

Anglicisms: Use and Perceptions in the Tijuana-San Diego Border

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Abstract

Anglicisms, or words that mix English and Spanish features, are one of the varieties that are representational of the hybrid culture of the Tijuana-San Diego border region and the linguistic practices of its inhabitants. This study, through the implementation of self-report tasks and a questionnaire, will examine the use and perceptions of 24 Tijuanaenses and San Diegans regarding two types of anglicisms that differ in their hybrid quality. One type is comprised of anglicisms that, due to their multiple linguistic modifications, are highly evident in their hybrid quality while the second type consist of few linguistic modifications and are therefore more subtle in their hybrid quality. Throughout this study, the former will be labeled overt anglicisms and the latter covert anglicisms. Overt and covert anglicisms also have forms that have been standardized into Standard Mexican Spanish and ones that are non-standard. In this study, standard and non-standard forms of overt and covert anglicisms will also be examined. Past studies have revealed that Tijuanaenses, although avid users, are critical of non-standard overt anglicisms. Such is due to the fact that they are perceived as representational of the threat that American influence poses to the integrity of the Spanish language (Illescas 1982:59) and preservation of Mexican culture (Caldera 2016:4). On the other hand, it has been observed that San Diegans use them and view them positively due to their perceived ability to constitute a new language that connects two cultures that they identify with (Caldera 2016:4). There seems to be a discrepancy of perception and use that only applies for Tijuanaenses in regards to this type of anglicisms, but it is unknown whether these patterns also hold for their standard counterparts and covert anglicisms that are standard and non-standard.

It is important to compare Tijuanaenses' and San Diegans' use and perception regarding these types of anglicisms since it may reveal their overall attitudes toward language contact and to what extent they are influenced by prescriptivism and nationalism. Based on the results of previous studies, I hypothesize that, in the present study, all types of anglicisms will be used by both groups, regardless of their background. However, I expect that Tijuanaenses' perceptions of overt anglicisms, regardless of their standard quality, will be more conservative than those of standard and non-standard covert anglicisms. Meanwhile, I presuppose that San Diegans' perceptions will be more progressive regarding all types of anglicisms.

Overall, one of the purposes of this study¹ is to compare the use and perceptions of overt and covert anglicisms and their standard and non-standard forms in order to find out to what extent prescriptivism and interaction with U.S cultural imperialism dictate the linguistic practices and attitudes of the inhabitants of this border region. The second purpose is to highlight potential differences that shape Tijuanaenses' and San Diegans' experiences navigating the hybrid culture of the Tijuana-San Diego border.

1. Introduction

The U.S-Mexico borderlands are regions where Mexican and American cultures blend to create a hybrid culture that is manifested in the inhabitants' linguistic patterns. "Spanglish" is the term used to define this linguistic phenomenon and it is rooted in the combination of elements of Spanish and English. One of the two common forms is code-switching which consists of alternating between the two at the sentential level (Becker 1997:3) while the second form is

¹ I would like to thank Professor Ivy Sichel for inviting me to present my research on border slang at LURC which ultimately inspired me to complete this project. I would also like to thank all of the people that participated in this study and that helped me understand more about our frontera culture.

anglicisms or words that combine morphemes from both languages. Based on my experiences as a local speaker, I observed that these forms vastly differ, not only in their conventions, but in the attitudes that the speakers have towards them. Whenever I visited Tijuana, I abstained from code-switching between English and Spanish in order to avoid ridicule from my Mexican family members. In their eyes, this linguistic practice was deemed a sign of deficiency of my Spanish speaking abilities and a loss of my Mexican culture. However, they appropriated anglicisms such as *loncheare* and *parquear*, which stem from the verbs ‘to park’ and ‘to have lunch’, into their vernacular. It became my assumption that the properties of code-switching of alternating between two distinct linguistic systems make it more detectable and, therefore, more stigmatized by monolingual Tijuaneños. Meanwhile, anglicisms are more subtle since they are modified to coincide with the phonetic requirements of Spanish (Reyes, Jubilado 2012:45) and, as a result, they are often used by Tijuaneños that do not have any knowledge of their origins. In this border region, anglicisms are considered to make up what is known as “border slang” (Grimm 2008:1) and they are usually regionally fabricated and have not been standardized into Standard Mexican Spanish. These words are usually verbs like the aforementioned forms *loncheare* and *parquear* that, based on their property of consisting of multiple linguistic modifications, tend to be overt in their hybrid quality to speakers of this region. However, there are also anglicisms that, given their few linguistic modifications, are covert or less evident in their hybrid quality. Both covert and overt anglicisms have forms that are standard and non-standard. In other words, they can either be forms that are part of Standard Mexican Spanish or that are not. The distinctions of overt vs. covert and their standard and non-standard forms have not been studied, but they may be informative regarding the different language ideologies that are present in this region.

As a result of the lack of available information regarding this topic, this study intends to compare Tijuanaenses' and San Diegans' use and perception regarding the following types of anglicisms:

1. Overt anglicisms

- a. Non-standard forms such as *parquear* or 'to park'.²
- b. Standard forms such as *escanear* or 'to scan'.

2. Covert anglicisms

- a. Non-standard forms such as *soda* or 'soda'.
- b. Standard forms such as *estrés* or 'stress'.

The underlying purpose is to find out if Tijuanaenses and San Diegans are, in fact, more critical of overt forms of language contact and whether their perceptions and their overall use are influenced by standard or non-standard quality. Such is important to examine since it may be informative regarding their experiences and reactions to navigating the hybrid culture of the San Diego-Tijuana border and the extent to which they are shaped by nationalism and prescriptivism. In order to collect data, participants were provided two lists of anglicisms that corresponded to overt and covert anglicisms. Both lists consisted of standard and non-standard forms. They were then prompted to complete self-reported tasks in which they shared the frequency of their use of each one of the anglicisms and their judgements on whether they were proper or improper. They were also expected to fill out a questionnaire that was inspired by one part of Dennis Preston's five point method for examining perceptual dialectology, or the study of "how non linguists understand dialectal variation" (Cramer 2016:1). The five point method consists of five different techniques,

² Non-standard overt anglicisms are also known as border slang in this region.

but for the purposes of this study, I applied one that is known as qualitative data and that entails asking more open ended questions.

