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Hella Nor Cal or Totally So Cal?

The Perceptual Dialectology of California

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This study provides the first detailed account of perceptual dialectology within California (as well as one of the first accounts of perceptual dialectology within any single state). Quantitative analysis of a map-labeling task carried out in Southern California reveals that California's most salient linguistic boundary is between the northern and southern regions of the state. Whereas studies of the perceptual dialectology of the United States as a whole have focused almost exclusively on regional dialect differences, respondents associated particular regions of California less with distinctive dialects than with differences in language (English versus Spanish), slang use, and social groups. The diverse sociolinguistic situation of California is reflected in the emphasis both on highly salient social groups thought to be stereotypical of California by residents and nonresidents alike (e.g., surfers) and on groups that, though prominent in the cultural landscape of the state, remain largely unrecognized by outsiders (e.g., hicks).

Keywords: *California; language attitudes; language ideologies; perceptual dialectology*

California Dreaming: Language Ideologies of California in the Popular Imagination

Following the emergence of perceptual dialectology as a sociolinguistic subfield (Preston 1989), researchers have begun to document the language attitudes and ideologies associated with regional dialects in the United States and around the world (e.g., Benson 2003; Hartley 2005; Long and Preston 2002; Preston 1999). In the U.S. context, such studies have consistently demonstrated the clear ideological separation of several distinct dialect areas, although these generally do not correspond to the actual linguistic complexity of the United States. Moreover, the language attitudes and ideologies associated with certain regions of the nation, such as the West, are far less fully developed than others. Yet although respondents from

other regions typically either ignore most of the American West or classify it as a unified region, California is often singled out as a separate dialect area, an indication of the state's symbolic significance as a dialect region in the American imagination (Fought 2002; Lance 1999; Preston 1989). The present study provides the first detailed account of the perceptual dialectology of Californians toward their own state, as well as one of the first accounts of the perceptual dialectology of any single U.S. state.[1] Using the general methods of perceptual dialectology research, the study analyzes the results of a map-labeling task administered to California residents on their attitudes toward linguistic diversity within the state. In this way, the study adds to the small and methodologically disparate body of research on language attitudes among Californians (e.g., Barker and Giles 2002, 2004; MacKaye 1990; Orellana, Ek, and Hernandez 1999).[2]

As the epicenter of the global entertainment industry, California is one of the nation's (and, indeed, the world's) key sources for new cultural trends and youth styles, including those involving language. Due to its high visibility in the popular media, the state is associated with a much more explicit set of language ideologies about how its residents speak than any of its Western neighbors. Language ideologies about California have been uncovered in studies of a number of linguistic changes in progress. For example, the fronting of (uw) and (ow), which is characteristic of younger speakers in California as well as elsewhere in the country, is most iconically associated with the silly, superficial "Valley girl" (see, e.g., Hinton et al. 1987), a stereotype of Southern California teenage girls that first reached national awareness in 1982 in Frank and Moon Unit Zappa's parody song by that name and that continues to circulate. Other innovations in youth language have acquired the same ideological cast. For example, the use both of *like* as a discourse marker and of *be like* as a quotative marker has been found by researchers to be ideologically associated with California and especially with Valley girls (Blyth, Recktenwald, and Wang 1990; Dailey-O'Cain 2000), despite the widespread use of these forms among speakers of all ages throughout the United States. Blyth and his collaborators report the responses to their attitude survey on *be like* as follows:

> Typical epithets . . . for [users of] *be like* were 'vacuous,' 'silly,' 'airheaded,' 'California.' In fact, the connotations for *be like* can be summed up by the most frequent

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> epithet of all in our survey, 'Valley Girl,' an American stereotype with social and regional connotations. (Blyth, Recktenwald, and Wang 1990, 224)

In short, in the national understanding, California speech is viewed as largely the product of Valley girls—and their ideological male counterparts, surfer dudes (Lance 1999).[3] Indeed, the only previous perceptual dialectology study to have examined Californians' own language attitudes in detail, conducted by Fought (2002), notes that these same stereotypes are widespread even within the state. Though primarily concerned with Californians' attitudes toward linguistic variation at the national level, Fought's research lays the groundwork for a more in-depth study of the language ideologies of Californians, focusing not on California as compared to other parts of the country but on the varied geographic regions and social groups within the state itself. Such ideologies are informed in large part by the settlement patterns of the many different groups that make up California's population.

