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Haiga in the borderland: Sociolinguistic perception and variable production among bilinguals in El Paso

Elyana Amparan
University of Texas at El Paso

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ELYANA AMPARAN

Master's in Linguistics

APPROVED

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Natalia Mazzaro, Ph.D., Chair

_____

Dennis Bixler-Marquez, Ph.D.

_____

Caitlin Coughlin, Ph.D.

_____

Stephen L. Crites, Jr., Ph.D.
Dean of the Graduate School

HAIGA IN THE BORDERLAND: SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERCEPTION AND VARIABLE PRODUCTION AMONG BILINGUALS IN EL PASO

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ELYANA AMPARAN, B.A.

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ABSTRACT

The linguistic variant *haiga* in the Ciudad Juárez, Mexico – El Paso, Texas border region is often a stigmatized feature within the bilingual community. This non-standard form, derived from *haya* (the present subjunctive of *haber* "to be" in Spanish) carries negative social connotations and is often perceived as incorrect. Our aim was to investigate the use and attitudes towards *haiga* in the bilingual population at the U. S. – Mexico border. A text infilling task was employed to elicit the use of *haiga* and an attitude elicitation task using memes was used to investigate the participants attitudes towards the form. The text infilling task revealed an important overall occurrence of *haiga*. Results showed that the Spanish-dominant bilinguals had the lowest usage of *haiga* and the strongest negative attitudes towards it. English-dominant bilinguals had the highest use of *haiga* and less negative attitudes overall towards it. Among English dominant bilinguals, those whose first language is English did not show a clear pattern of assigning specific sociolinguistic indexes to the use of *haiga*. The text infilling task also showed an overall preference for using *haiga* when presented as a main verb as compared to an auxiliary verb. Our results also pointed to a positive shift in attitudes towards *haiga*, as it is not associated with rurality and lack of class, but to a characteristic feature of border speech, and used mainly in informal contexts.

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with providing a contemporary understanding of the usage patterns and attitudes towards *haiga* in a bilingual community at the U. S. - Mexico border. The form *haiga* is a vernacular feature of speech that has been observed in many dialects of Spanish including Mexican Spanish (Johnson & Barnes, 2013; Riegelhaupt & Carrasco, 2000), U. S. Spanish (Vergara Wilson & Dutra, 2024), Peninsular Spanish (Demichelis, 2021), among others. These previous studies have shown that despite its prevalence in many dialects of Spanish, *haiga* is considered a non-standard feature in all these dialects and that there is a strong stigma attached to this form. Johnson and Barnes (2013) found that the use of *haiga* is mostly influenced by educational level. The study by Vergara Wilson and Dutra (2024) also showed that the use of *haiga* is associated with low educational and socioeconomic status. Although these studies show the prevalence of *haiga* in many varieties of Spanish, little is known about the use of *haiga* in bilinguals at the U. S. - Mexico border and their perceptions of the form. The lack of research on *haiga* despite its strong presence on the borderland is what prompted the current study.

The non-standard variant *haiga* originates from an alternate conjugation of *haya* (the present subjunctive form of *haber,* “to be” in English) in which a velar insertion of the voiced velar stop /g/ occurs, as opposed to the standard conjugation which uses the voiced palatal fricative /ʝ/. *Haiga* can be heard on family, education, professional, political and sociocultural domains in the bilingual community of the Ciudad Juárez, Mexico – El Paso, Texas borderland, yet it is often viewed as “incorrect”. The stigma surrounding this particular form and the attitudes that arise towards the speakers who use it make it an interesting sociolinguistic phenomenon to explore. Linguistics descriptive approach strives to study language as is, not as it should be, and hence this study aims to take a closer look at the use of *haiga* by different members of the

bilingual borderland community, the attitudes that these same members have towards its use and its users, and the role that education plays in the continuation of the stigmas associated with non-standard forms.

Research on *haiga* is limited overall, and socially scarce in the border region, The only brief mention of the prevalence of this feature in the speech of the people from the U. S. – Mexico border comes from Holguín Mendoza's dissertation (2011) where she addressed the construction of identity through language in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. Based on this gap in literature concerning *haiga,* we decided to conduct this study by looking at the use and attitudes towards this form by different bilingual groups.

1.1 Object of the study and hypotheses

The first aim of this study is to investigate the use of *haiga* in three bilingual groups in the Ciudad Juárez, Mexico – El Paso, Texas border area. The first group consisted of Spanish-English bilinguals who are Spanish-dominant, who most likely got Spanish schooling in Ciudad Juárez. The second group consisted of Spanish-English bilinguals who are English-dominant; this group was comprised by Spanish heritage speakers, meaning that they learned Spanish at home and had no formal education in Spanish. Lastly, the third group consisted of English-Spanish bilinguals who are English-dominant, meaning that they are Spanish L2 learners and acquired Spanish in a classroom setting. These bilingual groups will be referred to throughout this paper as the Spanish-dominant group, the heritage speakers' group and the L2ers group. While both the Spanish-English bilinguals who are Spanish-dominant and the Spanish-English bilinguals who are English-dominant are considered heritage speakers because both groups were raised in homes where a non-English language was used (Valdés, 2005), the paper will refer as

heritage speakers to the latter group since they received formal education in English while the Spanish-dominant group received formal education in Spanish. The second aim of this study is to provide a more recent insight into the attitudes towards the use of this specific non-standard form in different contexts (formal vs. informal). The present study posits the following hypotheses:

1) The Spanish-dominant group will have more negative attitudes towards the use of non-standard *haiga* than the other two bilingual groups because they have probably been schooled in Mexico and this form was probably overtly corrected and criticized by teachers. Based on this, they will most likely have the lowest use of *haiga.*
2) Heritage speakers will most likely not have strong negative attitudes towards the use of *haiga* because they have either received monolingual English education or bilingual one in El Paso, with less chances of being corrected at school for their use of Spanish. Based on this, they will most likely have a higher use of *haiga* and/or less negative attitudes towards its use than the Spanish-dominant group.
3) L2ers who most likely learnt Spanish in the classroom may not have this form in their speech and will have either neutral opinions on it or very negative ones depending on what they have been taught in the classroom. The analysis of this group will provide important insight as to the role of education in promoting negative stereotypes towards vernacular forms and their users.

The study consisted of two tasks: a text infilling task that provided us with data about the usage of *haya/haiga* per bilingual group, and an attitude elicitation task using two memes under two different contexts containing *haiga*. The memes and the questions were designed to assess participants' perceptions and attitudes towards *haiga*. The two memes were presented to investigate whether participants perceptions of *haiga* changed as a result of the formality and

informality of the context illustrated by the memes. The reactions to the memes were retrieved using a Likert scale and multiple-choice questions developed by the author. A language background questionnaire designed by the author was also presented to participants to determine their linguistic dominance and frequency of use of each language.

In order to test our hypotheses, we decided to conduct our research on the bilingual population inhabiting the border. Specifically, the current study was conducted in the Ciudad Juárez, Mexico – El Paso, Texas border region, whose population consists of 81.6% Hispanic or Latino inhabitants (U. S. Census Bureau, 2022) and a high percentage of Spanish/English bilinguals (Mazzaro & González de Anda, 2024). The high degree of bilingualism in the population provides an idea context to examine how language dominance and bilingual experience influence the use and perceptions on *haiga*.

To summarize, the main goal of our study is to observe and analyze the use and attitudes associated with the use of *haiga* in the Ciudad Juárez – El Paso bilingual community, where it carries a strong stigma associated to it despite its strong presence among speakers. A text infilling task was used to evaluate the usage of *haiga* and memes were used to elicit and assess participants' opinions towards this feature in order to corroborate our hypotheses. The following chapter will provide a detailed overview of existing literature and previous studies on language attitudes, the use and historical context of *haiga* and a brief overview of the Ciudad Juárez – El Paso border region.

CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

Bilingual speech communities, like the one in the Ciudad Juárez, Mexico – El Paso, Texas border region, provide valuable opportunities to study language attitudes. On the Mexican side, there is a predominantly Spanish monolingual community with strong nationalist and purist ideologies regarding the Spanish language (Hidalgo, 1986). In contrast, the U. S. side features a largely Spanish-English bilingual community (Velázquez, 2009). These communities and their interactions with one another provide valuable insight into language contact and the attitudes and ideologies that arise from said contact. The relationship between different communities and their interactions provides an opportunity to investigate what the speakers of these varieties think about language varieties, and their users.

According to Fasold (1984) and Hidalgo (1986), language attitudes refer to ways of thinking and behaviors toward both a certain language or dialect and its speakers. Language attitudes research was pioneered during the 1960s and 1970s when Lambert et al. (1960) developed investigative methodology, such as the matched guise and verbal guise tasks, designed to elicit explicit opinions towards a certain language and those who speak it. Since then, these techniques have been used to study different populations such as Chicanos from Texas (Flores & Hopper, 1975; Solé, 1977; Amastae & Elías-Olivares, 1978) and Spanish speakers from the Midwest (Ryan & Carranza, 1975; 1977). These studies shared certain similarities, such as sample populations that typically consisted of high school or college students and their reactions to various English and Spanish dialects. They also employed a qualitative approach, using self-assessments, questionnaires, and personal interviews to gauge the speakers' reactions to their own speech varieties and those of others (Galindo, 1995). Research moved towards a more sociolinguistic and ethnographic approach during the 1980s (Galindo, 1995), when factors such

as age, gender, socioeconomic status (SES), generational status, educational level, and geographic location were considered in the analysis of the data.

A study conducted by Galindo (1995) tested 30 Chicano Spanish speakers in two bilingual *barrios* (neighborhoods) in Austin, Texas on how they felt about the linguistic varieties spoken in their communities, including their own variety. This study used interviews with open-ended questions. The sample was split equally between male and female participants between the ages of 14 and 19 years old, with 77% percent being third generation (with U. S.-born parents and Mexico-born grandparents who migrated to the U. S.). More than half of them self-reported as English-dominant and the rest as bilingual; none identified themselves as Spanish-dominant. The study consistently found three different Spanish varieties described by the participants: formal Spanish, informal Spanish or Caló, and mixed Spanish, which included using loan words and codeswitching. Attitudes toward the different Spanish varieties were mixed, ranging from negative to positive. Variations in these attitudes were observed between neighborhoods, between genders, depending on who used each variety and with whom it was used. Additionally, some varieties were deemed as more appropriate, and others were portrayed as "incorrect". The study also looked at attitudes towards English varieties but, since the present study focuses on attitudes towards Spanish, this literature review will center around attitudes towards Spanish varieties. Galindo (1995) discovered linguistic contradictions towards Spanish maintenance and use, where some of the subjects in her study showed negative attitudes towards it and its speakers, yet also felt a sense of loyalty towards Spanish as a symbol of their cultural and ethnic identity.

