hablaba quechua. Si mi mamá hasta ahora.	ROB
¿Usted no habla quechua?	INT
Poquito. Las malas palabras. De chiquito hablaba, pero. *Jatinosuquinomai*. Vámonos a la cama. Tonterías así. *Jalasiki*.	ROB
Jalasiki, todas esas malas palabras pero cuando me escucha mi mamá, "pau" Mi mamá ha sido una de las personas que tiene un carácter fuerte así los primeros años acá ha podido ayudar a toda su familia. Y mi mamá, ella falleció hace dos años. Mi mamá, hace poco no más de cinco años *(inaudible)*. Es de diferentes costumbres.	ROB
Usted no es el primero que ha dicho esto en quechua jaja.	INT
¿Habla otros idiomas?	INT
Español e inglés, y estupidez. *(Laughter)*	ROB
¿En casa qué idiomas habla?	INT
Español.	ROB
¿En el trabajo, o con amigos?	INT
Lo que pasa es que en mi negocio, este consiste en más de 70% en español. Clientes hispanos. Tengo que aprender árabe porque hay bastantes árabes. Bastante.	ROB
¿Con qué idioma se siente más cómodo?	INT
Con español.	ROB

¿Cómo mantiene contacto con amigos y parientes en Perú?	INT
Facebook. Messenger. WhatsApp. Antes tenías que poner tu tarjetita y pagar.	ROB
¿Con qué frecuencia viaja a Perú?	INT
Ah yo estoy viajando por lo menos unos 3 o 4 veces al año. Es por los proyectos de película que estamos haciendo.	ROB
¿Ha habido alguna vez en que un hispanohablante no peruano no entendió lo que usted dijo en español?	INT
Sí. Muchas veces me sucede eso. Muchas veces. Y al revés también. Me dicen unas cosas y digo "¿Qué? No le entiendo." Los venezolanos dicen "deja la arrechera" dicen. Para nosotros es malo. Para ellos es estar jodiendo, molestando. A los venezolanos. Boludo. Los argentinos. El uruguayo.	ROB
¿Ha cambiado su español desde que llegó a los EEUU?	INT
Yo creo que sí. Porque cuando uno trata con diferentes países, gente de diferentes países, su español es, como te contagia. Una cosa que dicen es "¡Oye te llamo pa' trás!" "¿Qué?" "Atrás." Te dicen muchas cosas y se te pegan, ¿no? "Estoy encojonado" se me pegó encojonado. "¡¡Eh encojona'o!!" *(Mimics accent)*	INT
Encojonado es enfadado. Estoy molesto. Interesante.	ROB
¿qué quiere decir eso?	INT
¿Hay algo que le gusta sobre la manera que los peruanos hablan el castellano? ¿O algo que no le gusta?	INT
¿Algo que me guste? Me gusta con la excepción de las jergas. Con las jergas no le entiendo. No estoy al día tampoco. Pero generalmente yo entiendo que las personas mayores hablan muy bien, muy claro. Y como tú dices el español peruano es, comparando y sin menospreciar al dominicano o al mexicano, al puertorriqueño, no puede *(inaudible)* su español. Ni el centroamericano, no. Los dominicanos hablan muy rápido "¡blahblahblahblah!" *(mimics Dominican Spanish)*	ROB
El chileno canta. Y el uruguayo tiene demasiado sonor.	ALE
Ahora que me pongo a pensar sí pues. El peruano es más pausado. ¿Tú has visto el video de una mexicana que imitaba a gente de todos los países?	ROB
Sí.	INT
Y no pudo el Perú. "Y el peruano? No no puedo" dice.	ROB
"Es difícil" dijo.	INT
Pero salió otro chico que sí imitó al peruano. "Habla chochera como es..." *(mimics Peruvian Spanish)*	ROB
Siempre se caracteriza al limeño pero no a los demás. Porque para mí en el norte está mucho mejor el español. Claro por la....si nos vamos al norte a la selva, la parte donde yo no vivo, vivo cerca de la selva, ya se ha vuelto ya distorsionado, mucha...tipo cantando me entienden. Es totalmente mal pero Chiclayo, la parte Chiclayo, es un español bien inteligente.	ALE
Me acuerdo de una vecina que decía "di"...	ROB
"Di" es de la selva. De Cajamarca.	ALE