A Brief Linguistic History of California

California has the distinction of being the most ethnically and linguistically diverse state in the Union, as well as the first state after Hawaii to gain a "majority minority" population (that is, a population in which nonwhite residents outnumber their white counterparts). This diversity is of long standing, preceding the arrival of Europeans. Native Americans speaking approximately 100 languages from six different families inhabited California before European contact; missionization by Spanish Catholics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries quickly threatened the languages of Native California, all of which are now either extinct or nearly so. The threat to these languages was often due to threats to their speakers: following the influx of new residents into California during the Gold Rush period, many Native Californians died from introduced diseases and large numbers of others were forcibly displaced or killed by white settlers. Although Native Americans continue to have a visible cultural presence in California, the loss of their indigenous languages means that Native Californians are generally not viewed by the state's residents as linguistically distinctive.

Far more widely recognized is the place of Spanish in the state. Beginning with the explorers and missionaries of the Spanish Empire and extending into the present day, Spanish has been spoken continuously in California for nearly 250 years. Only a small population of Spanish speakers, a group of Mexican landowning elites and the servant class that ran their estates, inhabited California before it was ceded to the United States. However, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Mexican-descent population of California increased dramatically as immigrants provided labor in a number of industries, particularly, in the past several decades, agriculture. Despite the recent political focus on the limited English proficiency of

immigrants, 2000 U.S. Census figures show that the Latino population of the state is overwhelmingly bilingual and that the majority of California's Latinos were born in the United States.

Along with Native Americans and Latinos, California has the largest population of Asians in the United States. Chinese immigrants began arriving in the nineteenth century and Japanese immigrants in the early twentieth century, with many of the former settling in San Francisco and the latter largely in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Filipinos have been in the United States in sizable numbers since the early twentieth century and are now the largest Asian/Pacific Islander group in Southern California, with Chinese a close second; Chinese remains the largest Asian ethnicity in the state as a whole. More recent waves of immigration have come from Korea and Southeast Asia as well as the Pacific Islands.

Blacks settled in California as early as the eighteenth century, but the African American population grew significantly in the early to mid-twentieth century, particularly in Los Angeles; many of these new residents came from the Southeastern United States. Although the community had high rates of home ownership in the early part of the century, discriminatory housing laws and labor practices led to the formation of highly impoverished segregated areas of the city. Another sizable African American community, established in Oakland in the same time period, faced similar race-motivated economic discrimination. In 1997, the Oakland School Board made national news when it proposed that its largely black student population be taught to compare their own linguistic system, African American Vernacular English (AAVE) or Ebonics, to that of Standard English in order to improve their literacy skills; the proposal ignited a controversy regarding the linguistic status of AAVE and its role in the classroom (cf. Rickford 1999).

Although whites often gained advantages over other groups through discriminatory laws and practices, some whites in California also experienced economic discrimination. A number of rural white Californians are descendants of the "Okies," a pejorative term for the over 1.7 million workers from the Great Plains states who migrated to California between the 1930s and the 1960s, bringing their Midlands dialects with them. Although many of these migrant workers settled in urban areas, a sizable number also laid down roots in the Central Valley, a major agricultural region.