Overall, the results indicated that Tijuanaenses and San Diegans used a majority of the covert and overt anglicisms, regardless of their standard and non-standard quality. The standard quality and hybrid quality of anglicisms, therefore, seemed to be arbitrary in influencing San Diegans' and Tijuanaenses' use. However, there was a drift in perception and in regards to what language mixing, in general, represents for them. Both groups recognized that anglicisms, especially non-standard overt anglicisms (border slang), served as evidence of the existence of a hybrid culture in this border region, but it was clear that San Diegans embraced this culture more than Tijuanaenses. San Diegans accepted this culture since they believed it resonated with their dual identity. On the other hand, Tijuanaenses' participation in this hybrid culture and language violates the standard of linguistic purity that is established by the dominant Mexican culture when defining "Mexicanness". This drift can be further understood in the context of the North vs. South gang rivalry that Norma Mendoza Denton, in her book *Homegirls: Language and Cultural Practice Among Latina Youth Gangs*, examined in a Northern California high school. Sureñas, members of the South gang, like Tijuanaenses, are expected to avoid the use of English in order to assert their Mexican identity. Meanwhile, Norteñas, members of the North gang, like San Diegans, embraced a hybrid variety which, in their case, is Chicano English in order to index their dual identity. The rivalries between the North and South gangs and the ways in which they construct their identity are representational of the larger conflict that takes place in border regions. Through this study, it can be observed that preconceived notions of Mexican and Chicano identities affect the way in which

Tijuanenses and San Diegans react to the hybrid language and culture that surrounds them in the Tijuana-San Diego border region.

1.1 Analysis of overt and covert anglicisms

One of the purposes of this study is to examine Tijuanenses' and San Diegans' perceptions and use of covert and overt anglicisms. In order to understand the contrast between the two types, their phonological, morphological, and orthographic features will be briefly discussed.

Overt anglicisms are ones that consist of several phonological, morphological, and orthographic modifications. Meanwhile, covert anglicisms are those that, in comparison, consist of less modifications. Both types of anglicisms can be standard or non-standard. In the following analyses, the non-standard overt anglicism *raitear* ('to ride/give a ride') and the standard overt anglicism *escanear* ('to scan') will be examined and compared to the non-standard covert anglicism *winis* ('weenies') and the standard covert anglicism *gol* ('goal').

Given the analysis below, it can be seen that anglicisms like *raitear* and *escanear* are more overt in their hybrid quality since they undergo more processes during their adaptation. On the other hand, covert anglicisms like *winis* or *gol* undergo less processes. Given this difference, it can be assumed that words like *raitear* or *escanear* are more noticeable and may therefore evoke more mixed opinions while words like *winis* or *gol* are more subtle and speakers may not know their origins or form negative judgements.

1. Overt anglicisms

| A. | Word | Definition |
|----|----------------|----------------------------|
| | <i>Raitear</i> | <i>To ride/give a ride</i> |

Ride → *Raite*

Phonological modifications

1. /d/ in ride is devoiced since word final voiced consonants in Spanish are not common.

Raite + /-ar/ → *Raitear*

Morphological modifications

1. The verb suffix /-ar/, the most common one in the Spanish language, is added to the noun *raite* which results in the verb *raitear*.

More phonological modifications

1. Alongside /-ar/, /e/ is epenthesized in order to bridge the English borrowed noun and this verb suffix. This is a common property, but it is not always applied.

Orthographic modifications

1. /aɪ/ is orthographically rendered as /ai/.

B. Word Definition

Escanear To scan

Scan → Escan

Phonological modifications

1. /e/ is added word initially in order to meet the phonetic requirements of Spanish since words in Spanish do not begin with a consonant cluster of /sc/.
2. the near open vowel /æ/ becomes the open vowel /a/ to meet the phonetic requirements of Spanish since words in Spanish do not contain the vowel /æ/.

Escan + /-ar/ → Escanear

Morphological modifications

1. The verb suffix /-ar/, the most common one in the Spanish language, is added to *escan* which results in the verb *escanear*.

More phonological modifications

1. Alongside /-ar/, /e/ is epenthesized in order to bridge the English borrowed noun and this verb suffix. As previously mentioned, this is a common property, but it is not always applied.

Compare the above processes to ones of covert anglicisms like *winis* and *gol*.

2. Covert Anglicisms

A. Word Definition

Winis Weenies

Phonological modifications

1. Final devoicing is applied which results in /iz/ → /is/.

Orthographic modifications

1. Double e is orthographically rendered as i since double e is not part of Spanish orthography.
2. e in the final syllable is dropped.

B. Word Definition

Gol Goal

Phonological modifications

1. /oʊ/ diphthong becomes /o/.

Orthographic modifications

1. a is omitted.

1.2. General attitudes regarding anglicisms

Few studies have been published that formally document the general attitudes of speakers along the Tijuana-San Diego border regarding the anglicisms that are used in this region. In 1982, a study was conducted by La Comisión Para La Defensa del Idioma Español en México with the main goal of protecting the Spanish language from the interference and the threat of displacement from the English language. They first gained insight on Tijuanaenses' perspectives by conducting a

90 question survey on 24 participants between the ages of 18-55. Overall, it was found that Tijuanaenses' viewed Tijuanaense Spanish as improper and contaminated due to the use of anglicisms such as *tuneo* ('tuning'). However, the results do not account for the linguistic practices of speakers of this region and only provide perspectives that may have been biased by the wording of the questions. It does not address the possibility that these users may use anglicisms regardless of their judgements of grammaticality.

In 2015, a study was conducted by Valeria Valencia-Zamudio that indirectly addressed the shortcomings of the previous study. One of the two objectives was to explore the use of 22 anglicisms by 16 Tijuanaenses through the collection of their natural productions. In order to do so, Valencia-Zamudio showed the participants a set of pictures of objects that represented each one of the anglicisms. The participants were then prompted to name the objects and, at last, fill out a questionnaire regarding their attitudes toward the use of these words. To an extent, the results differed from the previous study since it was found that all of the Tijuanaense participants used some of the anglicisms of border slang, although some viewed them negatively. It is important to note that neither of the aforementioned studies included the perspectives of speakers of the San Diego side of the border, many of whom also use this variety and whose experiences, as Spanish speakers in the United States, are likely to differ.