De Chimbote era. Chimbote.	ROB
En Iquitos también.	ALE
En su opinión, ¿cuál es el grupo que habla el mejor español?	INT
Ahora que me puse a pensar, el peruano, ¿no? El peruano y...me gusta como hablan los venezolanos también. No todos. Porque a veces hablan rápido.	ROB
Sí, estoy de acuerdo.	ALE
Pero depende de dónde son.	ROB
¿Y el peor?	INT
El dominicano.	ROB
¡Te vuelve loco!	ALE
¿Por qué?	INT
Hablan rápido.	ROB
"¿Cuál es su nombre?" y me dice, "Enrique Martinez." *(mimics Dominican Spanish.)* "Usted habla este...inglés o español?" Este..pero me dice este"¡¿pero qué estamos hablando?!" ¿Me entienden?	ALE
Tenía un cliente que era dominicano, y le dije "señor cuál es su nombre" y me dice "Sóstenes". "¿Ah?" "Sóstenes." "Ah, ok perdón. ¿Y su apellido?" "Blanco." ¡Sostén blanco! ¡Sóstenes Blanco! *(risa)*	ROB
¡No te creo! Pero no solo pasa...¡en nuestro país también hay! Imagínate.	ALE
Este...ahora que fui a Cuba, vi este...una película, que el papá le había puesto a su hijo el nombre Usnavy. Usnaaavy, Usnavy, Usnavy. "Por que te puso Usnavy?" "Es que mi papá como siempre pasaba a trabajar por el mar y siempre pasaba un barco decía 'U.S. Navy'" ¡Usnavy! ¡Usnavy!	ROB
Usted dijo que tiene hijos, ¿sí?	INT
Sí, tengo dos hijos, dos nietos.	ROB
¿Hablan español, sus hijos?	INT
Mis hijos, sí hablan bien. Quién no está hablando bien es el nieto. Es por el papá que es americano. Pero siempre cuando hablan conmigo cuando vienen a visitarme, español. Si no, no hay nada. El nieto siempre dice "Sí." "¿Me entiendes?" "Sí."	ROB
¿Qué opinan otras personas en su familia sobre la manera en que sus hijos hablan el español?	INT
En este país, como está lleno de diferentes culturas, este...creo que el español es su idioma más fuerte entre los dos. Creo que es una ventaja también para los niños, ¿no? Para su futuro. Si no hablas dos idiomas, o tres, estás perdido. Al menos para obtener un trabajo.	ROB
¿Qué piensa usted sobre el acento de sus hijos y sus nietos?	INT
Tienen acentos peruanos, se copian. No suenan peruano peruano, pero algo de peruano.	ROB
Hay que haber algo.	ALE

Interview #6

Participant: Lourdes (LOU), Alejandro (ALE)
Duration: 18:25

Transcript	Speaker
¿Me dijiste que tienes 26 años?	INT
Sí.	LOU
¿Por cuánto tiempo has estado en los EE.UU.?	INT
Seis años. Llegué en 2011, en octubre.	LOU
¿Naciste en Huánuco, me dijiste?	INT
Sí, Huánuco.	LOU
¿Qué idiomas hablas? Aparte del quechua, español, inglés...	INT
Aparte, no. Sólo los tres nada más.	LOU
¿Cómo aprendiste el quechua?	INT
Por mi abuela.	LOU
¿El inglés?	INT
En la escuela, con los amigos, trabajo...	LOU
¿En casa qué idiomas hablas?	INT
En la casa hablamos español y quechua.	LOU
¿Hablan más el español o quechua?	INT
El quechua hablamos...más hablamos quechua digamos.	LOU
¿En el trabajo?	INT
En el trabajo, inglés.	LOU
¿Con amigos/amigas?	INT
Mixto, porque son hispanos, americanos, hablo los dos.	LOU
¿Hablas quechua con amigos?	INT
No. Pero ellos saben que yo hablo quechua entonces son como tú, interesados pero no...	LOU
¿Hay otros que hablan quechua pero no lo usan contigo?	INT
No.	LOU
¿En qué idioma te sientes más cómoda?	INT
Con mi familia, hablando este...español, porque todo el mundo habla español. Casi...delante de la gente no nos gusta hablar mucho el quechua, porque no todos entienden quechua.	LOU
¿Todavía hablas con amigos y parientes en Perú?	INT
No, solo con mi padre. Y con mi hermana.	LOU
¿Cuándo hablas con ellos usas-	INT
-español.	LOU

¿Usas el teléfono o Facebook, o...?	INT
No, teléfono.	LOU
¿Con qué frecuencia visitas el Perú?	INT
No he ido. Desde que he llegado, no, no he ido. Te estoy diciendo toda la verdad why you looking to me? No he ido.	LOU
Cuando hablas con personas de otros países hispanohablantes, ¿te entienden siempre o hay peruanismos que no entienden? ¿Te ha pasado alguna vez?	INT
Sí me ha pasado. Como siendo en mi país hay unas palabras a veces hablamos diferentes, ellos lo usan diferente. Es como por ejemplo si lo uso, si lo hablo, a veces no lo entienden, porque muchos han tenido otra creación, estos tipos nada más.	LOU
Otras personas que hablan español, ¿te han dicho algo y no entendiste?	INT
En español, sí, porque aquí son de países diferentes, de Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, tienen diferentes...México.	LOU
¿Has aprendido algunas palabras de ellos?	INT
Sí, como por ejemplo de Colombia hay diferentes palabras que usan, de que nosotros, a veces, por ejemplo las malas palabras. So, eso sí he aprendido, y de México, he aprendido como lo hablan. Dominicanos también. Diferente hablan. So unas cuantas palabras. Ya.	LOU
¿Crees que ha cambiado tu español desde que llegaste a los EEUU?	INT
No, no lo sé. Porque aquí mayormente es este, trabajo más, sí yo sé que sí, un poco porque por ejemplo en mi trabajo yo lo hablo casi mayormente inglés, inglés, inglés, en mi país y casi toda la vida español, siempre es español entre todos. Me tendría que decir alguien que escucha mi español. Nadie me ha dicho nada. Sé que ha cambiado pero yo no sé cómo.	LOU
¿Hay algo que te gusta sobre el español peruano?	INT
Sí me gusta, porque tienen diferentes acentos. Mi país tiene costa, sierra, selva. Los que están en la costa hablan diferente. De la sierra, lo hablan diferente, y de la selva también lo hablan diferente. Solo los acentos me gustan. Más que todo de la selva.	LOU
¿Qué grupo en tu opinión habla el mejor español?	INT
Hmm. Los españoles. No es que digo lo mejor, pero que lo hablan bonito. En ese sentido. O sea el sonido me gusta. No es que diga es lo mejor.	LOU
Los españoles (imitates accent) o prefieres los dominicanos	ALE
¿Qué hubo pueees mira te pasas!	LOU
¿En tu opinión, quién habla el peor español?	INT
Tengo dos. ¿Puedo decir los dos?	LOU
Sí por supuesto dime.	INT
México y dominicanos. No me gustan mucho. El acento. You're not gonna say nothing! *(to her brother)*	LOU
¿Es por como suena, o...?	INT
Como lo manejan el idioma. Como suena también.	LOU