A follow-up study by Galindo (1996) was done with ten women from Laredo, Texas. This study aimed to further gauge language attitudes towards Spanish and English in speakers living on the Laredo, Texas – Nuevo Laredo, Mexico border, and to look for patterns of use as well as

who was speaking what variety and in which domain. As in Galindo (1995), this research used interviews with open-ended questions. The study looked at which language (English or Spanish) was used in the home/neighborhood domain, in the work domain, and in other domains (supermarket, the mall, church, etc.) and by whom it was used in each one of the domains. The attitudes were then classified using Peñalosa's (1980) typology, which included: (1) Chicanos' attitudes towards their own speech variety; (2) Other Chicanos' attitudes towards their speech (across geographic regions); (3) Anglos' attitudes towards the speech of Chicanos; and (4) Chicanos' attitudes towards the speech of Anglos. Categories (3) and (4) are not relevant to the current study and henceforth, the results will not be discussed. Galindo (1996), however, added two categories of her own to those of Peñalosa (1980) which were: (5) Mexicans' attitudes towards the speech of Chicano-Tejanos (people of Mexican descent who were born or have been raised in the U. S.); and (6) Chicanos' attitudes towards the speech of Mexicans as a comparison between border Spanish and Mexico City Spanish. Category (5) is particularly relevant for our study, as we also aim to analyze the attitudes and ideologies behind the use of Spanish in the north side of the border. Galindo (1996) found that, in terms of usage and domain, Spanish was favored mostly in the home/neighborhood, and speaking to older family members. Spanish was present across all domains, both private and public, yet the results still had great variability among the Laredo women who participated in the study. Some felt Spanish was the predominant language, while others viewed both Spanish and English as equally important and present in their communities. Subjects were also aware of the prestige associated with English in education and business. As far as attitudes towards the different varieties of Spanish on the border, Laredo women who participated in the study "overwhelmingly agreed" (Galindo, 1996; p. 14) that Mexicans perceived border Spanish spoken in Texas to be of lower status than the Spanish

spoken in Mexico (be it Nuevo Laredo, Mexico City, or other cities). Several of the women who participated in this study recounted experiences in the workplace (banks in particular), in which they were met with laughter or criticism from Mexican customers. Laredo women considered Mexican Spanish to be the standard variety, and that it was "more correct, less contaminated and used by people with better education and SES". Yet, participants in this study also thought that Mexico City Spanish was the most "correct", as it is not in contact with English and consequently, is even less "contaminated and more standard" (Galindo, 1996). Galindo aptly worded her findings with border women as: "Life on the border appears to be contradictory and schizophrenic in that you must fit in culturally and linguistically in two worlds without losing the sense of who you are." (Galindo, 1996, p. 16).

In her dissertation (1983) and subsequent studies (1986; 1987), Hidalgo addressed the language attitudes in the Ciudad Juárez, Mexico – El Paso, Texas border, particularly the negative attitudes of Mexicans from Ciudad Juárez towards the Spanish of their El Paso neighbors. Her studies consistently found that *juarenses* criticized the Spanish spoken by El Paso Mexican Americans, deeming it second-class and not as good as their own variety. Code-switching and "*Spanglish"* was also criticized by Spanish speakers from the Mexican side of the border.

Both papers by Galindo (1995; 1996) and the ones from Hidalgo (1983; 1986; 1987) served as starting point for the current study, with the premise of looking at the language attitudes of a bilingual speech community in the U. S. - Mexico border, that of El Paso. Other studies are also relevant, even if they do not focus directly on the U. S. - Mexico border. For instance, in the study conducted by Riegelhaupt & Carrasco (2000), the reactions to a bilingual Chicana teacher in Mexico were recorded by way of interviews with the host family,

tape-recordings of interactions between the family and the teacher, and journal entries from the teacher. The teacher, from Yuma, Arizona, was part of an immersion program in Mexico that lasted 5 weeks and consisted of living with a host Mexican family. The perceptions of the middle-class family residing in Guanajuato, Mexico towards the Chicana teacher's Spanish were mostly negative, categorizing her as lower class, uneducated and rural. As noted on the initial interview with the host family about the bilingual teacher, a standard and "educated" use of Spanish was expected for an educator (Riegelhaupt & Carrasco, 2000). Instead, the family encountered that the teacher used some non-standard forms such as *mirar* (to look) instead of *ver* (to see), or *haiga* (non-standard present subjunctive of to have) instead of *haya* (standard present subjunctive of to have). The latter example is highly stigmatized and considered an archaism, with its use dating to the 1600s (Demichelis, 2021). In the transcription of one recorded conversation with the family, the teacher seemingly requests correction when using *haiga* by changing her intonation to that of a question when using it. The *señora* (how the teacher referred to the female host on her journal entries) proceeded to correct her and provided the standard form *haya*. This case study demonstrated that the use of even just a few stigmatized forms led the Mexican hosts who, according to them, spoke standard Mexican Spanish, to categorize the users of these forms as lacking education or of lower SES. This study is important because it shows that heritage Spanish speakers living in the U. S. are often criticized for using certain linguistic features deemed as "incorrect" and characteristic of U. S. Spanish, even when these features are common in other non-contact varieties in the Spanish speaking world (Johnson & Barnes, 2013). The constant criticism by the so-called speakers of "standard non-contact" varieties creates linguistic insecurity in heritage speakers, as shown in this study of Riegelhaupt & Carrasco (2000).

The extensive data collected by Riegelhaupt & Carrasco's (2000) case study, as well as the interviews and self-assessments conducted by Galindo (1995; 1996) provide a solid qualitative starting point for the current study. The present study aims for both a quantitative and qualitative approach to the use, attitudes and behaviors towards the use of a specific token, *haiga*, and its speakers. While studies have been conducted about attitudes on linguistic varieties of the Ciudad Juárez, Mexico – El Paso, Texas border region (Hidalgo 1983; 1986; 1987), they did not focus on this particular feature of vernacular Spanish and, in addition, the literature available is over 30 years old. This gave us the opportunity to explore and collect more recent data on this topic.

The following section focuses on the scarce literature on the form *haiga* and what is known about its users, the exploration of where the form came from and its historical development.

2.1 Previous literature on *haiga*

The case of *haya/haiga* appears to be an analogical extension of a phonological phenomenon, namely the velar insertion (Johnson & Barnes, 2013). Many verbs in Modern Spanish contain a stem-final /g/ in first-person singular of the present indicative and in the present subjunctive; such is the case of verbs like *caer, oír, salir, tener, traer, valer*, and *venir*. For example, for *caer*, the simple present in 1st singular would be *cai[g]o*. This is known as the velar insertion, since /g/ is not present in the infinitive and thus gets inserted after the root of the verb and before a non-anterior vowel /-o/ or /-a/. For the previously mentioned list of verbs, the present indicative and present subjunctive are *caigo/caiga, oigo/oiga, salgo/salga, tengo/tenga, traigo/traiga, valgo/valga and vengo/venga* (Hualde, 2014). In standard Spanish, the verb *haber*

(to have) in present subjunctive form does not follow the previously stated rule (i.e. does not undergo velar insertion), but is conjugated using the voiced palatal fricative /j/ at the end of the verb stem, resulting in *haya, hayas, hayamos,* etc. (Table 1). This conjugation alternates with another one, considered to be non-standard, which is the variant *haiga.* This variant includes the voiced velar stop /g/, as in the previously mentioned verbs with velar insertion. This results in the conjugations as depicted in the table below.

Table 1: Standard and non-standard conjugation of *haber* in the present subjunctive.

Form	Standard conjugation with /j/	Non-standard conjugation with /g/
1st person sing.	*haya*	*haiga*
2nd person sing.	*hayas*	*haigas*
3rd person sing.	*haya*	*haiga*
1st person pl.	*hayamos*	*haigamos*
2nd/3rd person pl.	*hayan*	*haigan*

Non-standard *haiga* is found in many dialects of Spanish, and is often highly stigmatized, associated with rural talk and lower socioeconomic status or educational level (Johnson & Barnes, 2013). In their study, Johnson & Barnes (2013) extracted data from three corpora of Mexican Spanish: *Corpus sociolingüístico de la ciudad de México* (Butragueño & Lastra, 2011), *El habla popular de México* (Lope Blanch, 1976), and *El habla de Monterrey* (Rodríguez Alfano, 2006). A total of 270 transcriptions of interviews were reviewed (from all three corpora) for instances of the present subjunctive of *haber,* both in the standard *haya* and non-standard *haiga* forms in all its conjugations. A total of 423 tokens were found from 169 speakers. Overall, it was found that *haya* is more frequent than *haiga*, with a 63.6% frequency. Participants' education level was the most important factor affecting the use of *haiga*. Tokens were also coded by type, since *haber* in the present subjunctive can appear as both presentational (main) verb and

auxiliary verb. It was found that presentational *haiga* was more common in the overall data set and in the Monterrey corpus, but not in the Mexico City data.

Haiga can also be used as a noun, and Demichelis' (2021) study focused on the distinction between *haiga* as a verb and as a noun, which previous studies omitted. *Haiga* as a noun means "a big, ostentatious automobile, usually from North America", according to the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española (DLE)*. It is worth noting that when Demichelis' paper was published in 2021, the DLE only had the word *haiga* as a noun, and not as a verb. In its 2023 update, the DLE entry included *haiga* as a verb, and it reads: "**forma incorrecta** de la 3.ª persona de singular del presente de subjuntivo de haber" (my emphasis) (accessed 3/15/2024). This addition to the *haiga* as a verb entry explicitly describes *haiga* as the "incorrect form" of the 3rd person singular in the present subjunctive of *haber*, and how it was also used as a noun by "wealthy, uneducated people" to refer to the automobile. In his paper, Demichelis (2021) examined the *Corpus del Nuevo Diccionario Histórico del Español (CNDHE)*, which contains data dating back to the 1500s, for instances of *haiga* as a verb, both historically and geographically. A total of 401 tokens were found in 142 documents, with the first ones appearing in 1642. Demichelis filtered the tokens to determine whether they were used as a noun or verb, by searching instances of *haiga* after a determiner (noun) or after an adjective (verb). While Demichelis admitted that it was not a precise filter, it did provide a better idea of when *haiga* was used as a noun and as a verb. This filtering pointed to the conclusion that *haiga* was used more frequently as a verb, with only 9 instances of it used as a noun (7 singular, 2 plural). When analyzing the geographical provenance of the instances of *haiga*, the study found that the highest frequency of use was Latin America and, historically, the highest frequency happened between 1801 and 1900. Demichelis' paper concluded that *haiga* is considered a "vulgar archaism, given

that it is completely vital in rural and popular speech, but its use is considered as outdated and lacking prestige in other social domains" (p. 8).