In 2016, another study (Caldera, 2016) was conducted regarding San Diegans' and Tijuanaenses' perceptions of border slang.³ In contrast to the previous ones, the goal of this study was to include the perceptions of San Diegans in order to compare them to the ones of Tijuanaenses. Overall, it was hypothesized that Tijuanaenses' perceptions regarding border slang

³ This was a pilot study that I conducted in 2016 and that inspired my current study.

would be conservative while San Diegans' would be progressive. In order to collect data, the participants were prompted to fill out a questionnaire that consisted of questions regarding their background and their perceptions of border slang, its speakers, its use and effect on Mexican culture. The most notable difference in the perceptions of San Diegans and Tijuansenses could be seen in the last question which dealt with whether they viewed the influence of English on Spanish as beneficial or harmful to Mexican culture. Most San Diegans, with the exception of a neutral participant, stated that the English influence on Spanish is beneficial to Mexican culture because it connects two cultures to create a new one. On the other hand, all of the Tijuansense participants asserted that it harmed Mexican culture in aspects of cultural domination, language preservation, and class discrimination. Similarly to the first study, this study only focused on documenting perception and not use. This study failed to highlight that, as previously observed, speakers' relation with border slang seems to be a complex one given that, regardless of the negativity that some speakers associate with these words, they appropriate it into their vernacular. Furthermore, the results are not helpful in establishing a deeper understanding of this complexity, which is the goal of the present study. Lastly, the stimulus, which entirely consisted of overt anglicisms, excluded other possible types of anglicisms that could be revealing of speakers' overall attitudes toward language contact in this region.

2. Methodology

In order to counteract the shortcomings of the last studies, I decided to interview 24 participants and examine their use and perception of covert and overt anglicisms that are standard and non-standard. The participants were separated into two groups that were comprised of 12

Tijuanenses and 12 San Diegans. In order to avoid a bias due to lack of diversity, I attempted to gather a participant sample between the ages of 21-60 and of education completion levels between middle school and university. Specifically speaking, I planned to interview 4 individuals from each category for both groups. In interviewing a participant sample of this diversity, the goal is to find out if their perceptions and use of the anglicisms differ depending on hybrid and standard quality and if these potential differences are related to education level and age.

2.1. Materials: Lists of anglicisms

Two of the main tools that I used to collect data were two lists of anglicisms that I compiled in 2018. Each list corresponded to overt anglicisms or covert anglicisms and they consisted of standard and non-standard forms. A sample of the words can be seen below.⁴

1. Overt anglicisms

Transportation - verbs (non-standard)

parquear - to park

Technology - verbs (standard)

faxear - to fax

2. Covert anglicisms

Food - nouns (non-standard)

soda - soda

Miscellaneous - nouns (standard)

turista - tourist

⁴ For the full versions of the lists, please see Appendix 1.

These words were derived from my own casual conversations with friends, strangers, and family as well as those that I encountered in public spaces. I categorized them based on their part of speech and function in daily life, which range from discussing technology and transportation to food, maintenance and other daily activities. I selected anglicisms that, based on my intuition and experiences as a native speaker of this variety, I perceived as most relevant to daily life across most social dimensions. These anglicisms are separated into two categories, those that consist of overt morphological, phonological, and orthographic modifications and those that are comprised of more covert ones. As seen in the lists above, both of the overt and covert lists consisted of standard and non-standard forms.

2.2. Materials: The survey

Aside from the two lists of anglicisms, four steps were designed for the survey process in order to measure use and perceptions.⁵ For the first step, participants were asked to share their age, nationality, spoken languages, and education level. These questions were asked in order to detect any potential correlations between their background and their responses. The second step consisted of two parts. First, the participants were expected to measure the frequency in their use of the selected anglicisms based on a 0-2 scale. 0 indicated that the participant had never heard of the word, 1 indicated that they had heard the word but had never used it, and 2 indicated that they had heard the word and had used it. Next, the participants were prompted to label each word as proper or improper. If they could not form a judgement, they were allowed to leave the question blank. In

⁵ Participants were interviewed online or in person, with the help of an iPad that was used to document their answers.

the third step, they were asked about the context in which they use or do not use standard overt anglicisms and standard and non-standard covert anglicisms.⁶

For the fourth step, participants were asked a series of questions. First, they were asked about the context in which they use or do not use non-standard overt anglicisms (border slang). The context of use of border slang was asked separately from the rest of the anglicisms in order to allow for more space for these answers. The format was set this way since, based on my experiences, there is more controversy surrounding the words of border slang. Therefore, I expected to receive more input regarding these words.

The second question dealt with the participants' perceptions of speakers that use border slang. Specifically speaking, participants were asked to provide their assumptions of a speaker's education, social and economic level based on their use of border slang. In the third question, participants were asked if they believed that language contact between English and Spanish was avoidable or inevitable and they were prompted to provide justification for their answers. The fourth and final question dealt with the participants' thoughts on the effects of mixing the English and Spanish languages on Mexican culture and whether they perceived them to be positive or negative.

3. Results

3.1 Background

First, the background of the Tijuansenses and the San Diegans in the participant sample will be discussed.

⁶ For the full version of the survey, please see Appendix 2.

3.1.1 Age and Education

For each of the two groups, there were 3 subgroups that corresponded to participants that had completed middle school, high school and university. Both the Tijuanaense and San Diegan subgroups with educational achievement of middle school or less were also the oldest ones and their ages ranged from 47-60. The youngest subgroups, with age ranges of 21-30, were studying at a 4-year university or were about to finish their degree. The middle subgroups, with age ranges of 31-46, had mixed education levels given that, for the Tijuanaenses, most of the participants had a 4-year university degree while the San Diegan participants of this subgroup had graduated from high school, but did not further their education or dropped out after the 1st year.

3.1.2 Identity and Language ability

All of the Tijuanaenses identified as Mexican and most were monolingual in Spanish, with the exception of 3 participants who claimed to be studying English or possessed the ability to speak it conversationally. Meanwhile, all of the San Diegans considered themselves to be Mexican-American or Chicano, with the exception of 1 participant who had lived in the U.S for nearly 30 years but was born in Mexico and self-identified as Mexican. A majority of the participants claimed to be bilingual in English and Spanish, but a few of the younger participants expressed that they were English dominant and had not received much formal education in Spanish.