Está bien que des una respuesta honesta no voy a compartir tu nombre. Cuando tengas hijos algún día, ¿quieres que hablen español?	INT
Sí, claro. Claro que sí. Y quechua. A mis hijos los voy a enseñar. Mi primer idioma es el español. So, tienen que saber ellos el español. Bilingües.	LOU

Interview #7
Participants: Dora (DOR), Lourdes (LOU), Alejandro (ALE)
Duration: 11:07

Transcript	**Speaker**
¿Cuántos años tienes?	INT
Veinticuatro.	DOR
¿Cuándo llegaste a los EEUU?	INT
El 31 de octubre de 2011.	DOR
¿Qué idiomas hablas?	INT
Yo hablo español, un poquito de inglés y quechua.	DOR
En casa ¿qué idiomas hablas?	INT
Normalmente hablo español a veces quechua. Lo mezclo.	DOR
Cuando quieren hablar entre ellas, quechua.	ALE
En el trabajo ¿qué idiomas hablas?	INT
Inglés. Trabajo en UPS.	DOR
¿Y hay que hablar inglés?	INT
Sí la jefa no quiere que hablemos español. Hay tres hispanos que trabajamos pero nos ha prohibido hablar español. Y eso es racismo. No nos dejan ni saludarnos en español. Nada. Es americana. Ellos son así.	DOR
¿Con qué idioma te sientes más cómoda?	INT
Con el español.	DOR
¿Cómo hablas con amigos o familia en Perú?	INT
Por teléfono, a veces escribo mensajes en Facebook, WhatsApp...	DOR
¿Visitas el Perú con frecuencia?	INT
Cada un año y medio más o menos. La última vez fue el año pasado en julio. Las fiestas patrias.	DOR
Cuando hablas con otros hispanos que no son de Perú, ¿siempre te entienden? ¿Ha habido alguna vez cuando alguien no entendió algo que dijiste? ¿Qué pasó?	INT
Nunca, me entienden siempre. No uso jergas.	DOR
¿Ni el dominicano?	ALE
No, siempre me entienden a mí.	DOR
¿Y tú entiendes todo que ellos dicen?	INT

No, no todos. Los dominicanos hablan español malísimo. Yo soy honesta. No me gusta como hablan los dominicanos, su español. Su español es malo. Su inglés no entiendo.	DOR
¿Crees que tu español ha cambiado desde que llegaste a este país?	INT
Algunas cosas, he mejorado. Porque hay algunas palabras que he aprendido a usarlas correctamente y no las usaba en Perú. Porque en Perú era más...creo que he aprendido a ser más respetuosa.	DOR
¿Hay algo que te gusta del español peruano?	INT
Me gusta.	DOR
En tu opinión, ¿qué grupo habla el mejor español? ¿De qué país? Si tuvieras que decidir.	INT
España. España es lo que habla el español original. De lo que realmente tiene que ser. España habla. ¿Cierto? Literalmente es España que lleva el número uno. Me fascina.	DOR
¡Pues, hombre! *(Mimics Spain Spanish)*	ALE
¡Joder! *(Mimics Spain Spanish)*	YOL
¡Gilipollas! *(Mimics Spain Spanish)*	ALE
¡Jolín! *(Mimics Spain Spanish)*	YOL
Me encanta.	DOR
¿Cuántos hijos tienes?	INT
No tengo.	DOR
Si tengas hijos algún día, ¿quieres que hablen español?	INT
Sí. Y quechua también. Todo que yo tengo, tengo que inculcarlos.	DOR
Why?	YOL
Cuando ustedes hablan, ¿hablan español o inglés, quechua?	INT
Una mezcla. Un poquito de todo. Yo sé quechua pero no sé contar. Lo que no sé hablar, como mi mamá entiende español no me esfuerzo tanto en hablarlo en quechua correctamente. Yo sé lo básico y lo que no sé lo meto en español. Mi mamá me entiende.	DOR