Vergara Wilson and Dutra (2024) more recently investigated *haiga* as a sociolinguistic stereotype via interviews with four Spanish speakers who are educators. Overall, most participants were highly aware of *haiga,* and its implications as a social marker. Three out of the four subjects interviewed had parents who had been schooled in Mexico, though the subjects themselves had been schooled in the U. S., and one of them had been schooled in Mexico and came to the U. S. for graduate school. During the interviews, participants mentioned that using *haiga* was associated with being "*naco"* or "*cholo"* (pejorative terms in Spanish that denote a low social or educational status, being vulgar or from the streets). They also noted that some of their parents used *haiga,* and that usually it was the parent who had less education or came from a smaller town who used it. According to the subjects, *haiga* is associated to being of lower social and educational status. Being from Albuquerque, New Mexico, the participants from Vergara Wilson and Dutra's study (2024) have a similar background and experiences to most of the members of the linguistic community in the present study. In the next section, we look more closely at the demographic and linguistic profiles of members of the speech community in the Ciudad Juárez, Mexico – El Paso, Texas border area.

2.2 Ciudad Juárez, Mexico – El Paso, Texas borderland

Historically, Ciudad Juárez and El Paso were once one region called Paso del Norte, which was founded in 1682 by Spanish settlers (Escobar & Potowski, 2015). Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1810 and, while Texas was originally part of Spain and then

Mexico's territory, it declared itself independent in 1836 to later annex itself to the U. S. in 1845 (Escobar & Potowski, 2015).

Ciudad Juárez is located on the southern part of the U. S. - Mexico border, with El Paso, Texas as its neighbor to the north. Ciudad Juárez is the most populated city in the state of Chihuahua with over 1.5 million inhabitants (INEGI 2020). Although Mexico does not collect language information in its census, other than that pertaining to indigenous languages, it is estimated that most of its inhabitants are Spanish monolinguals (Mazzaro, Minjarez Oppenheimer & González de Anda, 2024). This lack of information on language background makes it hard to determine how many people speak English, for instance. Bilingual education or dual-language programs are available in Ciudad Juárez but mostly in private schools, which contributes to social differences in which only the wealthy can access a bilingual education (Mazzaro, Minjarez Oppenheimer & González de Anda, 2024).

El Paso, Texas is located on the south U. S. - Mexico border with a population of 868,763 (U. S. Census Bureau, 2022). El Paso is a highly bilingual community that contradicts the principle of bilingualism with diglossia, which suggests that languages cannot have shared domains, meaning that where one is used, the other one is not (Hidalgo, 1995; Mazzaro & González de Anda, 2024). Spanish and its use have steadily become a part of the El Paso community, due to the fact that people of Mexican origin have become the majority over Anglo-Americans (Hidalgo, 1995). The proficiency and use of Spanish, however, varies depending on the neighborhood (Teschner, 1995). While there are no estimates provided by the U. S. census about the number of bilingual speakers in El Paso, most of those who speak Spanish are Spanish-English bilinguals and they outnumber Spanish and English monolinguals (Mazzaro & González de Anda, 2024).

What makes the Ciudad Juárez, Mexico – El Paso, Texas border region so dynamic and complex to conduct research is the extraordinary number of commuters that cross the border daily to go to work or school, or other leisure activities and then cross back to Mexico. According to the U. S. Department of Transportation Bureau of Transportation Statistics (2024), a total of 571,960 personal vehicles containing 955,725 passengers, plus 331,187 pedestrians commuted from Ciudad Juárez to El Paso in January 2024 alone.

While understanding the linguistic background of the region where our study was conducted is important, it is also appropriate to delve deeper into the methodology used to assess the use of *haiga* and the attitudes and behaviors towards its use and users within these two communities. The following section outlines the data collection method, provides participant information, and describes the analysis used to interpret the results.

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY

Our study presented participants with two tasks to collect two different types of data: a production task and an attitude elicitation task using memes. The first task was a text infilling task which sought to elicit and assess the use of *haiga* within our participants. The second task presented participants with two different memes under two different contexts containing the form *haiga*, followed by a Likert scale and a multiple-choice questionnaire to further assess the attitudes towards its use and users. The second type, using memes to gauge participants' attitudes and opinions, is not something that has been commonly used in research, particularly in linguistics research (Kostadinovska-Stojchevska & Shalevska, 2018). In the following section, we discuss the use of memes in research, as well as our reasoning behind using them in our study.

3.1. The use of memes in research

The present study used visual aids in the form of memes to represent the use of *haiga* and then gauge participants' attitudes and the social indexes that they assign to this form. An entire paper could be written about the topic of memes alone. For this paper, however, the background will be limited to defining a meme (or establishing which definition was used for this study), and how its use can provide relevant information about reactions and opinions from a particular group of speakers.

Memes are visual prompts often accompanied by text, frequently shared on social media or via text messages among family, friends, and colleagues. They are typically humorous and naturally elicit people's reactions, opinions, and attitudes due to their familiar and engaging nature. Memes often contain cultural references, humor, and relatable content, which can

provoke genuine responses. However, they target specific audiences with shared socio-cultural characteristics necessary for understanding their content and meaning, as they often include references from pop culture, politics, specific regions, or professions, and may feature jargon, slang, dialect phrases, intentional misspellings, and unique linguistic features.

Memes are particularly useful in research aimed at gathering opinions and reactions to specific topics, as people are accustomed to interacting with and responding to memes in their daily social media use. According to Dickinson (2023), memes can associate linguistic forms with particular identities through a process known as enregisterment, where distinct speech forms become socially recognized as indicative of speaker attributes (Agha, 2005). This concept is crucial for research aiming to elicit responses toward specific speaker groups based on particular linguistic forms. In this study, memes were used as a mainstream method to visually convey ideas that participants could relate to or react to.

The present study created specific memes for its tasks using already existing memes (the frustrated Jackie Chan meme, for example) in an attempt to connect with the speakers and elicit their reactions by way of humor. The majority of the participants recruited fell within the age group of 20-30 years old, which is the age group that best relates to memes since they have had access to the Internet from a very young age and hence are familiar with this form of communication (Kostadinovska-Stojchevska & Shalevska, 2018).

3.2 Data collection

Participants registered for the study via the SONA website and the QuestionPro link for the online study was provided to them once they registered. UTEP SONA is a research participation system used by the Psychology and the Chicano Studies, Languages and Linguistics

departments which allow students to register for participation in current faculty and student-led research. Only the results of the participants who completed the study in its entirety were recorded (drop-out or incomplete studies were not considered).

Before performing each task, all participants were given written instructions on what was expected of them, yet the tasks were completed solely online at their own time. After providing consent by reading and electronically signing a consent form, participants proceeded to complete three online tasks via QuestionPro. For the first task (Task 1), participants were given a text infilling task, where twenty sentences were presented in which the verb was missing and were asked to fill in the blank using the correct tense of the verb provided to them in parenthesis. The set contained five instances in which the verb *haber* (to have) was used as an auxiliary in the present perfect subjunctive (Sentence sample 1a), five instances in which *haber* was used as a main verb in the present perfect subjunctive (Sentence sample 1b), and ten distractor sentences using other verbs in different tenses (Sentence sample 1c). See Appendix A for a complete list of all the sentences used.

1a) *Mónica le dijo a Mario "Deseo que todo _____ (haber/salir) bien en la cirugía de Paulina.* (Mónica told Mario "I wish everything _____ (to have/to go) well in Paulina's surgery.")

1b) *Quiero que _____ (haber) flores amarillas en mi fiesta de cumpleaños.* (I want _____ (to have) yellow flowers at my birthday party.)

1c) *Me molesta que Emilia nunca me _____ (avisar) cuando va a llegar tarde al trabajo.* (It bothers me that Emilia never _____ (to notify) me when she's going to be late for work.)

All sentences were developed by the author specifically for this task, and their purpose was to examine whether participants produced the standard *haya* or the non-standard *haiga* when prompted to conjugate the verb *haber* in both its modalities (auxiliary and main verb). Although the distractors were meant to take participants' attention away from the focus of the task, which was to test their use of the verb *haber*, it is not possible to know with certainty whether they were aware of what was being assessed.

For the second task (Task 2), participants were presented with two memes in a sequential format containing *haiga*: the first one in a professional/formal setting (Figure 1A, Appendix B) and the second one in a social/informal setting (Figure 1B, Appendix C).

Figures 1A and 1B: Professional setting meme and social setting meme. The first meme reads: interviewer "Your resumé is impressive"; interviewee "Thanks"; interviewer "What would you like to work in?"; interviewee "Whatever you have" (using non-standard *haiga*). The second meme reads: When the person you like says *haiga.*

The professional setting meme portrays two people, the interviewer and the interviewee, having a conversation. The meme was created by the author specifically for this task, and it only shows the interviewer's face in the picture. The reasoning for this was to give as little information as possible about the interviewee to prevent any bias when answering the

questionnaire. The interviewer tells the interviewee that they have an impressive resumé, and then asks them what they would like to work in, to which the interviewee answers using the non-standard form "*De lo que haiga*" (Whatever you have). The social setting meme was also created for this specific task using an existing meme (Jackie Chan's face showing frustration or disappointment) with the text above it reading *"Cuando la persona que te gusta dice haiga"* (When the person you like says *haiga*). The purpose of the task was to determine if there was any difference between participants' reactions to the use of *haiga* in a social setting compared to a formal interview-for-a-job setting. In addition to examining participants' attitudes and perceptions towards speakers who use *haiga*, we also wanted to determine if there was a relationship between the speakers who use it (determined in Task 1) and their attitudes (determined in Task 2).

This study predicts that participants who do not use *haiga* in the first task could be either avoiding its use due to the negative stigma attached to the form or this form may be absent from their speech. The former group are more likely to express negative attitudes in the second task than the latter. We also predict that those who use *haiga* in Task 1, will have more neutral attitudes towards its use in Task 2, either because the standard form is absent from their grammar or because they are not consciously aware of the negative connotations attached to the *haiga* variant. While it is not possible to determine whether the standard form is part of a participant's grammar, we expect those participants who are Spanish-dominant bilinguals to have a higher use of the standard *haya* due to the influence of formal education. As explained below, those participants who are Spanish dominant are more likely to have received their formal education in Spanish in Mexico or bilingual education in El Paso. Those participants who are English-dominant but have acquired Spanish as a first language may have received monolingual English

education and may not have been exposed as much to the standard form of the variant. There is a third possibility, those participants whose first language is English and have learnt Spanish as a second or foreign language. In this case, we expected these participants to have been exposed to Spanish mostly in the classroom and therefore will behave closer to the Spanish-dominant bilinguals, i.e. have a low or no realization of *haiga*.

Following the presentation of each meme, which participants were able to look at on the screen for as long as they wanted, they were presented with a two-part questionnaire. After each meme was presented, participants opinions were elicited with the following questions: For meme 1 (M1) the question was: "If the person being interviewed says *haiga*, you think that they are:"; and, for meme 2 (M2): "If the person you like says *haiga*, you think that they are:". Following this question, there was a 4-point Likert scale section (see Figure 2) containing attributes that could be used to describe the person in the meme.