3.2 Use of anglicisms

The tables below display the results of San Diegans' and Tijuanaenses' use of each one of the overt and covert anglicisms and their corresponding standard and non-standard forms. The group labels used correspond to the three education and age subgroups that Tijuanaenses and San Diegans were categorized into. Overall, based on these results, it is observed that both groups, across all ages and education levels, used most of the anglicisms regardless of their hybrid quality. However, some differences in use were detected that were related to the standard quality and function of the anglicisms in the speakers' daily lives.

| Group A | Use | Group B | Use | Group C | Use |
|------------------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| 21-30 | Total | 31-46 | Total | 47-60 | Total |
| <i>Overt</i> | | | | | |
| escanear ⁷ | 1 | escanear | 4 | escanear | 1 |
| formatear | 1 | formatear | 4 | formatear | 1 |
| faxear | 1 | faxear | 4 | faxear | 1 |
| bloquear | 2 | bloquear | 4 | bloquear | 1 |
| lonchear | 4 | lonchear | 2 | lonchear | 4 |
| parquear | 4 | parquear | 2 | parquear | 4 |
| raitear | 2 | raitear | 2 | raitear | 3 |
| troque | 1 | troque | 3 | troque | 4 |
| baica | 1 | baica | 2 | baica | 3 |
| mapeador | 2 | mapeador | 2 | mapeador | 4 |
| <i>Covert</i> | | | | | |
| winis | 3 | winis | 3 | winis | 3 |
| soda | 4 | soda | 4 | soda | 2 |
| zíper | 4 | zíper | 3 | zíper | 2 |
| gol | 4 | gol | 4 | gol | 4 |
| cóctel | 4 | cóctel | 4 | cóctel | 4 |
| básquetbol | 2 | básquetbol | 4 | básquetbol | 2 |
| estrés | 4 | estrés | 4 | estrés | 4 |
| turista | 2 | turista | 4 | turista | 4 |
| parque | 4 | parque | 4 | parque | 4 |

Table 1 *San Diegans' Use of Anglicisms*

⁷ Bolded anglicisms are standard and ones that are not bolded are non-standard.

| Group D | Use | Group E | Use | Group F | Use |
|-------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| 21-30 | Total | 31-46 | Total | 47-60 | Total |
| <i>Overt</i> | | | | | |
| escanear | 4 | escanear | 4 | escanear | 1 |
| formatear | 4 | formatear | 4 | formatear | 0 |
| faxear | 3 | faxear | 2 | faxear | 0 |
| bloquear | 4 | bloquear | 3 | bloquear | 1 |
| lonchear | 3 | lonchear | 2 | lonchear | 4 |
| parquear | 2 | parquear | 4 | parquear | 4 |
| raitear | 2 | raitear | 4 | raitear | 4 |
| troque | 1 | troque | 3 | troque | 4 |
| baica | 1 | baica | 1 | baica | 2 |
| mapeador | 2 | mapeador | 1 | mapeador | 1 |
| <i>Covert</i> | | | | | |
| winis | 2 | winis | 2 | winis | 3 |
| soda | 4 | soda | 4 | soda | 4 |
| zíper | 4 | zíper | 3 | zíper | 2 |
| gol | 4 | gol | 4 | gol | 4 |
| cóctel | 4 | cóctel | 4 | cóctel | 4 |
| básquetbol | 4 | básquetbol | 3 | básquetbol | 2 |
| estrés | 4 | estrés | 4 | estrés | 4 |
| turista | 4 | turista | 4 | turista | 4 |
| parque | 4 | parque | 4 | parque | 4 |

Table 2 *Tijuanenses' Use of Anglicisms*⁸

Table 1 and 2 show that all of the subgroups for both Tijuanenses and San Diegans used standard covert anglicisms slightly more than non-standard covert anglicisms. Nonetheless, they all seemed to use non-standard ones extensively. On the other hand, when it came to overt anglicisms, differences in use based on age and education level rather than standard quality were detected. Specifically speaking, the standard overt anglicisms that describe technological

⁸ The format of the tables was inspired by the one used in Valeria Valencia-Zamudio's (2015) study.

functions were used the least by the youngest and university educated San Diegans and the oldest Tijuanaenses and San Diegans who had education levels of middle school or below. These words were *escanear* ('to scan'), *faxear* ('to fax'), and *formatear* ('to format'). Meanwhile, these groups used the non-standard overt anglicisms, or border slang, that dealt with transportation and food the most. These words were *loncheare* ('to have lunch') and *parquear* ('to park'). On the other hand, the youngest and university educated Tijuanaenses and the middle Tijuanaense and San Diegan groups, who had education levels between a high school diploma and a 4 year university degree, used standard overt anglicisms that were related to technology the most.

3.3 Judgements of anglicisms

As seen in the previous section, Tijuanaenses and San Diegans, across all education levels and ages, used a majority of the anglicisms, regardless of their standard or hybrid quality. However, in the charts below, it is evident that standard quality influenced their judgements of propriety. Based on these results, it can be observed that there is no Tijuana vs. San Diego distinction in their judgements. For example, non-standard overt and covert anglicisms were labeled as improper by a majority of the Tijuana and San Diego subgroups while standard covert and overt anglicisms were labeled as proper. There were some exceptions that were related to age, education level, and even occupation and they will be discussed below in more detail. Aside from this, the point of interest is that Tijuanaenses and San Diegans, for the most part, used all of the anglicisms, including those that they viewed as improper. To some extent, this supports the presented hypothesis that assumed that anglicisms, regardless of standard or hybrid quality, would be used by Tijuanaenses and San Diegans.

| Group A | Proper | Improper | N/A | Group B | Proper | Improper | N/A | Group C | Proper | Improper | N/A |
|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|-------------------|----------|----------|-------|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| 21-30 | Total | Total | Total | 31-46 | Total | Total | Total | 47-60 | Total | Total | Total |
| <i>Overt</i> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| escanear | 1 | 1 | 2 | escanear | 4 | | | escanear | | 4 | |
| formatear | 2 | | 2 | formatear | 2 | 2 | | formatear | | 3 | 1 |
| faxear | 1 | | 3 | faxear | 3 | 1 | | faxear | | 4 | |
| bloquear | 2 | | 2 | bloquear | 4 | | | bloquear | 1 | 3 | |
| lonchear | 1 | 2 | 1 | lonchear | | 4 | | lonchear | | 3 | 1 |
| parquear | | 3 | 1 | parquear | | 4 | | parquear | | 4 | |
| raitear | | 2 | 2 | raitear | | 4 | | raitear | | 3 | 1 |
| troque | | 1 | 3 | troque | | 3 | 1 | troque | | 3 | 1 |
| baica | | 2 | 2 | baica | | 3 | 1 | baica | | 4 | |
| mapeador | 3 | | 1 | mapeador | | 2 | 2 | mapeador | | 4 | |
| <i>Covert</i> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| winis | 1 | 2 | 1 | winis | | 3 | 1 | winis | | 4 | |
| soda | 1 | 3 | | soda | 1 | 3 | | soda | | 4 | |
| zíper | 1 | 1 | 2 | zíper | 2 | 1 | 1 | zíper | | 3 | 1 |
| gol | 3 | | 1 | gol | 3 | 1 | | gol | 4 | | |
| cóctel | 2 | | 2 | cóctel | 4 | | | cóctel | 4 | | |
| básquetbol | 3 | | 1 | básquetbol | 3 | 1 | | básquetbol | 2 | | 2 |
| estrés | 3 | | 1 | estrés | 4 | | | estrés | 4 | | |
| turista | 4 | | | turista | 4 | | | turista | 4 | | |
| parque | 4 | | | parque | 4 | | | parque | 4 | | |