In addition to being recognized for its ethnic diversity, California is known for its distinctive youth styles and their attendant language use, which have circulated throughout the nation thanks to Hollywood and other forms of media. Southern California's surf culture emerged in the 1950s and continues to influence American culture to this day. In the 1960s, the hippie movement gained national visibility, with its epicenter in San Francisco and Berkeley. In the next decade, many hippies relocated to rural areas of Northern California and elsewhere to establish communes in order to get "back to the land"; upper Northern California in particular still fosters

alternative communities and hippie ideals. As noted above, in the 1980s, the ideology of a materialistic and shallow Valley girl culture in the Los Angeles region came to public attention, associated with the rapid growth of shopping malls in Southern California. In the 1990s, the largely African American communities of Compton in Southern California and Oakland in the Bay Area were the sources of the West Coast gangster rap style of hip hop. These and other youth styles continue to shape language use within California and the nation as a whole.

Methodology

In order to investigate California residents' perceptions of the ethnic, social, and linguistic diversity within their state, the study followed the general methods established by Preston (e.g., 1989, 1993) in his development of perceptual dialectology as a subfield of sociolinguistics. Undergraduate student fieldworkers collected the data as part of an assignment for an introductory sociolinguistics course at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UC Santa Barbara), taught in 2003 and 2004.[4] The research instrument was a photocopied page with an outline map of California on one side and survey questions on the other. The following instructions appeared on top of the research instrument:

> This map drawing task is part of an assignment for Linguistics 70: Language in Society. It is designed to discover your idea of the geographic distribution of language in California. What we are after are your own opinions, based on your knowledge and experiences. The right answer is the one you have, not the answer of some expert. On the back of this sheet is a map of California. **Please draw a boundary around each part of California where you believe people speak differently, and label the area.** You may not have visited every area, but you may have heard speakers in person or through the media. However, you should only draw as many boundaries as you want to draw. You should write down anything you think is important about language use in California.

Each student fieldworker (a total of 70 students) was required to have ten respondents label the map and answer the survey questions. These questions included demographic information regarding gender, age, ethnicity, occupation, level of education, place of birth and other places of residence, and native language. In addition, the survey included two open-ended questions: "Where in California do you think people speak best? Why?" and "Where in California do you think people speak worst? Why?" The current article focuses on the results from the map-labeling task; the responses to the two open-ended questions are analyzed in Bucholtz et al. (2008).

A total of 703 maps and surveys were analyzed for the study (one student collected 13 maps and surveys). Examples of labeled maps are provided in Figures 1,

Figure 1
Labeled Map of Regions of Linguistic Difference within California, by an 18-Year-Old Male Student Born in Berkeley, California ("White, Phillipino, Spanish, Native American")

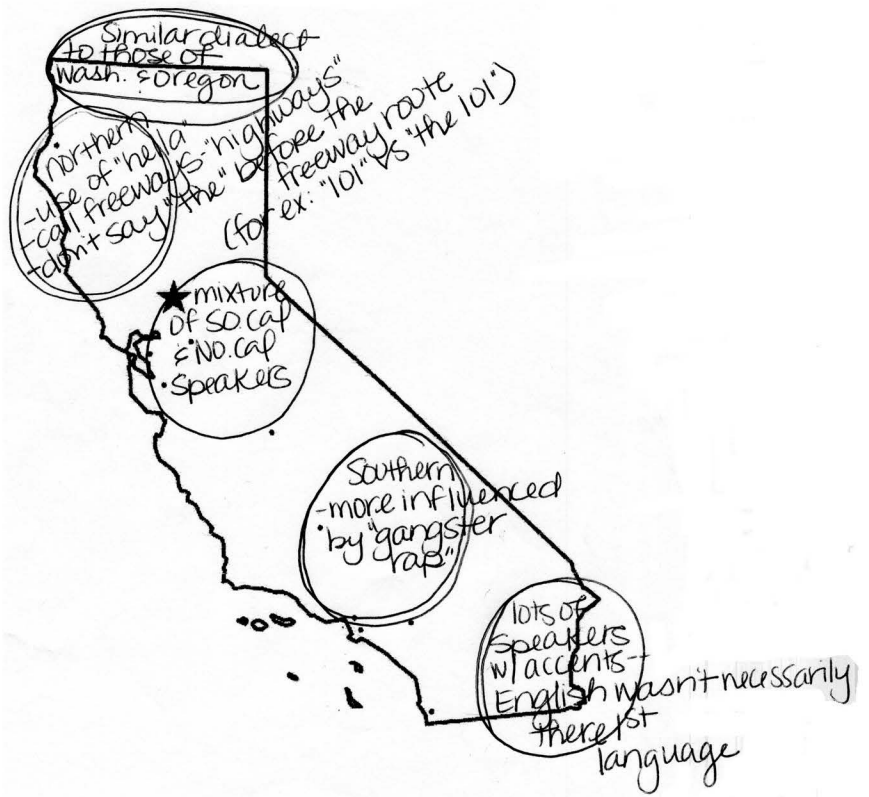
2, 3, and 4; a brief demographic description of each respondent is provided in the caption, with self-reported ethnicity in parentheses.[5]