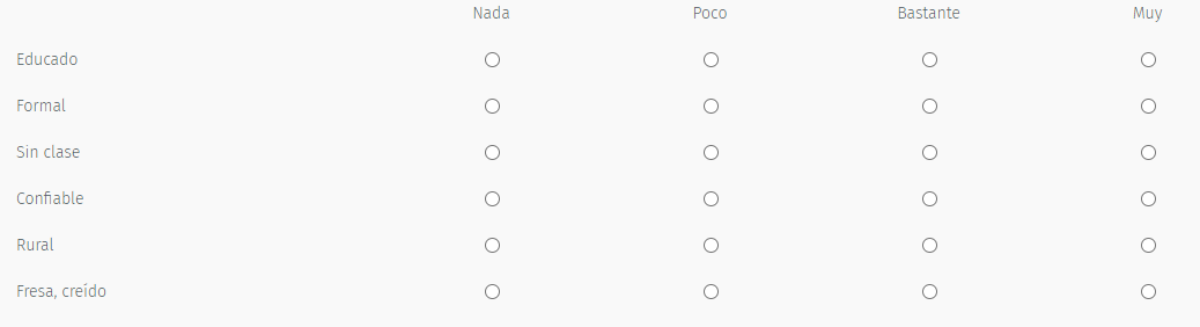


Figure 2: Likert scale that followed meme 1 and meme 2.

The second part of the questionnaire was a section containing five multiple-choice questions about specific attitudes towards the speaker using *haiga*. The questions asked were related to whether participants would befriend or date someone who uses *haiga*, and the perceived socioeconomic status, place of residence, profession and age of its users. While *haiga*

is present in many Spanish dialects, our study sought to determine whether participants viewed those who use *haiga* from a specific part of Mexico or the U. S. As for the job title, our study also sought to determine whether *haiga* users were limited to holding a particular job title, given that previous studies tied its use to people of lower SES and educational level. The questions and answers are included in Appendix D for M1 and Appendix E for M2.

Lastly, participants were asked to complete a language background questionnaire (Task 3) that provided information about their knowledge, use, and exposure to English and Spanish. The variables analyzed from this questionnaire were language dominance, age of acquisition of Spanish and English, language used in the household while growing up (language input) and language of education. The information provided by this language background questionnaire was used to classify participants into different bilingual groups, as explained in the following section. See Appendix F for the complete language background questionnaire.

The analysis of the data consisted of cross-tabulations of different factors, analysis of variance (ANOVA) and t-tests that were conducted using Jamovi, a statistical program that runs on R (The jamovi project 2022, Version 2.3; R Core Team 2021, Version 4.1).

3.3 Participants

A total of one hundred and seventy-five participants took part in the study. They were divided into three different groups based on their first language and their language dominance. This classification resulted in: 1) 105 Spanish-English bilinguals who are Spanish-dominant (Spanish-dominant group), 48 Spanish-English bilinguals who are English-dominant (heritage speakers), and 22 English-Spanish bilinguals who are English-dominant (L2ers). Participants' information about their language background is summarized in the table below (Table 2).

Table 2: Participants' language background information.

	Spanish-English Bilinguals				English-Spanish Bilinguals	
n = 175	**Spanish-Dominant (n = 105)**		**Heritage Speakers (n = 48)**		**L2ers (n = 22)**	
Mean age at testing (SD)	21.81 (4.62)		20.25 (4.61)		20.04 (4.72)	
Mean AOA Spanish	1.25		1.45		8.86	
Mean AOA English	8.10		4.40		1.18	
Language Input	Just Spanish: 58.09% Mostly Spanish: 41.91% Just English: 0% Mostly English: 0%		Just Spanish: 29.17% Mostly Spanish: 50% Just English: 0% Mostly English: 20.83%		Just Spanish: 0% Mostly Spanish: 0% Just English: 9.09% Mostly English: 90.91%	
Language of Education	Spanish: 28.57% English: 13.33% Bilingual: 58.10%		Spanish: 6.25% English: 56.25% Bilingual: 37.50%		Spanish: 0% English: 72.72% Bilingual: 27.28%	
Language use	SPAN	ENG	SPAN	ENG	SPAN	ENG
Family	100%	0%	89.58%	10.42%	13.64%	86.36%
Friends/Partner	73.33%	26.67%	20.83%	79.17%	4.55%	95.45%
School/Work	14.29%	85.71%	6.25%	93.75%	0%	100%
	SPAN	ENG	SPAN	ENG	SPAN	ENG
More comfortable language	95.24%	4.76%	10.42%	89.58%	9.09%	90.91%

The Spanish-dominant group was comprised of 88 females and 17 males and had a mean age at testing of 21.81 (SD = 4.62). The majority reside in El Paso, Texas (59.05%, n = 62), while 28.57% (n = 39) reside in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico and 12.38% (n = 4) reside in other places such as Houston, Texas, Bend, Oregon, and Monterrey, Mexico but, per their comments in the language background questionnaire, lived in the Ciudad Juárez – El Paso region most of their lives. The Spanish-dominant group had a mean Spanish AOA = 1.25 and a mean English AOA = 8.10, and their language input at home was 58.09% (n = 61) just Spanish and 41.91% (n = 44) mostly Spanish and some English. Their language of education was in Spanish for 28.57% (n = 30), in English for 13.33% (n = 14) and bilingual for 58.10% (n= 61). As for language use, 100%

of the participants in the Spanish-schooled group reported speaking Spanish with their families, 73.33% use Spanish with friends and partner, yet 85.71% use English at school or work. Overall, 95.24% of the group reported feeling more comfortable speaking Spanish.

The heritage speakers group included 40 females, 7 males and one participant who identified as “Other” and had a mean age at testing of 20.25 (SD = 4.61). Forty-four of them reside in El Paso, Texas (91.67%) while two reside in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico (4.17%) and two in Dallas, Texas (4.16%). The heritage speakers’ group had a mean Spanish AOA = 1.45 and a mean English AOA = 4.40. Their language input at home was 29.17% (n = 14) just Spanish, 50% (n = 24) mostly Spanish and some English, and 20.83% (n = 10) only English. Their language of education was in Spanish for 6.25% (n = 3), in English for 56.25% (n = 27) and bilingual for 37.50% (n = 18). The language use with their families was mostly Spanish (89.58%, n = 43), but English with their friends and partner (79.17%, n = 38) and at school or work (93.75%, n = 45).

Lastly, the L2ers group had 17 females and 5 males, with a mean age at testing of 20.04 (SD = 4.72). Only one of them reported living in Ciudad Juárez, while twenty-one live in El Paso, Texas. The Spanish mean AOA = 8.86 and the English mean AOA = 1.18, and the language spoken to them at home was mostly English and some Spanish for 90.91% (n = 20) and just English for 9.09% (n = 2). Language of education was in English for 72.72% (n = 16) and bilingual for 27.28% (n = 6). Language use in all domains was overwhelmingly in English, and therefore 90.91% of participants in the L2ers group reported feeling more comfortable speaking English.

The next chapter presents the results of the study divided into different tasks. We divided our results into multiple sections, each showing a specific angle to our analyses.

CHAPTER 4 – RESULTS

4.1 Use of *hai*ga

The overall results show that *haya* was the most frequently used form (80.8%) compared to *haiga* (13%) and other variables (6.2%). The differences in the distribution of forms were significant ($p<0.001$). This aligns with the results found in Johnson & Barnes' (2013) study where *haya* was more frequently used than *haiga*.

4.2 Use of *haiga* by bilingual group

Table 3 shows the distribution of variants per group for the production task. The rows show the three groups considered (Spanish-dominant, heritage speakers, L2ers) and the columns include the variants tested: the standard *haya*, the non-standard *haiga*, and other forms (anything other than *haya* or *haiga*). For example, if in a sentence such as Sentence 1 *"Espero que _____ (haber) internet rápido en el café para terminar mi ensayo*" (I hope that _____ (to have) fast internet at the café so I can finish my essay), participants answered *hubiera* instead of the target *haya/haiga,* it would be considered under the "other forms" column.

Table 3: Contingency table showing overall distribution of variants per bilingual group.

		Variant			
Bilingual Groups		**haiga**	**haya**	**other**	**Total**
L2ers	Observed	3	17	1	21
	% within row	14.3 %	81.0 %	4.8 %	100.0 %
Heritage	Observed	10	35	5	50
	% within row	20.0 %	70.0 %	10.0 %	100.0 %

Bilingual Groups		Variant			Total
		haiga	haya	other	
SpaDom	Observed	10	91	5	106
	% within row	9.4 %	85.8 %	4.7 %	100.0 %
Total	Observed	23	143	11	177
	% within row	13.0 %	80.8 %	6.2 %	100.0 %

The distribution of variants across groups showed the expected patterns: heritage speakers presented the highest use of *haiga* (20%), as well as the highest percentage of other responses (10%). Our initial predictions that the heritage speakers would have a higher use of *haiga* than the other two groups were confirmed. As expected, the Spanish-dominant group presented the highest use of *haya* (85.8%) followed by the L2ers group with 81%. While the distribution of variants across groups was not statistically significant (p=0.23), it followed the expected trend with heritage speakers using *haiga* more frequently than Spanish-dominant bilinguals and Spanish L2 learners.

While some speakers categorically used *haya* in Task 1 and others categorically used *haiga*, there was a third group that showed variability using *haya* and *haiga.* Surprisingly, all the participants from the variable group were Spanish-dominant bilinguals except for one participant who was an L2er. This is an interesting finding which shows that the variability between alternative forms is not replicated by English-dominant bilinguals.

4.3 Use of *haiga* by verb modality (main vs. auxiliary)

We analyzed the distribution of variants by verb modality (main or auxiliary) across the overall dataset to determine whether it influenced which form was used. The contingency table compared the incidence of *haiga/haya/*variable as a main verb again the incidence of *haiga/haya/*variable as an auxiliary verb in the results from Task 1. Table 4 shows a higher incidence of *haiga* as main verb (41.8%) as opposed to auxiliary (10.9%), and these results were found to be statistically significant ($p<0.001$). Similar results were also found in Johnson & Barnes (2013), in which *haiga* was used more frequently as a main verb in the Spanish from the Monterrey corpus.

Table 4: Distribution of variants by verb modality (main vs. auxiliary).