Table 3 *San Diegans' Judgements of Anglicisms*

Table 3 shows that a majority of the San Diegan subgroups were able to recognize the overt and covert anglicisms that were standard as proper and the non-standard covert and overt anglicisms as improper. Exceptions were some of the youngest and college educated San Diegans who were unable to provide judgements about the propriety of many of these forms. This group also incorrectly labeled non-standard forms such as *winis* ('weenies'), *soda* ('soda'), and *zíper* ('zipper') as proper.

| Group D | Proper | Improper | N/A | Group E | Proper | Improper | N/A | Group F | Proper | Improper | N/A |
|-------------------|--------|----------|-------|-------------------|--------|----------|-------|-------------------|--------|----------|-------|
| 21-30 | Total | Total | Total | 31-46 | Total | Total | Total | 47-60 | Total | Total | Total |
| escanear | 4 | | | escanear | 4 | | | escanear | 1 | 3 | |
| formatear | 4 | | | formatear | 4 | | | formatear | | | |
| faxear | 3 | 1 | | faxear | 4 | | | faxear | | 4 | |
| bloquear | 3 | 1 | | bloquear | 4 | | | bloquear | | 3 | 1 |
| lonchear | | 4 | | lonchear | | 4 | | lonchear | | 4 | |
| parquear | | 4 | | parquear | | 4 | | parquear | | 4 | |
| raítear | | 4 | | raítear | | 4 | | raítear | | 3 | 1 |
| troque | | 3 | 1 | troque | | 3 | 1 | troque | | 2 | 2 |
| baica | | 4 | | baica | | 4 | | baica | | 4 | |
| mapeador | | 3 | 1 | mapeador | | 4 | | mapeador | | 3 | 1 |
| Covert | | | | | | | | | | | |
| winis | | 4 | | winis | | 4 | | winis | | 4 | |
| soda | | 4 | | soda | | 4 | | soda | | 4 | |
| zíper | | 3 | 1 | zíper | | 4 | | zíper | | 3 | 1 |
| gol | 4 | | | gol | 4 | | | gol | | 4 | |
| cóctel | 4 | | | cóctel | 4 | | | cóctel | | 4 | |
| básquetbol | 3 | 1 | | básquetbol | 4 | | | básquetbol | | 4 | |
| estrés | 4 | | | estrés | 4 | | | estrés | | 4 | |
| turista | 4 | | | turista | 4 | | | turista | | 4 | |
| parque | 4 | | | parque | 4 | | | parque | | 4 | |

Table 4 *Tijuanenses' Judgements of Anglicisms*

Table 4 shows that, like San Diegans, a majority of the Tijuanaense subgroups were able to recognize the overt and covert anglicisms that were standard as proper and the non-standard covert and overt anglicisms as improper. Some exceptions were the oldest and less educated Tijuanaenses who labeled standard overt anglicisms such as *escanear* ('to scan'), *faxear* ('to fax'), *formatear* ('to format') as improper. In table 3, it can be seen that the San Diegan participants of the same ages and education levels also labeled these anglicisms as improper.

3.4. Context of use

The exceptions that were previously discussed can be better understood when considering the contexts in which Tijuanaenses and San Diegans use or did not use these anglicisms. For example, the youngest San Diegans shared that they mostly speak Spanish in Spanish-English bilingual environments, therefore, they opt for English alternatives of these anglicisms in order to convey their point and may therefore not know them. On the other hand, the context in which the rest of the participants used or did not use anglicisms seemed to be related to their line of work. For example, the oldest and less educated groups for both regions, who worked in manual jobs such as transportation, maintenance or food vending, shared that they did not use standard overt anglicisms that were related to technology and even expressed disapproval of them. Some of these participants claimed that they do not use these words because they are *nacas*, or tacky, and that only *chilangos*, a derogatory term used to refer to the inhabitants of Mexico City, use them. Meanwhile, these forms were extensively used by the youngest Tijuanaense group and the middle

Tijuanense and San Diegan group who shared that they used them in academic or work settings. The Tijuana group had worked in office settings or were university students in Tijuana and the San Diegans had worked in bilingual office settings in San Diego.

Given the previous results, it can be seen that there is no Tijuana vs. San Diego distinction that defines Tijuana and San Diegans' patterns of use and judgements of overt and covert anglicisms and their standard and non-standard forms. Furthermore, hybrid quality and standard quality did not seem to significantly influence their patterns of use or judgements. However, the exceptions that were discussed prove that these groups are not entirely homogeneous and that diversity in terms of level of Spanish ability and occupation exists among these groups. These two factors seem to be more influential in shaping their patterns of use and judgements. The fact that Tijuana and San Diegans used a majority of anglicisms, even those that they perceived as improper, indicates that perhaps there is a paradox that surrounds their use and their perception. However, whether or not this paradox is applicable will be determined through the perceptions that they provide in the questionnaire below.

3.5 Questionnaire Results

The answers to the questionnaire below show that Tijuana and San Diegans, across all education and age levels, have, for the most part, similar views regarding standard overt anglicisms, or border slang, and its users. For the most part, they also share the perception that language contact in the San Diego-Tijuana border region is inevitable. However, they significantly differ in their views on the effects of language contact on Mexican culture since Tijuana perceived them as harmful while San Diegans perceived them as positive. Overall, the following

results demonstrate that San Diegans seemed to be more accepting of the hybrid language and culture of the San Diego-Tijuana border than Tijuanaenses. The fact that Tijuanaenses were more critical of anglicisms, especially border slang, despite their extensive use of them, supports the conflicting relation that Tijuanaenses have with border slang. San Diegans, on the other hand, do not seem to have this kind of relation with border slang.