Interview #7
Participants: Manuela (MAN), Maite (MAI)
Duration: 8:29

Transcript	**Speaker**
¿Cuántos años tiene usted?	INT
Setenta. En septiembre, sí.	MAN
Yo treinta y cuatro.	MAI
¿Qué idiomas hablan ustedes?	INT
Uy mamita, inglés y español malhablado.	MAN
Español.	MAI
¿Cómo mantienen el contacto con amigos y parientes en Perú?	INT

Solo con mi mamá, por teléfono. Solo me comunico con gente acá.	MAI
No, no entro mucho. Yo tengo Facebook pero no, no entro casi nunca.	MAN
¿Cuánto tiempo llevas aquí en los EEUU?	INT
Diecisiete años.	MAI
¿Ha habido alguna vez en que un hispanohablante no peruano no entendió lo que usted dijo? ¿Puede pensar en un ejemplo?	INT
Yo no le entiendo mucho a los dominicanos. Pero a otros sí.	MAN
¿Qué piensa sobre la manera que sus hijos hablan el castellano?	INT
Hablan bien. Como peruanos, no han dejado su dejo.	MAN
¿Usted cree que su español ha cambiado?	INT
No. No he cambiado nada, pero mi hijo sí. Habla más inglés que español ahora. Pero su dejo de español no lo ha cambiado.	MAN

Interview #8
Participant: Yonel (YON), Lourdes (LOU)
Duration: 22:25

Transcript	**Speaker**
¿Cuándo llegaste a los EEUU? ¿Viniste con ellas?	INT
No. Yo vine después.	YON
Llegué el 12 de marzo de 2o12, hace 5 años.	YON
¿Hablas español, quechua e inglés?	INT
Sí, inglés más o menos.	YON
¿Cómo aprendiste el quechua?	INT
El quechua, bueno por mi mamá, por mi abuela.	YON
¿Y el inglés?	INT
En el trabajo. Quería coger clases pero como trabajaba mucho no me daba tiempo. Tenía que aprender en el trabajo. En el teléfono.	YON
¿Trabajas con otros hispanos...o con quién-?	INT
Con hispanos y americanos.	YON
¿Con otros hispanos hablas español?	INT
Sí, siempre. Nunca, no me gusta, aunque ellos me hablan en inglés yo siempre los respondo en español. Porque ellos entienden. Sólo inglés hablo con él que no tiene otra opción. Ese es mi punto de vista siempre. Tengo amigas dominicanas que me hablan en inglés. "No, yo soy ciudadana" me dicen. "Pero tu me entiendes..." Y el inglés hablo con personas que realmente no me entienden.	YON
¿Con quién vives?	INT
Vivo solo.	YON
Con la familia ¿qué idiomas hablas?	INT

Español y quechua. Quechua con mi abuela porque no hay otra opción de entenderme. Y hago el esfuerzo de esto. Pero entender de todo lo que habla mi mamá, sí entiendo todo. Pero te vuelvo a repetir que no es el quechua original.	YON
¿En qué idioma te sientes más cómodo?	INT
Con español.	YON
¿Hablas con amigos o parientes en Perú? ¿Cómo te comunicas con ellos?	INT
Claro, siempre. Normalmente uso WhatsApp.	YON
Siempre hay ocaciones que se dan para conocer a más hispanos, por ejemplo amistades en el trabajo de Perú o de otros países. En discotecas o reuniones familiares.	YON
¿Ha habido alguna vez en que un hispanohablante no peruano no entendió algo que dijiste? ¿Qué pasó?	INT
Sí, siempre. Por los dichos más que nada. Cada quien tiene diferente manera. Por ejemplo, con los dominicanos y los puertorriqueños, cuando tu dices ahorita, este, ahorita es, ya. Ya mismo. Pero para nosotros ahorita puede ser luego, luego de dos horas, mañana. Siempre hay esa contradicción. Entonces parece que todo el mundo se ha mecanizado, tal vez hasta nosotros. Pero estamos alterando, creo, el español. Tú sabes, según lo que hablamos es la acción el verbo, ahorita es ya, ¿no? Instantáneo. Siempre hay controversia por eso.	YON
¿Ha habido alguna vez en que no entendiste a un hispanohablante no peruano? ¿Qué pasó?	INT
Sí, tal vez...las jergas nada más.	YON
¿Crees que tu español ha cambiado desde que llegaste a este país?	INT
No creo que haya cambiado. Pienso que es lo mismo. Tal vez el dejo. Un poco diferente.	YON
Cuando fuiste a Perú la última vez, después de vivir en los EEUU, ¿no te decían nada?	INT
Claro, se dan cuenta. Tal vez dices otras cosas a que ellos no están acostumbrados. Por ejemplo, nosotros estamos acostumbrados, igual, mecanizamos el quechua con español, y nosotros el inglés con español. Cuando decimos "soda, soda," es la gaseosa. Tú me entiendes. Y se confunden. Y yo digo "me das dos sodas por favor" entonces en Perú son las galletas, son Soda. Y me dan dos Sodas. "No, *oh shit*, no la gaseosa, perdón," le digo. Y eso. O siempre te acostumbras a decir "*okay*" y otras cosas se dan cuenta.	YON
¿Por qué dices soda ahora?	INT
Porque tú mecanizas como te digo.	YON
¿Quién dice “soda”?	INT
No sé. Los americanos. Muchos dicen soda. Pero se adapta al país donde uno está. Pero se dan cuenta que no eres de allí.	YON
¿Te gusta algo del castellano peruano?	INT
No me gusta porque otros dicen que todos los peruanos hablan de una manera vulgar. Como los dominicanos. O como otros. La verdad no es así. A veces los peruanos hablamos de una manera tranquila como estamos dialogando. Pero hay otros peruanos que es.. que siempre meten su jerga. ¿Sabes qué es jerga verdad?	YON
Sí.	INT