		Variant			
Aux/Main		**haiga**	**haya**	**other**	**Total**
Aux	Observed	6	26	23	55
	% within row	10.9 %	47.3 %	41.8 %	100.0 %
Main	Observed	23	27	5	55
	% within row	41.8 %	49.1 %	9.1 %	100.0 %
Total	Observed	29	53	28	110
	% within row	26.4 %	48.2 %	25.5 %	100.0 %

The sentences were also individually analyzed to determine whether *haiga* was more frequent in a particular sentence. Table 5 shows each sentence and the overall percentage of use for each form. Sentence 16 "*Quiero que* _____ *(haber) flores amarillas en mi fiesta de cumpleaños*" (I want _____ (to have) yellow flowers at my birthday party) showed the highest percentage of *haiga* frequency (72.7%), followed by sentence 10 "*Mi abuelo me dijo Ojalá* _____ *(haber) más oportunidades de viajar juntos pronto*" (My grandfather said 'I wish _____ (to have) more opporunities to travel together soon') (36.4%) and sentence 20

"*Espero que _____ (haber) desayuno incluido en nuestro hotel*" (I hope _____ (to have) breakfast included in our hotel (36.4%). All three sentences had *haber* as a main verb, aligning with the results shown on Table 4.

Table 5: Contingency table showing use (%) of variants per sentence.

		Variant			
Sentence		**haiga**	**haya**	**other**	**Total**
10) Mi abuelo me dijo "Ojalá _____ (haber) más oportunidades de viajar juntos pronto."	Observed	4	5	2	11
	% within row	36.4 %	45.5 %	18.2 %	100.0 %
11) Espero que Salvador _____ (haber/comprar) los boletos de avión a buen precio.	Observed	3	5	3	11
	% within row	27.3 %	45.5 %	27.3 %	100.0 %
13) Karina le dijo a su esposo "Espero que no se te _____ (haber/olvidar) la leche."	Observed	1	8	2	11
	% within row	9.1 %	72.7 %	18.2 %	100.0 %
15) A Luca le sorprendió que María _____ (haber/salir) con Mateo el viernes.	Observed	1	6	4	11
	% within row	9.1 %	54.5 %	36.4 %	100.0 %
16) Quiero que _____ (haber) flores amarillas en mi fiesta de cumpleaños.	Observed	8	3	0	11
	% within row	72.7 %	27.3 %	0.0 %	100.0 %
20) Espero que _____ (haber) desayuno incluido en nuestro hotel.	Observed	4	7	0	11
	% within row	36.4 %	63.6 %	0.0 %	100.0 %
4) Mónica le dijo a Mario "Deseo que todo _____ (haber/salir) bien en la cirugía de Paulina."	Observed	0	3	8	11
	% within row	0.0 %	27.3 %	72.7 %	100.0 %
7) No creo que Roberto _____ (haber/herir) los sentimientos de Elena a propósito.	Observed	1	4	6	11
	% within row	9.1 %	36.4 %	54.5 %	100.0 %
8) Ojalá que _____ (haber) lluvia de estrellas esta noche mientras acampamos.	Observed	4	6	1	11
	% within row	36.4 %	54.5 %	9.1 %	100.0 %
Ahora inicia el ejercicio:1) Espero que _____ (haber) internet rápido en el café para terminar mi ensayo.	Observed	3	6	2	11

Sentence		Variant			
		haiga	haya	other	Total
	% within row	27.3 %	54.5 %	18.2 %	100.0 %
Total	Observed	29	53	28	110
	% within row	26.4 %	48.2 %	25.5 %	100.0 %

4.4 Attitudes towards *haiga*

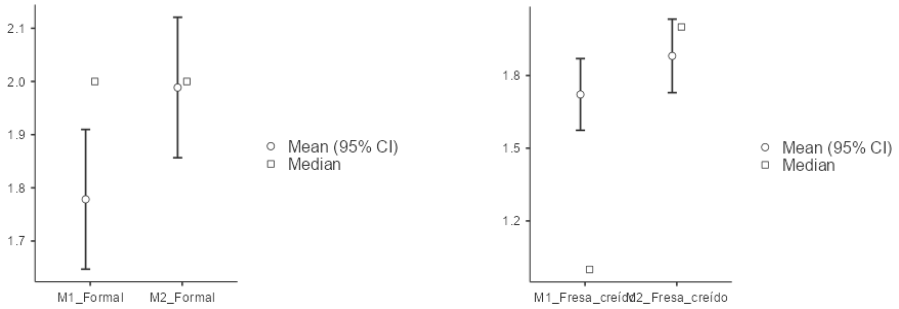
Analyses comparing results for each attribute for M1 (formal setting) and for M2 (informal setting) were run using paired samples T-tests, which are shown in Table 6. These analyses sought to determine whether context affects perception of these attributes. Significant effects between memes were only found for Formality ($p<0.001$) and *Fresa/Creído* (Preppy/Stuck-up) ($p=0.014$). "*Fresa*" is a Mexican slang term (often used as a synonym to preppy in English) used to describe a stereotype of someone of higher socioeconomic status and educational level, but also who speaks in a certain way that carries indexes of social prestige (Holguín Mendoza, 2018).

Table 6 shows that in most cases (except the ones that were found significant) the formality and informality setting of the meme does not affect how the speaker using *haiga* is perceived.

Table 6: T-test comparing results for each attribute for M1 and for M2.

Attribute	Mean M1	Mean M2	SD M1	SD M2	p-value
Educado	2.20	2.26	0.955	0.868	0.337
Formal	1.78	1.99	0.887	0.894	<0.001
Sin clase	2.49	2.38	1.01	1.00	0.130
Confiable	2.59	2.68	1.04	0.934	0.251
Rural	2.66	2.67	1.05	0.971	1.00
Fresa/creído	1.73	1.88	1.00	1.03	0.014

The plots in Figures 3A and 3B illustrate the differences in ratings between M1 and M2 for the two attributes where significant differences were found, Formal and Preppy/Stuck-up. For both attributes, the score is lower (more negative attitude) for the formal M1 setting, compared to the informal M2 setting.



Figures 3A and 3B: Attribute plots for *Formal* and *Fresa/Creído* by meme. The figure on the left corresponds to *Formal* and the figure on the right corresponds to *Fresa/Creído.*

These plots indicate that for both attributes, the ratings are more significantly impacted in the formal setting (M1) than in the informal setting (M2) in the overall dataset. This suggests that the perceptions of formality (Figure 3A) and the "*fresa*" stereotype (Figure 3B) are more negatively influenced in a professional setting than in a social/informal setting.

4.5 Attitudes towards *haiga* per bilingual group

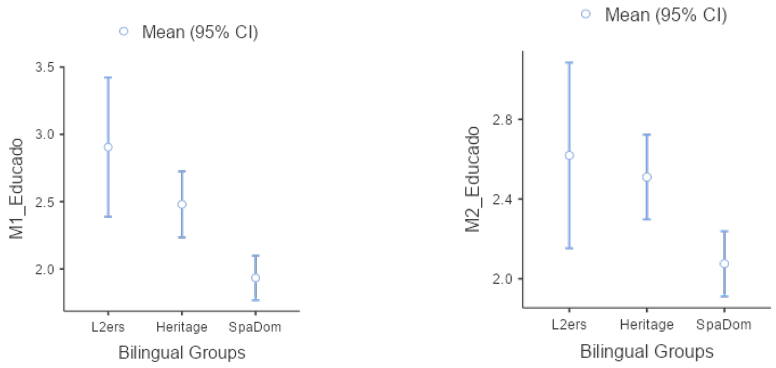
Table 7 presents the results of a one-way ANOVA comparing the scores for each attribute across different bilingual groups. The results presented in this table show whether there were significant differences in the way attributes were scored by the different bilingual groups (as shown by the p-values).

Table 7: One-way ANOVA for each meme attribute across bilingual groups. The table shows which attributes were assigned significantly different scores by each bilingual group for meme 1 and meme 2.

	F	df1	df2	p
M1_Educado	11.508	2	48.8	< .001
M1_Formal	8.801	2	46.0	< .001
M1_Sin clase	2.080	2	53.8	0.135
M1_Confiable	11.901	2	51.1	< .001
M1_Rural	1.363	2	52.7	0.265
M1_Fresa_creído	5.507	2	46.8	0.007
M2_Educado	6.513	2	50.2	0.003
M2_Formal	7.698	2	50.3	0.001
M2_Sin clase	5.806	2	56.1	0.005
M2_Confiable	2.548	2	51.0	0.088
M2_Rural	0.648	2	55.1	0.527
M2_Fresa_creído	10.597	2	48.0	< .001

Results for the formal setting meme (M1) show significant effects for all but two variables: *Sin Clase* (Social Class) and Rural. Results for the informal setting meme (M2) show significant effects for all but two variables: Trustworthiness and Rural.

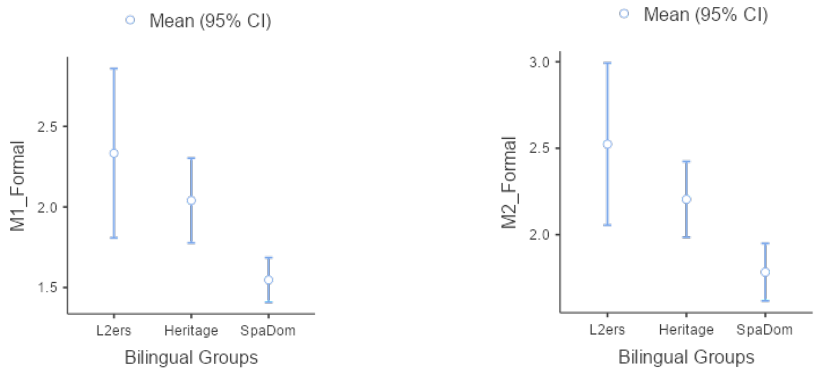
The following section analyzes group differences for each attribute that was found to have significant differences in the ANOVA. Figures 4A and 4B depict the ratings for Education by group for M1 (left side) and M2 (right side). As expected, the Spanish-dominant group perceived the speaker's use of *haiga* as less educated than the other two groups in both memes.



Figures 4A and 4B: Attribute plots for *Educado* by bilingual group. The figure on the left corresponds to M1 and the figure on the right corresponds to M2.

Post-hoc results show there are significant differences between the Spanish-dominant group and the other two for both memes (p=0.001 and p=0.003). For M2, the only significant differences were between the Spanish-dominant and the heritage speakers' group (p=0.004).

Figures 5A and 5B show a similar trend in which *haiga* was perceived as less formal by the speakers from the Spanish-dominant group for both memes.

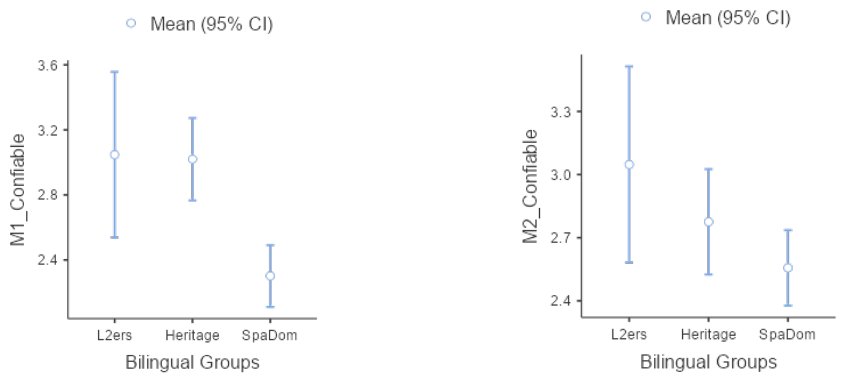


Figures 5A and 5B: Attribute plots for *Formal* by bilingual group. The figure on the left corresponds to M1 and the figure on the right corresponds to M2.