Tijuanaenses' and San Diegans' responses⁹ to the questionnaire will be discussed in accordance with the order of the questions. In order to do so, I have broken down the questionnaire, but the full version can be found in appendix 2.

1. In what context/environment/place etc. do you use/do not use the following words?

Food

lonchear - to eat lunch

Transportation

parquear - to park

raitear - to ride/give a ride

Transportation

troque - truck

baica - bicycle

Maintenance

mapeador - mop

When asked about the context of their use of non-standard overt anglicisms, or border slang, a majority of the Tijuanaense and San Diegan participants shared that they feel most

⁹ I translated Tijuanaenses' responses from Spanish to English.

comfortable using it when speaking with their close friends and family. However, they refrain from its use in formal situations such as academic settings or traveling outside of the region. More specifically, it appeared that their decision to use or not use border slang was dependent on the dialect or register of their interlocutor. In one case, in particular, one of the Tijuanaense participants stated that he refrained from using these words when visiting family from other regions of Mexico.

“When I go to Guadalajara to visit my family in a little pueblito, I cannot speak the way I speak in Tijuana. To them, it’s weird that we speak like that and they may treat me differently because of it. For example, they’ll start thinking that I am a gringo or that I think I am a gringo even though I am 100% Mexican and rarely even cross the border to go to the United States.”

In another case, a Tijuanaense participant recounted her experiences avoiding the use of border slang in order to adapt to the standard register that is required in educational settings and to avoid punishment.

“When I was younger, some of my teachers would constantly correct us if we used these words even though we heard them outside of the classroom. I remember my classmates and I being really surprised when the teacher explained to us that lonchear was not a correct word and that it was actually almorzar. My teacher would hold us back and make us practice writing the correct word on paper if we said the wrong one. I felt like I had to learn how to speak again at school and I was shocked when I asked my parents and they explained to me. I still speak like this in my daily life, though.”

Some outliers were two Tijuanaenses that revealed that they use overt anglicisms such as *parquear* (‘to park’) and *raitear* (‘to ride/give a ride’) to communicate with their coworkers. Both mentioned that this is often the variety that is used to communicate in their work environment, but one of them clarified that he does not use it with his clients.

“Well, to be honest it kind of depends. Some of the tourists that get into my taxi are Mexicans that live in the U.S and they speak Spanish well, so I can communicate normally with them. When white tourists get into my taxi, they

usually do not speak much Spanish, so I cannot use these words with them. These words do not really sound like English so they cannot really understand what is going on.”

The other taxi driver, a native of Veracruz, reiterated the challenging nature of the slang to speakers from outside regions by speaking of his experiences learning it and incorporating it into his work life.

“It was crazy when I first moved here and first became used to how the people speak here. The other taxi drivers would explain me things about the car that I was driving using words like breca and clutch and at first I was so confused. Once they explain to you, you are like ah, okay it makes sense, but at first it just sounds like a completely different language since in Veracruz we do not speak like this.”

2. What do you think of people that use these words? What does this tell you about their education, social, and/or economic level?

When asked about their perceptions of a speaker’s economic, social and educational background based on the use of border slang, there was a divide in responses for both groups. Furthermore, when it came to this question, there was an insignificant correlation between their age, their education level and their responses. The majority of the oldest participants in both the Tijuanaense and the San Diegan groups stated that they believe that the use of these words is a marker of low education. One of the Tijuanaense participants, spoke based on his experiences as a street vendor that had dropped out of middle school.

“I dropped out of middle school because I just wanted to make money so I decided to make a living in the streets. The streets became my school and this is how I learned to speak. I think it is just what happens when you leave school when you are so young.”

On the other hand, some of the younger and educated participants in both groups, except for the few that associated the use of border slang with low education, provided that it was not

correlated to a speaker's background. Some of the participants shared that they believe that the mixing of English and Spanish is a natural occurrence in the evolution of a language. There was also the belief that the use of border slang is a side effect of the close proximity of San Diego and Tijuana and the influence of American culture on Tijuana culture. This is supported by the following quote from one of the Tijuana residents:

“To us that are born here in Tijuana, it is completely normal to speak like this since we are little kids. It is normal to mix English and Spanish because we, as inhabitants of a border city, are in such close contact with the U.S, its people and its culture.”

3. Do you think that the mixture of English and Spanish in the speech of Tijuana residents and San Diego residents is avoidable or inevitable? Why?

For the third question, perceptions between Tijuana residents and San Diego residents, for the most part, did not differ. Through this question, participants were asked whether they believed that the language contact between English and Spanish was avoidable or inevitable. Tijuana residents and San Diego residents declared that the language contact between English and Spanish was inevitable due to the consistent cultural exchange between the two cities through factors such as the media and tourism.

4. Do you think the mixture of English and Spanish is harmful or beneficial to Mexican culture?

The strongest difference in attitudes can be seen in the answers to the last question. Most San Diego residents, with the exception of a neutral participant, stated that the English influence on Spanish is beneficial to Mexican culture because it connects two cultures that they identify with in

order to create a new one. In particular, one participant expressed that the existence of border slang helped solidify his identity as a Mexican American.

“I think it helps us Mexican Americans feel a little less lost. You know, being stuck between two cultures makes it hard to entirely connect with either one, but knowing that things like this can happen, that languages can mix perfectly, makes me feel like I have something that I can really identify with.”

Another San Diegan shared similar feelings regarding border slang and its representation of the unique culture of the San Diego-Tijuana border.

“I think it shows how meaningless the border is and how well the cultures can connect despite this physical barrier. We have a culture that is unique to our city and I think that is something that we should not try to erase, but something that we should be proud of.”

On the other hand, most of the Tijuana participants asserted that it harmed Mexican culture in aspects of cultural domination, language preservation, and class discrimination. One of the Tijuana participants believed that it represented the imposition of American culture over their own and the inequalities that are created by allocating more prestige to English than Spanish.

“To get ahead here you have to know how to speak some English and, whether we know it or not, that makes us value knowing English more than Spanish. I really do not care for these words but at the same time it bothers me when people speak English. First of all, I do not understand it and it also just reminds me that they have some privileges that I don't. I think that just gives us permission to disrespect the language and allow things like this to happen. As Mexicans, we should never forget the importance of our language.”