Están con su "causa, brother, concha tu madre, te cuento que salí ayer con mis patas." Pienso yo que, eso puedes hablar dependiendo con quién tú estés. Tú me entiendes.	YON
Sí, claro.	INT
Eso también nos grabó. "Tú me entiendes" no es de nosotros. "Tú me entiendes," eso quiere decir, es lo que hablan los puertorriqueños, los dominicanos. Así como uno, va a variar, va variando. Se adapta a como hablan. Cada quien.	YON
Para la siguiente pregunta, no hay respuesta correcta, es completamente tu opinión, ¿Qué grupo o país habla el mejor español?	INT
No sé, sería decir mi país, pero depende de cada quién. Sé qué otros dirán "No, el Perú, el Perú, el Perú!" Pues no puedo decir eso. Cada quien. Pero en este caso hay que ser transparente. A mi me gusta no decirlo, sino que otros lo digan. Entonces así se siente más orgulloso. Que otros lo digan, no tú. Igual para todo. Yo no puedo decir que en la cocina soy el mejor, pero trato de hacerlo mejor para que otros vean que...su opinión, su criterio de ellos, si es positivo pues es bueno, si es malo pues es envidia. Entonces uno lo toma de quien venga.	YON
¿Quienes hablan el español más desagradable? O sea un dialecto que no te gusta escuchar.	INT
No sé. Estoy entre los puertorriqueños y los dominicanos. Tal vez los dos. O México. Son varios, no sé.	YON
¿Tienes hijos?	INT
Sí, un hijo. Y habla español.	YON
¿Qué piensas de su español?	INT
Habla bien, pero como un niño tú sabes. Tiene 5 años. Sí habla bien. Habla muy claro. Sabe lo que quiere. Entiende todo. Se da cuenta de todo. No habla quechua.	YON
Hoy en día lo más importante es el inglés y el español. Por cultura pues debemos saber ambos.	YON
Le estaba contando del chico peruano que no quería hablar español. Tiene papás peruanos y no habla español. He is Peruvian and all he was saying when I talked to him was "I'm American. I can't speak it, I'm born here, I can't speak it." ¡Pero entiende!	LOU
Pero ¿por qué tú no le hablabas en inglés?	YON
"I'm American." Así me decía cuando yo le decía, "Háblame en español," yo le decía. No sé. Pero yo le hablaba a veces en español y el me respondía perfectamente.	LOU

Interview #9
Participants: Zulema (ZUL), Isela (ISE), Laura (LAU), Daniel (DAN), Eduardo (EDU), Carlos (CAR), Aníbal (ANI), César (CES)
Duration: 25:54

Transcript	**Speaker**
Mi nombre es Zulema, tengo cincuenta y seis años. Llegué hace veintiocho años. En el año... ¿qué mami?	ZUL
Cuando yo tenía once. Y ahora tengo treinta y cuatro.	ISE
Hace veintiocho años atrás.	ZUL

Me llamo Laura. Edad treinta y dos. ¿Hace cuánto? 2002.	LAU
Daniel. Llegué en 2012. Tengo treinta y tres años.	DAN
Mi nombre es Eduardo. Llegué hace tres meses.	EDU
Está recién bautizado.	ZUL
Sí, ¡recién! ¿Cómo se llama usted?	INT
Carlos y yo tengo veintiocho y vine en '98, *right*?	CAR
Mi nombre es Aníbal, tengo treinta y ocho años, vine en '97. Así diecinueve años.	ANI
Soy César y vine en 2002. Tengo veintiséis años.	CES
Soy Isela, treinta y cuatro años, vine en el 2002. Soy de Callao.	ISE
Todos son de Callao, los dos son de Lima Surquillo, y yo de Arequipa.	ZUL
Viví en Bella Vista, pues.	ZUL
Entre todos ustedes, ¿qué idiomas hablan?	INT
¡Español!	ZUL, ISE, ANI
Yo sí hablo tres lenguas. Español, inglés y huevadas.	CES
Huevadas, ¡nivel dos!	ISE
Todo un doctorado.	DAN
Experto.	CAR
Todos.	DAN, CAR, ANI
¿Quién habla inglés?	INT
Yo no.	EDU
Hay diferentes niveles de inglés pues.	ZUL
Por ejemplo es él *(Carlos)*, después Daniel, de todos que estamos redondidos creo que el tercero vendría a ser yo, no he escuchado a Aníbal pero creo que es el cuarto, tú (César) estás conmigo o estás con Aníbal, después de ellos puede venir mi mamá, después de mi mamá viene mi esposo, y después de mi esposo ya viene...Laura, y pues Eduardo.	ISE
Sí.	ZUL
Pues recién ha llegado.	INT
¿Quechua?	INT
No.	TODOS
Pero ¿te puedo decir por qué? ¿Por qué nosotros, siendo peruanos, no hablamos quechua?	CAR
Sí, por supuesto.	INT
Porque en el colegio, no nos enseñan quechua. Enseñan el inglés. Pero ahora hay colegios que enseñan quechua.	CAR