Post-hoc tests show that Formality also has significant effects in M1 (p=0.004) between the Spanish-dominant group and the English-dominant groups (p=0.004 and p=0.017). For M2, similar results were found between groups, with p=0.013 between the Spanish-dominant and

L2ers groups and p=0.008 between Spanish-dominant and heritage speakers' groups. This indicates that heritage speakers found a perceived lack of formality in both the professional and the social settings for those speakers who use the non-standard form.

The Trustworthiness attribute plots are shown in Figures 6A and 6B, in which the Spanish-dominant group gave the lowest ratings to the *haiga* users for both settings, continuing with the trend from the Education and Formality attributes. Both English-dominant groups showed similar attitudes for M1; however, the L2ers group showed greater variability, as shown by the standard deviation.

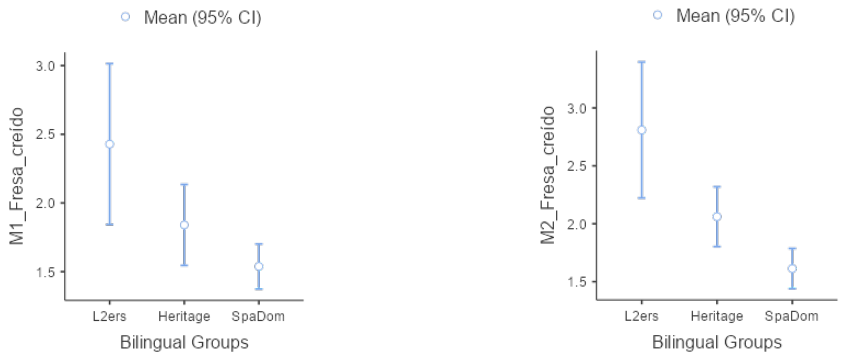


Figures 6A and 6B: Attribute plots for *Confiable* by bilingual group. The figure on the left corresponds to M1 and the figure on the right corresponds to M2.

Post-hoc results for M1 showed Trustworthiness has the most significant effect ($p<0.001$) between Spanish-dominant and heritage speakers' groups. Significant effects were also found between the Spanish-dominant and L2ers groups ($p=0.022$) but not between the heritage speakers and L2ers groups, which has been a consistent trend. No significant effects were found for this attribute for M2, which is an interesting finding since this attribute was one of the most significant for M1. Heritage speakers found those who use *haiga* less trustworthy in a professional setting, but not in a social setting. This difference between M1 and M2 suggests that

the perception of trustworthiness related to the use of *haiga* may not be consistent across different contexts and underscores the complexity of these perceptions for the same attribute under different settings (formal vs. informal).

Figures 7A and 7B show that speakers from the Spanish-dominant group perceive *haiga* users the least preppy or stuck-up for both M1 and M2, with M2 showing a $p<0.001$, which indicates that this attribute is more relevant in an informal setting.

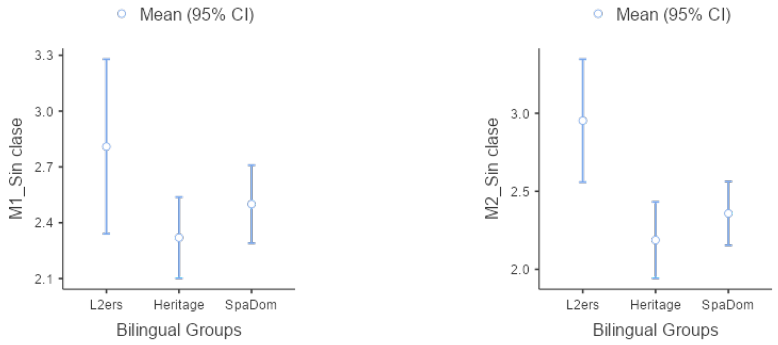


Figures 7A and 7B: Attribute plots for *Fresa/Creído* by bilingual group. The figure on the left corresponds to M1 and the figure on the right corresponds to M2.

Post-hoc test results for *Fresa/Creído* show significant effects only between the Spanish-dominant and L2ers groups with $p=0.015$ in a professional setting. For M2, significant effects were found between the Spanish-dominant and L2ers groups ($p=0.001$) and between the Spanish-dominant and heritage speakers' groups ($p=0.013$). This attribute showed a marginally significant difference between heritage speakers and L2 learners ($p=0.056$), which may indicate that all bilingual groups consider speakers who use *haiga* as not "*fresa*" in an informal setting.

The heritage speakers perceived speakers who use *haiga* of lower class than those in the Spanish-dominant group, which is a shift from the overall trend. This could potentially be attributed to a methodology problem, in which the negative attitudes were on the right side this time as opposed to the left like the rest of the attributes. It could also be due to a self-criticism to

their own bilingual group. Given that the heritage speakers showed the highest *haiga* usage, it could be a reflection of how speakers view themselves and other members of the heritage speakers' group. Figures 8A and 8B illustrate this attribute.



Figures 8A and 8B: Attribute plots for *Sin clase* by bilingual group. The figure on the left corresponds to M1 and the figure on the right corresponds to M2.

Post-hoc tests were only significant for M2 when it came to Social Class, with significant effects found between Spanish-dominant and L2ers groups (p=0.025) and also between heritage speakers and L2ers groups (p=0.004). Perceived lack of class was only relevant in the informal context.

The L2ers group shows greater variability with respect to the evaluation of *haiga* indicated by a large margin of error in the attribute plots. This leads us to conclude that the speakers in that group seem to have very different levels of proficiency in Spanish when it comes to understanding the sociolinguistic implications of using *haiga.* Overall, results from the post-hoc tests show a significant effect in favor of our prediction that the Spanish-dominant group would have more negative attitudes towards the use of *haiga* compared to the heritage speakers' group.

For the second portion of Task 2, each multiple-choice question was evaluated individually. Results are presented per bilingual group and per meme. Table 8 shows the analysis

for Question 1 (Q1) in M1 *¿Sientes que esta persona podría ser tu amiga?* (Do you feel this person could be your friend?). Results for the overall data set had a higher percentage of "Yes" (70.6%), with the heritage speakers' group showing the highest percentage (88%), and Spanish-dominant and L2ers with percentages of 66% and 52.4%, respectively. These results align with the results for Task 1 (Table 3) in terms of *haiga* usage, in which the heritage speakers' group had the highest usage and hence, less negative attitudes. This means that for all three groups of bilinguals, the overall attitude towards whether they'd befriend someone who says *haiga* is on the positive side. The results per group seem to align with our predictions that heritage speakers would display less negative attitudes towards *haiga* users and hence, would be more likely to befriend them. Chi-square analysis showed a p=0.005, which makes the results statistically significant.

Table 8: Contingency table showing multiple-choice answers (%) for Q1 per bilingual group for M1.

		M1_Amiga				
Bilingual Groups		**NO**	**NO SE**	**SI**	**TAL VEZ**	**Total**
L2ers	Observed	8	1	11	1	21
	% within row	38.1 %	4.8 %	52.4 %	4.8 %	100.0 %
Heritage	Observed	5	0	44	1	50
	% within row	10.0 %	0.0 %	88.0 %	2.0 %	100.0 %
SpaDom	Observed	29	0	70	7	106
	% within row	27.4 %	0.0 %	66.0 %	6.6 %	100.0 %
Total	Observed	42	1	125	9	177
	% within row	23.7 %	0.6 %	70.6 %	5.1 %	100.0 %

For Q1 in M2 *¿Sientes que esta persona podría ser tu novio/novia?* (Do you feel this person could be your girlfriend/boyfriend?), the chi-square analysis showed significant differences (p=0.029). The overall data set had "Yes" and "No" almost evenly split (41.8% and

49.2%), with the L2ers group showing the highest percentage of “No” (66.7%) followed by the Spanish-dominant group (51.9%). On the other hand, heritage speakers had the highest percentage of “Yes” (60%). The results per group show the Spanish-dominant and L2ers groups behaving similarly with higher ratings for “No”, which was also the trend for Q1 in M1. This is possibly due to an alignment of results with those of the production results from Task 1 (Table 3). Overall, this means that participants would befriend someone who uses *haiga* but their attitudes are much more torn when it comes to them dating someone who says *haig*a. Table 9 illustrates these results.

Table 9: Contingency table showing multiple-choice answers (%) for Q1 per bilingual group for M2.

		M2_Novia				
Bilingual Groups		**NO**	**NO SE**	**SI**	**TAL VEZ**	**Total**
L2ers	Observed	14	0	7	0	21
	% within row	66.7 %	0.0 %	33.3 %	0.0 %	100.0 %
Heritage	Observed	18	1	30	1	50
	% within row	36.0 %	2.0 %	60.0 %	2.0 %	100.0 %
SpaDom	Observed	55	7	37	7	106
	% within row	51.9 %	6.6 %	34.9 %	6.6 %	100.0 %
Total	Observed	87	8	74	8	177
	% within row	49.2 %	4.5 %	41.8 %	4.5 %	100.0 %

Question 2 (Q2) *¿Crees que el hablante es de clase social alta, media o baja?* (Do you think the speaker is from high, middle, or low SES?) also showed significant effects for both memes, with a p=0.001 for M1 and p=0.006 for M2. The favored answer was "Middle SES" (52%) in the overall data set, followed by "Low SES" (24.3%) for M1. M2 displayed a similar pattern with "Middle SES" (56.5%) as its top answer, followed by "Low SES" (19.8%). The heritage speakers' group for both M1 and M2 showed the highest percentage of "Middle SES" responses, yet the L2ers and Spanish-dominant groups also had the highest percentage of "Middle SES" responses. This means that the use of *haiga* may no longer be necessarily associated with low SES, which was found in previous literature.

Question 3 (Q3) *¿De qué parte de México crees que es el hablante? (Del norte, del centro, de la costa, CDMX, etc.)* (What part of Mexico do you think the speaker is from? (north, central, coast, Mexico City, etc.)) had significant effects for both memes (p=0.030 for M1 and p=0.033 for M2) with *Frontera* (border region) being the most favored answer. The overall data set for M1 had 40.1% of *Frontera* responses and 44.1% for M2. *Norte* (north) had 27.1% for M1 and 24.9% for M2. Heritage speakers had the highest percentages of *Frontera* responses for both memes. While *haiga* is present in many dialects of Spanish, it seems to be consistently associated with its presence in the border/northern regions of Mexico. This may be tied to the negative perceptions that speakers of this border region have towards their Spanish, which they consider non-standard or "less pure" because of its contact with English.