The figures give some sense of the range of issues to which respondents oriented in the map-labeling task. Figure 1 organizes the state largely on the basis of slang terms; however, this respondent also provides a special notation for where he considers Spanish (*Español*) to be most prevalent in the state. (The respondent also makes the somewhat cryptic remark *East Bay Area speaks like they are from the south*; it is unclear if he means these speakers sound like Southern Californians or Southern Americans.) Figure 2 likewise shows some orientation to slang, but this

Figure 2
Labeled Map of Regions of Linguistic Difference within California, by a 20-Year-Old Male Student Born in Salinas, California ("Chicano")

respondent primarily divides the state into social groups with what he perceives as distinctive language patterns, such as *Oregon-Forrest Influenced speakers* in Northern California and *L.A./Fast Talking Innovators* in Southern California. Figure 3 alludes to ethnically based language use, particularly in the southern part of the state, without explicitly mentioning ethnic groups: the Los Angeles region is labeled as *more influenced by "gangster rap,"* which may also imply a focus on the African American population of the city, and the border region is labeled *lots of speakers*

Figure 3
Labeled Map of Regions of Linguistic Difference within California, by a 20-Year-Old Female Student Born in Mission Hills, California ("Caucasian")

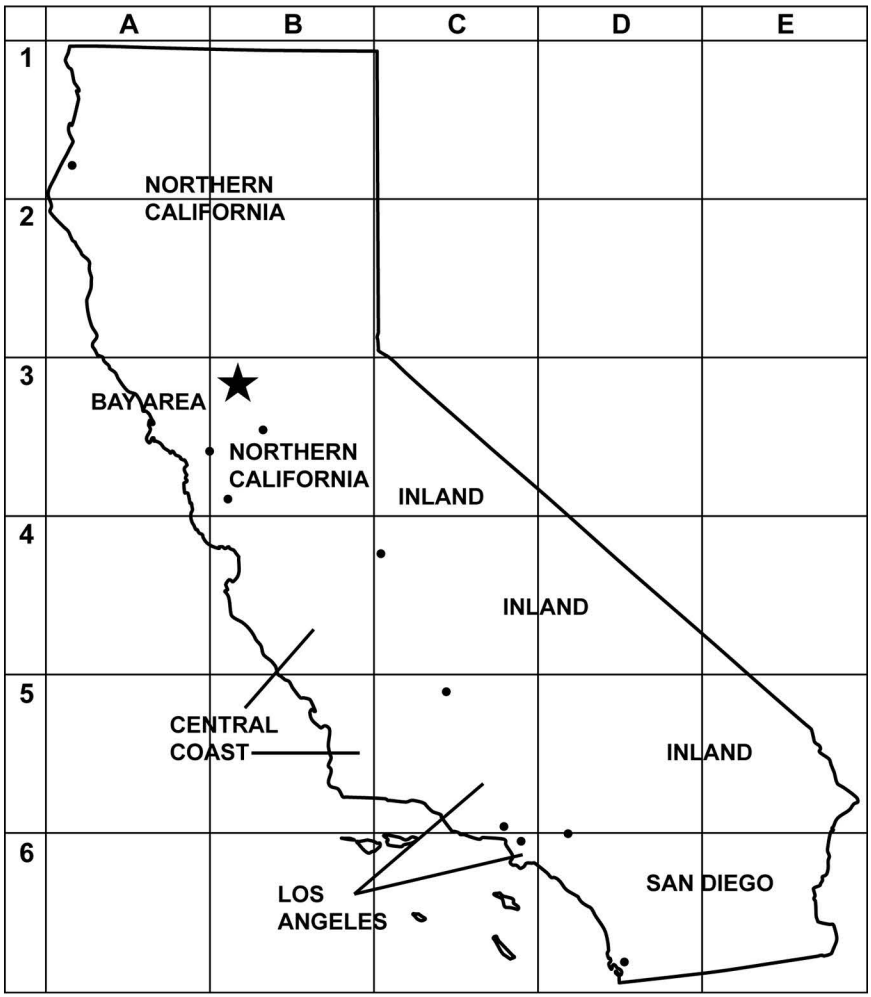


with accents—English wasn't necessarily there 1st language, yet the specifically Mexican Spanish influence of this region is not noted. Figure 4 also implies a focus on these groupings with the characterizations *ghettoie* or *Spanishy* for the southern part of the state (although, as discussed below, in the maps the term *ghetto* does not, as it once did in the U.S. context, necessarily refer to an African American lower-income neighborhood). Similar sorts of adjectives are used for Los Angeles (*girly*), Northern California (*more englandish*—i.e., more standard-like?), and the desert region (*Southernish*—presumably, similar to Southern American English, given the settlement of Midlands speakers in this area). Strikingly, all three of the California-born respondents remark on the use of the slang term *hella* in Northern California; we discuss this term further below.

Figure 4
Labeled Map of Regions of Linguistic Difference within California, by a 20-Year-Old Female Student Born in Funabashi, Chiba, Japan ("Japanese")