Another Tijuana participant expanded upon the economic inequalities that he perceived that the influence of the English language in Tijuana contributed to.

“I really do not mind it, but I do not really think it is benefitting our economy, for us, Tijuana residents. Call centers are very popular here and people that speak a lot of English, usually Americans, can easily work there. The problem is that they do not even know how to speak proper Spanish, they will often mix it with English. That bothers me so much because these people make more money than our local teachers, who have had obviously had more preparation. It makes you think that English, even here, in Mexico, has more value than Spanish.”

4. Discussion

Given the data results, I have concluded that my hypothesis can be partially supported. As I had hypothesized, Tijuanaenses and San Diegans, across all education levels and ages, used a majority of the anglicisms regardless of their hybrid and standard quality. In other words, hybrid and standard quality seemed to be irrelevant in shaping use. For the most part, covert anglicisms were extensively used and viewed as proper, but the non-standard ones were viewed as improper and used less. As for overt anglicisms, participants, independently of age or level of education, used an extensive number even though they viewed the non-standard ones as improper.

Although there were no significant differences that defined use, there was a Tijuana vs. San Diego divide in terms of perceptions. I had hypothesized that Tijuanaenses would have more critical perceptions of overt anglicisms, regardless of standard quality, than covert anglicisms of standard or non-standard quality. This cannot be corroborated or refuted since Tijuanaenses seemed to be, at least to some extent, critical of anglicisms of all types due to their representation of the domination of the English language and American culture. However, they seemed to be the most critical of non-standard overt anglicisms or border slang since it is rejected by the dominant and prescriptivist Mexican community. For Tijuanaenses, anglicisms, overall, represented the dominant power of American culture over Mexican culture and the economic and social inequalities that it entails. Meanwhile, most San Diegans viewed anglicisms as empowering since they believed their mixed properties resonate with their dual identity as Mexican-Americans. As previous studies suggested, Tijuanaenses seem to, in fact, have a conflicting relation with anglicisms, in particular, border slang.

This however, as expected, did not seem to apply to most of the San Diegans. In the next sections, I will discuss some factors that seemed to be more relevant than hybrid or standard quality in defining use. I will also analyze the perception data that was collected with means to provide explanations for the conflicting nature that shapes Tijuanaenses' relation with border slang but not that of San Diegans.

Two factors that, in some cases, shaped participants' use of anglicisms were their level of Spanish proficiency and occupation. For example, there were some San Diegans in the youngest group who did not use some of the covert and overt anglicisms and were unable to provide their judgements. Such may be due to the fact that some of these participants shared that their English skills were more developed than their Spanish ones. Moreover, most of them did not have formal education in Spanish and may therefore be unfamiliar with the standard versions of border slang words that they commonly use. Use was also influenced by the participants' occupations. For example, the oldest and less educated Tijuanaenses and San Diegans viewed standard overt anglicisms such as *faxear* ('to fax'), and *escanear* ('to scan') as improper and did not use them. Tijuanaense and San Diegan participants that worked manual jobs used the anglicisms that dealt with transportation and maintenance. The participants that worked manual jobs viewed overt anglicisms that are part of Standard Mexican Spanish as improper and as fabrications of the dialect of Mexico City, which is considered the popular variety but is stigmatized by those who do not speak it (Brewer 2013:16). These participants recognize the influence of the capital and its speakers in shaping the standard language, but stigmatize its dialect since they view it as foreign and identify with varieties that have been locally developed. In other words, these speakers identify with a local culture that has language patterns and traditions that are different from those

of the culture of Mexico. Criticism of these words may also be explained by the fact that they were standardized in the last decades, with the rise of technology. The advancement of technology calls for the development of lexical units that are used to label new inventions (Reyes, Jubilado 2016:43). As the members of an older generation, they may have less contact with these advances, which results in perceptions that are more conservative. On the other hand, the youngest Tijuanaenses and the middle Tijuanaenses and San Diegans used these anglicisms extensively since they worked in office settings or were students at a university.

The results of this study provide two possible explanations for the conflicting nature of the relation that Tijuanaenses have with non-standard overt anglicisms, or border slang, and one of them is the fear that their use of it diminishes the authenticity of their Mexican identity. As already mentioned, Tijuanaenses used anglicisms extensively, but a few participants expressed a sense of discomfort in the possibility of their Mexican identity being questioned if they used border slang in situations where it was not the norm. This fear stems from the idea that their use of border slang deviates from the standards of “Mexicanness” that are defined by the dominant community, the capital of Mexico City. The standards of “Mexicanness” call for the protection of the linguistic purity of the “socially subordinate Spanish language” (Toribio 2002:90) against the influence of the powerful English language. As a result, the use of border slang is an indication of complacency in the tainting of the Spanish language and, in turn, the betrayal of “Mexicanness”. Although the outside and dominant community attribute the use of border slang to cultural denationalization and loss of “Mexicanness”, in Tijuana, it is interpreted as a local nationalization of the English language (Wirth, Earle 1995:185). Furthermore, the local culture that surrounds border slang is largely founded on the attempt to localize the language patterns, traditions and

trends of American culture that it becomes in contact with due to its close proximity to the United States. Localization efforts entail making American cultural trends more relatable and accessible to Tijuana's identity as largely monolingual and Mexican individuals. This can be supported by a Tijuana's anecdote in which he explained that border slang has been modified according to Spanish standards to the extent where it is unintelligible to monolingual English speakers.

Although Tijuana's perceive their use of border slang as an act of participation in Tijuana's culture, they are hyper aware that it indexes linguistic and cultural loss in the eyes of the dominant culture. The clashes between these two narratives are a possible explanation as to why Tijuana's use border slang despite their negative perceptions.

On the the other hand, it was observed that San Diegans used border slang extensively and viewed its hybrid quality as a consolidation of their Mexican-American identity, which possibly accounts for the absence of tension in regards to it. Specifically speaking, some San Diegans expressed that the existence of border slang, as a byproduct of the mixing of Spanish and English, alleviates some of the stress that is associated with the feeling of not fully belonging with either Mexican or American cultures. Furthermore, border slang serves as a reminder that they can belong to both cultures and that they do not have to give up either of them (Zentella 1997:114). Moreover, a majority supported it since they believed that it led to a new culture that is unique to the Tijuana-San Diego border and that they can identify with. It is important to note that a majority of the San Diegans self-identified as Mexican-American or Chicano/a and bilingual therefore their identity consists of a "synergy of two cultures with varying degrees of Mexicanness and Angloness" (Anzaldúa 1987:43) that is enriched by the appropriation of a third culture, that of the

Tijuana-San Diego border. Border slang, the language of this third culture, does not seem to threaten their identity, but it merely adds a dimension to this duality.