Lastly, for Question 4 (Q4) *¿Qué puesto crees que pudiera tener esta persona? (gerencia, administrativo, servicio al cliente, intendencia, etc.)* (What job do you think this person might have? Management, administrative, customer service, janitorial, etc.), results showed that customer and janitorial services were the favored responses (p<0.001 for M1 and p=0.002 for

M2). Customer service was selected 43.5% of the time in M1 and 35% in M2, followed by Janitorial with 24.3% in M1 and 23.7% in M2. This goes against our expectations that *haiga* users would be perceived as only being able to hold low-ranking jobs. This may indicate a shift in perception, as shown in the results for Social Class ratings, where the favored answer was "Middle SES" instead of the expected "Low SES". This potentially reflects a change in the perceived capabilities in terms of the types of jobs a person can hold based on whether they use *haiga* or not.

4.6 Relationship between the realization of variant forms (Task 1) and the attitudes towards *haiga* (Task 2)

The speakers were classified in three groups based on their responses in Task 1. The groups were labeled *haya* for those speakers who categorically realized the standard form, *haiga* for the ones who always used the *haiga* form, and the "Variable" group for those participants who used both forms.

A one-way ANOVA was run for each attribute and each meme, with the speakers grouped according to their production. The results are shown in Table 10.

Table 10: One-way ANOVA for each meme attribute across production groups. The table shows which attributes were assigned significantly different scores by each production group for M1 and M2.

	F	df1	df2	p
M1_Educado	1.154	2	21.2	0.335
M1_Formal	2.034	2	21.2	0.155
M1_Sin clase	0.256	2	22.6	0.777
M1_Confiable	2.152	2	21.4	0.141
M1_Rural	2.599	2	22.8	0.096
M1_Fresa_creído	0.854	2	21.1	0.440
M2_Educado	2.029	2	21.3	0.156

	F	df1	df2	p
M2_Formal	5.587	2	22.1	0.011
M2_Sin clase	0.908	2	20.3	0.419
M2_Confiable	1.382	2	21.8	0.272
M2_Rural	3.013	2	22.9	0.069
M2_Fresa_creído	1.215	2	21.4	0.316

This table shows that the only attribute that assigned a significantly different score based on the participant's use of *haiga/haya* was Formal for M2. The distribution of the responses is shown on Figure 9:

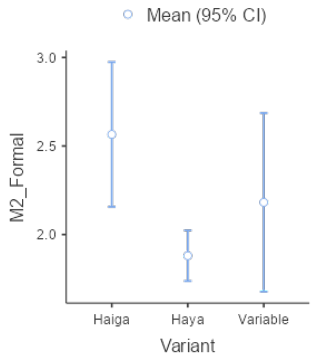


Figure 9: Attribute plot for Formal for M2 by variant form.

This indicates that participants' attitudes towards formality vary significantly depending on whether they use the standard form *haya*, the non-standard *haiga*, or both. The *haya* group had the most negative attitude towards the formality of *haiga*, followed by the "Variable" group and the *haiga* group last. However, the plot bars for both the *haiga* and the Variable group show a high margin of error on the estimated means of their responses, as shown by the longer bars on Figure 9, which signifies greater variability within the groups. No significant effects were found for any other attributes, which means that their perception of those attributes is unchanged

regardless of which group they belong to (*haya*, *haiga* or variable). This suggests a link between linguistic choices and perceptions of formality among the participants.

The following section provides a general discussion of the implications these results have for our study by going back to our hypotheses and research questions. We also include suggestions for future research as well as limitations found in our study, with potential improvements and a conclusion to our research.

CHAPTER 5 – GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Use of *haiga*

The current study's first aim was to investigate the overall use of *haiga*, and to identify any differences in its use among the Spanish-dominant, heritage speakers and L2ers. The overall predominance of *haya* aligns with previous literature (Johnson & Barnes, 2013). However, there was a notable presence of *haiga* in the speech of bilinguals in the Ciudad Juárez – El Paso border region. This finding is noteworthy given the formal nature of the elicitation task, and the fact that *haiga* is a vernacular feature of speech.

5.2 Use of *haiga* by bilingual groups

In terms of the use of *haiga* by bilingual groups, the Spanish-dominant group showed the highest adherence to the standard *haya*, which supports our first hypothesis that stated that Spanish- dominant bilinguals would have the lowest use of *haiga*. The heritage speakers' group exhibited the highest usage of *haiga*. This supports our second hypothesis which predicted that this group of bilinguals would be more prone to using the non-standard variant given possibly to their low formal education in Spanish in El Paso, with less chances of being corrected at school for their use of Spanish. While no predictions were made for the L2ers group in terms of *haiga* usage, our results indicated that they favored the use of the standard *haya* over *haiga*, similarly to the Spanish-dominant group. This could be attributed to having acquired Spanish as a second language in a classroom setting and hence more aligned with standard Spanish. Despite these differences, results of *haiga* usage per bilingual group were not statistically significant, hence the use of *haiga* cannot be attributed to language dominance alone and may be associated to a

combination of other factors, such as formal education in Spanish, and their frequency or type of exposure to the language.

One of the interesting findings related to *haiga* usage was the group of speakers who showed variability in the use of both *haiga* and *haya*. Our initial predictions would have us point to these speakers belonging to one of the English-dominant bilingual groups (heritage speakers or L2ers), yet that was not the case as they belonged to the Spanish-dominant group (with the exception of one participant who belonged to the L2ers group). This finding seems to indicate that English-dominant bilinguals (both heritage speakers and L2ers groups) have not fully acquired the sociolinguistic variable. This could be due to reduced exposure to Spanish and/or time living in a Spanish-speaking country.

5.3 Use of *haiga* by verb modality (main vs. auxiliary)

In terms of the use of *haiga* by verb modality (main vs. auxiliary), the analysis revealed that *haiga* was significantly more prevalent as a main verb compared to an auxiliary verb for the overall data set. This pattern mirrors findings from the Monterrey corpus analyzed by Johnson & Barnes (2013), suggesting a consistent modality-specific distribution. The higher incidence of *haiga* as main verb may suggest that specific syntactic or contextual factors might influence the choice of form. Future research could be done in this area to investigate the syntactic and contextual aspects of the use of *haiga*.

5.4 Attitudes towards *haiga*

The study's second aim was to examine attitudes towards *haiga* in formal (M1) and informal (M2) settings. Significant differences emerged for the attributes of Formality ($p<0.001$)

and *Fresa/Creído* (Preppy/Stuck-up) (p=0.014), indicating that the setting influences perceptions of speakers using *haiga* for these two attributes only. Specifically, *haiga* was rated more negatively in formal contexts (for M1), aligning with societal expectations of linguistic formality (or avoidance of non-standard forms) in professional settings. As for *Fresa/Creído*, ratings also seem to be more negatively impacted in a formal setting, aligning with the "*fresa*" stereotype associated with higher educational and SES level, where non-standard forms should not be used in a professional setting.

5.5 Attitudes by bilingual group

Our results revealed significant differences in attribute ratings across bilingual groups for both memes. Spanish-dominant speakers consistently rated *haiga* users lower on positive attributes such as *Educado* (Educated), Formal, and *Confiable* (Trustworthy). These ratings were significantly lower compared to English-dominant bilinguals (heritage speakers and L2ers), suggesting a stricter adherence to standard language norms among Spanish-dominant speakers. These ratings support our first and second hypotheses in which we predicted the Spanish-dominant group would display more negative attitudes towards the use of *haiga* and its speakers, and the heritage spakers' group would not have such strong negative attitudes because they have either received monolingual English education or bilingual one in El Paso, with reduced chances of being corrected at school for their use of *haiga*. As for the L2ers group, our third hypothesis predicted either neutral opinions or very negative ones depending on what they have been taught in the classroom. The results obtained by analyzing attitudes per bilingual group do not point to negative attitudes coming from the L2ers group, despite this group behaving similarly to the Spanish-dominant bilingual group in terms of usage (a very high preference for *haya* over

haiga). The lack of a clear relationship between the use of *haiga* and the attitudes towards it from the L2ers group, along with the great variability in their attitude ratings leads us to believe that speakers in this bilingual group had a wide range of Spanish proficiencies and exposure to Spanish. Hence, it is possible that while they may have learned standard Spanish in a classroom setting, they may be unaware of the sociolinguistic implications of using *haiga*. Further research is warranted for this particular group of bilinguals with the implementation of a proficiency assessment and a more systematic collection of data on language use and input.

Figures 4A/B and 5A/B illustrating the differences in Education and Formality ratings showed that the Spanish-dominant group rated *haiga* users as less educated and less formal, reflecting a negative bias towards the non-standard form in formal settings. Trustworthiness was particularly impacted in professional contexts (M1), highlighting a nuanced perception where *haiga* use might be seen as less appropriate in formal contexts.

The lack of statistical significance for the Rural attribute for all bilingual groups was another unexpected finding of this study. The absence of statistical significance for the Rural attribute was encountered in both formal and informal settings. Previous literature consistently mentioned a perceived “rurality” as an inherent attribute of those speakers who used *haiga*. This seems to be overshadowed by stronger perceptions of lack of education, formality and trustworthiness within our participants, perhaps signaling a shift away from this association of rurality towards *haiga* users.

5.6 Social, professional and regional perceptions of *haiga*

The study's multiple-choice questions further revealed the social indexicalities of *haiga*. The overall attitude among all three bilingual groups leaned towards the positive side when it

came to befriending someone who uses *haiga* yet had conflicted attitudes towards dating them. Participants seem to be able to have a friend that says *haiga*, but not a closer, more intimate relationship such as a significant other who uses the form. This perhaps reflects that deep down, the attitudes towards *haiga* users are still more on the negative side and indicates a complex interaction between social acceptance and perceived appropriateness of non-standard forms in different types of personal relationships.

Significant effects were found for the influence of SES on *haiga*, with "Middle SES" being the most common rating. This suggests that while *haiga* is seen as non-standard, it is not necessarily associated with low SES. The highest percentage of "Middle SES" responses came from the heritage speakers' group but was closely followed by the Spanish-dominant and the L2ers groups, indicating a possible re-evaluation of non-standard forms as not exclusively tied to lower socioeconomic status.

When asked about the regional origin of *haiga* speakers, *Frontera* (border region) and *Norte* (north) were the most frequently chosen options. This may be because *haiga* is recognized as a distinctive feature of border Spanish and even part of speakers' identities (Vergara Dutra & Wilson, 2024). Another possible explanation could be offered, which is that speakers of this region could be more familiar with their own regional dialect, and not knowing or being exposed to other dialects makes them unable to attribute *haiga* to other dialects.