Porque es el idioma nativo pues.	ZUL
¿Kichwa es diferente al quechua?	ANI
Kichwa es de Ecuador. Bien copiones son.	CES
¿En casa todos hablan español?	INT
Sí.	TODOS
¿En el trabajo?	INT
Yo el español.	CAR
Trabajo solo. Con mi sombra no hablo nada.	CES
En el trabajo hablo inglés.	ISE
Yo inglés también.	ZUL
Yo inglés también.	ANI
Con amigos somos bilingües. Mayormente español pero los dos.	ZUL
Casi todos mis amigos hablan español e inglés.	DAN
Hablamos el *espanglish*.	ISE
¿Cómo hablan con amigos y parientes en Perú? ¿Qué usan? Facebook, WhatsApp...?	INT
Facebook.	CES
Facebook y WhatsApp.	CAR
WhatsApp. Yo uso Skype. Y tarjeta de llamada.	DAN
El *post*.	ZUL
¿Usan algo para comunicarse con otros peruanos aquí en los EEUU? ¿O para saber de eventos en la comunidad? Por ejemplo, unos se enteraron del Carnaval Ayacuchano por su página en Facebook.	INT
Los festivales nos enteramos por Facebook.	ISE
Sí, y otro por las amistades, los amigos.	ZUL
Sí, amistades te presentan a otras amistades.	DAN
¿Con qué frecuencia visitan Perú?	INT
Todos los años.	ZUL
Yo no, yo sería de tres a cinco años. Cada tres años. No hay plata.	ISE
Yo cuatro años.	ANI
Yo no he regresado desde el '99.	CES
Yo a veces voy hasta dos veces al año.	ZUL
Yo también voy dos veces al año.	DAN
Cuando hablas español con otros hispanos que no son peruanos, ¿siempre entiendes todo lo que dicen? ¿Hay momentos cuando no les entiendes?	INT

A veces uno trata de hablar un español como neutro. O sea ni tan peruano ni...para que entiendan.	DAN
Yo corrijo a todos. Yo trabajo con hondureños y los corrijo.	CAR
Lo que pasa es que como nos has escuchado hablar a nosotros, no estaríamos hablando así con un colombiano. Con un colombiano hablas español, pero no hablas de la manera que hablamos aquí porque ellos no te van a entender y ellos no te van a hablar a ti de la misma manera. Entonces pierde la gracia pues. Este es un lenguaje entre peruanos nada más.	ISE
Una vez trabajé en la casa de un cubano. Y su esposa era mexicana. Y yo hablo con varios mexicanos y a veces no entiendo porque tienen mucha jerga. Pero esta señora hablaba el español perfecto. Trabajaba en las Naciones Unidas como traductora. *Brother*, que bonito español. Qué nítido. No tenía dejos.	DAN
¿Qué bonita la tía o...?	ZUL
No, no, el español, la tía era una chiquita fea. Pero este...qué bonito no tenía dejos no...¿cómo se llaman? Hay unas personas que hablan cantando, alargan las palabras, hablan muy rápido y ella no. Hablaba como las traducciones de las películas.	DAN
Como yo, sí, gracias.	ZUL
Perfecto. Perfecto. Y era mexicana.	DAN
¿Pueden pensar en un ejemplo cuando otros no entendieron? ¿Por ejemplo tal vez usaste una palabra peruana o algo así?	INT
Todos los días.	DAN
Sí.	CES
O a veces tu puedes decir una palabra que para la otra persona es otra cosa mala.	ZUL
Como por ejemplo “papaya” para los cubanos es malo.	ISE
La papaya es la fruta pero ellos dicen “lechosa”.	
Para los dominicanos la pepa. Cuando tu dices pepa, para nosotros la pepa es la pepa de la manzana, la pepa de la palta. Y para ellos la pepa es...	ISE
La palta es el agua...¿cómo se llaman?	CES
Aguacate.	ISE
¡Pero es su nombre! ¡La palta!	ZUL
También en otros países, ¿dicen "nana" para la piña? ¿O ananá? Lechosa le dicen a la papaya y...	
Y nunca digas "bicho" cuando estás con puertorriqueños. "¡Un bicho, un bicho!" "No," te van a decir, "acá hay tres, hay cuatro." Porque "bicho" es la parte privada del hombre.	ISE
(Risa)	TODOS
Estoy enseñando.	ISE
Nosotros cuando una persona es astuto, decimos que es un pendejo. "¡Pendejo!" Y no es nada malo, ¿no? Pero en México, ¿en México, sí?	CES
En todos los otros países.	DAN
En todos los otros países "pendejo" es malo. O sea pendejo es como...	ANI