Another possible explanation for Tijuanaenses' stigmatization of border slang was due to its representation of the imposition of American culture on Mexican culture and the globalization of the English language. However, San Diegans did not share this mentality since, in some cases, they gain benefits from this cultural interaction. For example, many of the participants from both groups acknowledged the importance of English skills and the cultural and economic gains that they entail. English skills were viewed as the key to upward mobility, yet access to efficient English education is disparate. English education is often privatized and, in public schools, less than 5% of teachers are fluent in English (Hwang 2017:1), which limits the opportunities of the lower classes. This generates more class inequalities since, as one of the Tijuanaense participants mentioned, individuals who work in English-based call centers in Tijuana are likely to earn more money than local teachers. In this case, both the Spanish language and Mexican education are devalued since call centers do not require any university preparation that is necessary for qualifying for a job as a teacher. This may be harmful for monolingual Tijuanaenses but beneficial for bilingual San Diegans. For example, some of the San Diegans shared their personal experiences living in Tijuana and working in call centers where they disclosed that they earned more money than working in most low-skill jobs. Specifically speaking, in 2017, it was reported that the average call center worker earned the equivalent of 4 to 5 dollars per hour while minimum wage workers earned the same amount per day (Mexperience 2018:1). The significant disparity in wages highlights the role that English can play in creating economic inequalities in Tijuana.

Overall, regardless of a drift in perceptions, there was a recurring idea among San Diegans and Tijuaneuses that border slang is complex and an independent variety rather than a deviation of Standard Mexican Spanish. This can be supported by the anecdotes of participants who mentioned that they use border slang when speaking to one another, but not with their clients or speakers that are from outside regions. They admitted that border slang may be incomprehensible to non-local speakers and, in doing so, they recognized its linguistic complexity. As seen in the provided analysis, this linguistic complexity is related to the various morphological and phonological processes that words undergo during their adaptation. Furthermore, a Tijuaneuse taxi driver claimed that, as a speaker from another region, he had to learn and adopt to the unique features of border slang. Given these anecdotes, it can be assumed that Tijuaneuses and San Diegans recognize border slang as a complex and independent linguistic variety.

5. Conclusion

Although both Tijuaneuses and San Diegans validate border slang as a unique linguistic variety, linguistic insecurity shapes Tijuaneuses' relation with it. Tijuaneuses are hyper aware that, in using border slang, the authenticity of their Mexican identity and their membership in the dominant community is questioned. Border slang encompasses the hybrid culture of the San Diego-Tijuana border, but due to its contact with American culture, it is not sanctioned by the prescriptivist and dominant Mexican community. This leads to a conflicting response from Tijuaneuses who, in using border slang, assert their membership in the local community, but, in turn, must endure scrutinization from the dominant community for this practice. However, such does not seem to apply for San Diegans, who view border slang and the border culture it

represents, as a solution to the identity conflict that they face due to the feeling of being stuck between American and Mexican cultures. The intensity of these sentiments seem to be more applicable to border slang than to any of the other types of anglicisms, which may be due to the fact that it is seen as a local creation that both groups can use to index their identity. However, as previously seen, their experiences in claiming border slang are different. Given the previous discussions, it can be concluded that Tijuana-San Diego border region face different experiences when attempting to adjust to the changes that are prompted by cultural contact and the effects that these may have on their identity and their social position in their local and national communities.

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APPENDIX 1

Anglicism Lists**Anglicisms with overt phonological / morphological/ orthographic modifications****Technology - verbs (standard)**

escanear - to scan

formatear - to format

faxear - to fax

bloquear - to block

Food - verbs (non-standard)

loncheare - to eat lunch

Transportation - verbs (non-standard)

parquear - to park

raitear - to ride/give a ride

Transportation - nouns (non-standard)

troque - truck

baica - bicycle

Maintenance - nouns (non-standard)

mapeador - mop

Anglicisms with minor phonological / morphological/ orthographic changes**Food - nouns (non-standard)**

winis - weenies

soda - soda

Clothes - nouns (non-standard)

zíper - zipper

Miscellaneous - nouns (standard)

gol - goal

cóctel - cocktail

básquetbol - basketball
estrés - stress
turista - tourist
parque - park

APPENDIX 2

Full survey

I. Preliminary Questions: Personal Background

1. What is your age?
2. What is your nationality?
3. What languages do you speak?
4. What is your education level?

II. Use and judgements

Part 1. For each of the following words, write a number from 0-2 next to the word to indicate if you have heard it and how much you use it.

- 0 - have never heard it
- 1 - have heard it but do not use it
- 2 - have heard it and use it

Part 2. Write P or I next to the word to indicate if you think the word is proper or improper and leave it blank if you do not know.

List A**Technology**

escanear - to scan

formatear - to format

faxear - to fax

bloquear - to block

Food

lonchea - to eat lunch

Transportation

parquear - to park

raitear - to ride/give a ride

troque - truck

baica - bicycle

Maintenance

mapeador - mop

List B**Food**

winis - weenies

soda - soda

Clothes

zíper - zipper

Miscellaneous

gol - goal

cóctel - cocktail

básquetbol - basketball

estrés - stress

turista - tourist

parque - park

III. Context of use

Briefly discuss the context/environment/place etc. in which you use/do not use the following words.

Technology

escanear - to scan

formatear - to format

faxear - to fax

bloquear - to block

Food

winis - weenies

soda - soda

Clothes

zíper - zipper

Miscellaneous

gol - goal

cóctel - cocktail

básquetbol - basketball

estrés - stress

turista - tourist

parque - park

1. Write your answer below.

IV. Questionnaire

1. In what context/environment/place etc. do you use/do not use the following words?

Food

lonchear - to eat lunch

Transportation

parquear - to park

raitear - to ride/give a ride

Transportation

troque - truck

baica - bicycle

Maintenance

mapeador - mop

2. What do you think of people that use these words? What does this tell you about their education, social, and/or economic level?

3. Do you think that the mixture of English and Spanish in the speech of Tijuanses and San Diegans is avoidable or inevitable? Why?

4. Do you think the mixture of English and Spanish is harmful or beneficial to Mexican culture?