In terms of the association of *haiga* to different occupations, the most frequent response was customer service or janitorial roles, further illustrating how the use of non-standard language forms can influence people's perceptions of other's abilities. The high number of customer service responses was unexpected, since it does not point to *haiga* users as holding the lowest employment level. Following the shift in social class perception to middle SES instead of low

SES, our results may point to yet another shift in the perception of the professional capabilities for those speakers who use *haiga*. While participants may still find them inadequate to hold managerial jobs, they seem to be more accepting of *haiga* users holding jobs that require interaction with customers.

5.9 Conclusion

The findings of this study reflect the intricate sociolinguistic dynamics surrounding the use of *haiga*. While *haya* remains the predominant form, *haiga* maintains a noteworthy presence particularly among English-dominant bilinguals and in specific verbal contexts. Attitudinal differences towards *haiga* highlight the influence of formality and societal norms on language perception, with non-standard forms receiving more negative evaluations in professional settings. The study also reveals a general positive shift in the perceptions of *haiga* for 3 attributes: rurality, SES and profession. Our results showed that *haiga* usage is not strictly associated with low SES, as well as not being associated with rurality, and the lowest professional occupation. Since there are no previous studies of *haiga* in this region, it is hard to determine with certainty whether these more positive linguistic attitudes are the result of evolving linguistic attitudes or whether they simply reflect dialectal differences in attitudes towards *haiga* from the different groups studied in previous work.

Differences in attitude towards *haiga* also seem to be influenced by participants' schooling, and how non-standard forms continue to get stigmatized by educators in monolingual Spanish schools in Ciudad Juárez as well as by Spanish classrooms in bilingual education. As previously mentioned, this opens a pathway for further research in Spanish L2 learning for English-Spanish bilinguals, and how language should not only be taught as a linguistic skill.

There is a deficiency in education when it comes to teaching the sociolinguistic implications and uses of variable forms such as *haiga*. Spanish teachers who tend to focus on teaching standard forms in the classroom and stay away from addressing the existence, use and implications of these variables should strive to include them, as learners will encounter these forms in real life. Moving forward, future research should continue to explore these non-standard variables, particularly in educational settings where formal language instruction often neglects the sociolinguistic dimensions of variable forms like *haiga*. Addressing these gaps can enrich language education and foster a more inclusive understanding of linguistic diversity among bilingual communities.

The findings of this study underscore the complex interplay of linguistic, sociocultural, and educational factors influencing *haiga* usage. Differences in attitudes reveal varying perceptions across bilingual groups and contexts. Spanish-dominant bilinguals generally hold more negative views towards *haiga*, aligning with stricter adherence to standard language norms. In contrast, English-dominant bilinguals exhibit more nuanced attitudes, influenced by factors such as educational background and exposure to Spanish. These nuances suggest a need for deeper exploration into how bilingual education and societal perceptions shape linguistic attitudes. Moreover, the study highlights evolving perceptions regarding *haiga* in terms of attributes like social class, regional identity, and professional roles. It challenges stereotypes by showing that *haiga* usage is not solely associated with lower SES or rural origins. Instead, it suggests a broader acceptance and re-evaluation of non-standard forms within specific social and professional contexts.

In essence, this study not only sheds light on the linguistic practices of Spanish-English bilinguals in a unique border region but also points to the importance of integrating

sociolinguistic awareness into language education to better prepare bilingual speakers for the complexities of real-world language use.

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APPENDIX A – SENTENCES FOR TASK 1

Completa las siguientes oraciones usando el verbo en paréntesis en el tiempo correcto.

Ejemplo:

Ej) Gabriel _____ (cocinar) la cena de Navidad para toda la familia el año pasado.

La respuesta en el verbo correcto sería: *cocinó*

Ahora inicia el ejercicio:

1) Espero que _____ (haber) internet rápido en el café para terminar mi ensayo.
2) Rebeca _____ (visitar) a su familia en Oaxaca la semana que entra.
3) Denise _____ (correr) medio maratón el domingo pasado.
4) Mónica le dijo a Mario “Deseo que todo _____ (haber/salir) bien en la cirugía de Paulina.”
5) Marcos _____ (decidir) posponer su viaje a Egipto para el siguiente año.
6) Me molesta que Emilia nunca _____ (avisar) cuando va a llegar tarde al trabajo.
7) No creo que Roberto _____ (haber/herir) los sentimientos de Elena a propósito.
8) Ojalá que _____ (haber) lluvia de estrellas esta noche mientras acampamos.
9) Edgar le dijo a Sofía que _____ (recoger) sus juguetes o no irán al parque.
10) Mi abuelo me dijo “Ojalá _____ (haber) más oportunidades de viajar juntos pronto.”
11) Espero que Salvador _____ (haber/comprar) los boletos de avión a buen precio.
12) El departamento de Física _____ (observar) el eclipse solar este sábado.

13) Karina le dijo a su esposo “Espero que no se te _____ (haber/olvidar) la leche.”

14) Ayer, Natalia _____ (ir) a la tienda y olvidó su cartera, así que tuvo que regresar a su casa.

15) A Luca le sorprendió que María _____ (haber/salir) con Mateo el viernes.

16) Quiero que _____ (haber) flores amarillas en mi fiesta de cumpleaños.

17) Naya _____ (tener) tres perritos y dos gatitos en adopción.

18) La maestra _____ (encargar) mucha tarea a sus alumnos porque no guardaban silencio.

19) Lupita _____ (cuidar) a los perros de Angélica mientras ella está en Europa.

20) Espero que _____ (haber) desayuno incluido en nuestro hotel.

APPENDIX B – MEME 1, FORMAL SETTING

APPENDIX C – MEME 2, INFORMAL SETTING

APPENDIX D – QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TASK 2 (MEME 1, FORMAL SETTING)

a) Después de analizar la imagen previa, contesta qué te parece el hablante siendo entrevistado indicando en el número.

El entrevistado te parece:

	Nada	Poco	Bastante	Muy
Educado	1	2	3	4
Formal	1	2	3	4
Sin clase	1	2	3	4
Confiable	1	2	3	4
Rural	1	2	3	4
Fresa, creído	1	2	3	4

b) Ahora contesta las siguientes preguntas.

¿Sientes que esta persona podría ser tu amiga?

¿Crees que el hablante es de clase social alta, media o baja?

¿De qué parte de México crees que es el hablante? (Del norte, del centro, de la costa, CDMX, etc.)

¿Qué puesto crees que pudiera tener esta persona? (gerencia, administrativo, servicio al cliente, intendencia, etc.)

¿Qué edad crees que tiene esta persona?

¿Tienes algún comentario adicional acerca de esta persona?

APPENDIX E – QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TASK 2 (MEME 2, INFORMAL SETTING)

a) Después de analizar la imagen previa, contesta qué te parece la persona a la que se refieren (“la persona que te gusta”) haciendo un círculo en el número.

La persona que te gusta dice haiga, qué pensarías de ella o él?:

	Nada (Not at all)	**Poco (A little)**	**Bastante (A lot)**	**Muy (Very)**
Educado (Educated)	1	2	3	4
Formal (Formal)	1	2	3	4
Sin clase (With no class)	1	2	3	4
Confiable (Trustworthy)	1	2	3	4
Rural (Rural)	1	2	3	4
Fresa, creído (Pompous, uptight)	1	2	3	4

b) Ahora contesta las siguientes preguntas.

¿Sientes que esta persona podría ser tu novio/novia?

¿Crees que la persona es de clase social alta, media o baja?

¿De qué parte de México o Estados Unidos crees que es la persona? (Del norte, del centro, de la costa, CDMX, etc.)

¿Qué puesto crees que pudiera tener esta persona? (gerencia, administrativo, servicio al cliente, intendencia, etc.)

¿Qué edad crees que tiene esta persona?

¿Tienes algún comentario adicional acerca de esta persona?

APPENDIX F – LANGUAGE BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TASK 3

Por favor completa la siguiente información demográfica para finalizar el estudio:

1) ¿Cuántos años tienes? (open-ended question)
2) ¿Con qué género te identificas? (choose one)

   Masculino

   Femenino

   Otro
3) ¿En dónde vives? (ciudad, estado y país) (open-ended question)
4) ¿Cuántos años llevas viviendo en tu lugar de residencia? (open ended question)
5) ¿Cuál es tu nivel más alto de escolaridad? (choose one)

   Menos que preparatoria

   Preparatoria

   Estoy en la licenciatura/un poco de licenciatura

   Licenciatura terminada

   Estoy en la maestría/un poco de escuela graduada

   Maestría terminada

   Estoy en el posgrado/doctorado/un poco de estudios superiores

   Posgrado/doctorado terminado
6) ¿Cuál fue el idioma que te hablaban en casa durante tu infancia/adolescencia? (choose one)

   Solo español

   Mayormente español, un poco de inglés

Solo inglés

Mayormente inglés, un poco de español

7) ¿Cuál fue el idioma principal en el cual recibiste tu educación básica (primaria y secundaria)? (choose one)

Solo español

Solo inglés

Programa bilingüe (distribución 50/50)

8) ¿A qué edad aprendiste español? (open-ended question)

9) ¿A qué edad aprendiste inglés? (open-ended question)

10) ¿Con qué idioma te sientes más cómodo(a) hablando? (choose one)

Español

Inglés

11) ¿Con qué idioma te sientes más cómodo(a) escribiendo? (choose one)

Español

Inglés

12) ¿Qué idioma hablas más con tu familia? (choose one)

Español

Inglés

13) ¿Qué idioma hablas más con tus amigos/pareja? (choose one)

Español

Inglés

14) ¿Qué idioma hablas más en la escuela y/o trabajo? (choose one)

Español

Inglés

15) ¿Tienes algún comentario adicional que pueda ser relevante para tu información demográfica y/o de lenguaje? (open-ended question)

16) Selecciona la declaración con la que más te identificas: (choose one)

Aprendí español en casa cuando era niño(a) y sigue siendo el idioma que más utilize en mi vida diaria. Hablando español me siento más cómodo(a), hablo inglés solo cuando es necesario.

Aprendí español en casa cuando era niño(a) pero me desenvuelvo más en inglés en mi vida diaria. Hablando inglés me siento más cómodo(a), hablo español solo cuando es necesario.

CURRICULUM VITA

Elyana Amparan is a graduate Master's student at the University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP). She obtained her first Bachelor of Arts in Organizational and Corporate Communication in 2017 and her second Bachelor of Arts in Linguistics in 2020 from the same institution. She received the Outstanding Academic Achievement in Linguistics honor upon her graduation in 2020 and will be obtaining her Master of Arts in Linguistics with a concentration in Applied Linguistics in August 2024.

Her areas of interest within the field of Linguistics include bilingualism, second language acquisition and sociolinguistics. She collaborated as an undergraduate research assistant in the language acquisition laboratory led by Dr. Carla Contemori at UTEP from January 2019 to May 2020. Her research focuses on attitudes towards Spanish non-standard forms within the Spanish-English community of the El Paso, Texas – Ciudad Juárez, Mexico border region, which is where she is originally from. If they wish, readers may reach out to Elyana via email at eamparan@utep.edu.