Estúpido, idiota.	CAR
Sí, algo así, sí.	ZUL
Y nosotros lo usamos al contrario.	CAR
Como que es un vivo, una persona así muy...	ZUL
No solo para los mexicanos, pero para todos. Los venezolanos también. Todos que no son peruanos.	ANI
¿Creen ustedes que su español ha cambiado desde que llegaron a este país?	INT
¡Oh, sí! Ha cambiado para peor.	ISE
¿Por ejemplo?	INT
Bien, en lo que acabo de decir. "Para peor."	ISE
Ahora decimos "printear" en vez de "imprimir." "Parquear." Es como decimos en Perú.	ISE
Estacionarse.	ZUL
"Anda a estacionar tu carro." Ahora no. Ahora dices, "Anda a parquear tu carro."	ZUL
O "chateando." "Vamos a chatear."	DAN
Claro. Está mal dicho.	CAR
O feisbuquear.	ANI
Pero yo trato de usar las palabras correctas.	ZUL
Pero yo sí siento que ha empeorado un poco. Pienso que no estar en Perú, se aleja un poco del español también.	ISE
Y cuando regresan a Perú, ¿te dicen algo sobre la manera que hablan?	INT
Se dan cuenta.	ZUL
Se dan cuenta. Pero no se dan cuenta por la hablada, dicen cosas como que "Hueles diferente." O, "Hueles a nuevo."	ISE
La vestimenta también porque cuando acá es verano vas allá ya es invierno. Y también, en mi trabajo hablo inglés, y hablo español perfecto pero mi español ya tiene otro acento diferente. Una vez un taxista me lleva, voy a sentar atrás, y el señor me queda mirando y me dice, "señora usted es de acá?" Le digo, "sí," le digo. "Ah ya," me dice. "No, es que soy de Amazona," le dije yo. No le dije que vine de acá. Porque me daba miedo. Pero, con amistades que he hablado, dicen que es diferente ahora.	ZUL
A mi me han dicho también. "Hueles diferente."	CES
Para los que tienen hijos...¿hablan español ellos?	INT
Cuando yo voy, se se nota.	
Yo le hablo en español. No le hablo en inglés.	ISE
Pero yo quiero que él habla el inglés verdadero, mi inglés es como...imagínate, ¿por qué le voy a estar hablando inglés?	ISE
Pero es para que tú practiques también.	
No me responde todavía pues.	ISE

Hay gente que está acá que no quieren que sus hijos hablen español. Ellos viven en los Estados Unidos, quieren que hablen solamente el inglés. Por ejemplo nosotros, nosotros le hablamos en español aunque todavía no habla, ¿no? Pero vamos a inculcar el español. Porque el inglés va a vivir acá de todas maneras. Quiera o no lo va a aprender.	DAN
¡Yo conozco un montón!	ZUL
Pero hay muchos casos no hablan, cuando van a la escuela, por ejemplo un colombiano con un americano, ya dejan el español. Sí he visto mucho eso. Pero no compararlo con un venezolano porque un venezolano sí...	LAU
Por ejemplo yo tengo mi sobrina que ella nació aquí, pero habla perfectamente el español, sabe leer, sabe escribirlo.	ANI
¿Su papá es peruano?	ISE
No. Su papá es colombiano.	ANI
Ah no pero si no es americano...Son dos...	LAU
Hispanos.	DAN
Sí claro, a eso voy. Pero si es americano uno, se pierde.	LAU
Depende del americano. Hay americanos que le gusta que tenga otro idioma.	ZUL
Eso sí hay muchos pero cuando es un americano y la otra parte es hispana siempre es más inglés. Pero sí son dos hispanos, español pues.	LAU
¿Es importante que sus hijos hablen español y suenen peruanos?	INT
Claro. Tiene que ser.	ISE
Sí.	DAN
En mi caso, creo que neutral. El peruano peruano no va a ser pues. Creo yo.	LAU
Lo que pasa es que en realidad no hablamos un español peruano. Nuestro español es, el normal. Nosotros no cantamos, no hablamos muy rápidamente, lo que hablamos es mucha jerga.	DAN
Nosotros. En Iquitos tiene su acento diferente. Cantan cuando están hablando *(mimics Iquitos Spanish)*.	LAU
Si no hablaran con tantos modismos y sin tantas jergas, hablarían un buen español. Español que debe ser.	DAN
El español más pegado al castellano.	ZUL
Pero tú vas a encontrar a peruanos que van a hablar un español limpio. Sin jergas. Son, nosotros somos...mi papá habla cinco palabras, cuatro son jergas.	ISE
Yo hablo bastante normal el español. A veces hablo lisuras, pero...*bad words*.	ZUL
Entonces, quién entre todos los grupos hispanos, es una opinión, ¿quién habla el mejor español?	INT
Peruanos.	ISE
Perú.	ANI
Sí el peruano.	DAN

Sí es verdad.	ZUL
¿El colombiano no puede ser?	LAU
No.	ZUL
Cantan.	ANI
No, es cantado.	DAN
Tiene acento.	CAR
¿Por el acento dicen ustedes o por...?	LAU
No, de todo.	ZUL
Es lo más neutral.	CES
Porque son más educados, creo al hablar, que nosotros, pero el acento es diferente.	LAU
Dependiendo.	ZUL
Es la acentuación.	LAU
Son más formales, puede ser porque son más formales. Pero-	CAR
-pero depende con quién, porque si te encuentras un parcero, "parce...mira parce, oye parce..." *(mimics Colombian Spanish.)* ¿Ah?	ISE
Yo pienso que de todo de habla castellana, el que habla más pegado a la normas de la regla del idioma castellano, yo pienso que es el Perú que se pega más. Pienso, no sé. Y, ¿por qué lo digo? Porque yo trato con todas las culturas hispanas. México, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, y allí yo tengo una diversidad, ¿no? Cada persona es una cabeza, un mundo. Y me doy cuenta de la crianza de los niños también. Por ejemplo hay una pareja de mexicanos. Que la señora me dice que su esposo es mexicano y ellos no hablan inglés. Ninguno los dos. Ni el papá ni la mamá. Y le digo pero, "¿por qué tu hijito no habla español?" Me dice, "Porque su papá le dice que el es gringo, y que él no es mexicano y que no tiene porque hablar…"	ZUL
Mamá, no, no le dice gringo...americano.	ISE
Decir gringo no...	DAN
No, así me dijo, "él es gringo."	ZUL
La vez pasada dijiste que te dijo que era americano.	ISE
No, porque ¡yo lo vario!	ZUL
"Porque su papá le dice que él es gringo," me dijo así, y mira, ¿por qué te digo? "Porque su papá le dice que el es gringo y él no tiene porque hablar español. Sino inglés." "*Oh, okay*." Boca cerrada. Como a los dos meses viene el chiquito con un corte así como que te cuento, y su pelo de acá, como el color de tu pelo. Mira. Y lo miro y le digo, "¡Qué lindo!" le digo. Y me dice, "No. El chico viene llorando de la escuela, me dice, '*Mom.* Mi papá dice-,'" en inglés, pues, ¿no?, "'¡que yo soy *amerigringo*! ¿Y por qué no tengo el pelo rubio como Robert?'" *(mimics non-native Spanish accent).* Y dice que el señor le agarró de la mano, lo llevó al *barber*, y le cortó así y le pintó rubio.	ZUL
Uy está mal...	LAU
Cada uno con su tema, pues, ¿no?	ZUL

Es extremo.	ISE
Que hay gente que se pinta el pelo rubio. Gringo.	CAR
No pero para que ella sepa que hay gente así, de esa mentalidad.	ZUL
No pues, sino que, para que tú veas que es la mentalidad del hombre, de los padres que crían a un hijo con esa mentalidad tan absurda. El hijo no vale por el pelo, ni tu vales por la ropa, porque yo me pongo Michael Kors y tú te pones Old Navy. Y yo de frente le digo, "El mono aunque se viste de seda, mono se queda." "¿Qué es eso?" "Averigua en el *dictionary*."	ZUL
Otra pregunta que también es una opinión, ¿quién entre todos los grupos hispanos habla el peor español?	INT
El de El Salvador.	DAN
Los centroamericanos.	ANI
Centroamericanos.	ISE
El Salvador y Guatemala.	CAR
Pero es por falta de educación.	DAN
Claro, sí.	ZUL
Creo que ellos son los menos educados.	DAN
No han terminado su-	ANI
A ver mira como Aníbal...¡habla bien bonito!	CAR
La gringuita puede sacar lo mejor de nosotros.	ISE
¿Cuáles son las dificultades para mantener el español?	INT
Cuando hablas con amigos pero no hablan bien y se te va el idioma.	ISE
Mentira.	ZUL
Pienso que la dificultad es que tu salgas de ese círculo, nosotros no porque siempre estamos. Por ejemplo yo he vivido diecisiete años con una señora americana.	ZUL
Por ejemplo, en el caso del niño de qué estamos hablando en antes, si va a un colegio con puros americanos, no va a querer hablar el castellano.	DAN
En mi trabajo, por ejemplo, entra una señorita como tú y digo, "Buenos días." Y voltea, "*What you want*?" "*Sorry"* le digo, "*Good morning*." "I*t's okay*!" La otra vez que viene, ella me dice, "¡Buenos días, Zulema!" *(mimics non-native Spanish accent)*. Entonces ellos como que se interactan a mi forma. Pero hay algunos que se fastidian. Porque no, dicen, "Esto es América." Y yo no tengo por qué...Ha habido clientes que han dicho que por qué hablo español. Pero como la tienda es para todos que entran, tú no vas a hablar solo el inglés. Hay que hablar todo.	ZUL