To analyze the data from the map-labeling task, after data collection was complete a 5 × 6 grid printed on a plastic transparency sheet was superimposed over each labeled map (see Figure 5; region labels have been added to the figure for the reader's convenience, but were not included in the original grid).[6] This particular grid configuration was selected because it exhaustively divides the California map into areas of equal and analytically manageable size.

Figure 5
Grid Used for Analysis of the Map-Labeling Data



Any part of a label that lay within a particular grid cell was counted as a label for that cell; thus labels that lay within more than one cell were counted multiple times. This approach was necessary because it was not possible to establish precisely which area on the map a respondent intended to label in any given instance. (The multiple

counting of some tokens does not significantly affect the overall findings, since the analysis is concerned with relative trends rather than absolute numeric results.)

The data from the maps and surveys were entered into a database and subjected to both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The researchers divided the state into six regions based on predictions about which areas of the state would be most salient to the respondents, and grid cells for these regions were assigned based on the judgments of three native Californians (as noted below, the geographic distinction that was most commonly labeled on the maps, Northern California versus Southern California, was too broad to be analytically useful):

(1) The San Diego region at the southern tip of the state (cells D6, E6)
(2) The Los Angeles region, including Los Angeles County and surrounding suburbs (cells C5, C6)
(3) The Central Coast region, ranging along the coast from north of Los Angeles to south of the San Francisco Bay Area, an area that includes Santa Barbara, the site of the study (cells B4, B5)
(4) The Bay Area, the region surrounding San Francisco (cell A3)
(5) Northern California, the region from north of the Bay Area up to the Oregon border (cells A1, A2, B1, B2, B3)
(6) The Inland region, which includes the less populous eastern end of the state from the portion of the Central Valley below Sacramento to the Mexico border (cells C3, C4, D4, D5, E5)

These divisions roughly correspond to the range of geographic distinctions indicated on the maps; for example, the inclusion of the southeast corner of California in the coastal San Diego region reflects the respondents' focus on cells D6 and E6 as constituting a border region with Mexico.

The quantitative analysis involved two components. In the first component, the researchers examined which of the six regions identified above was the most frequently labeled and which geographic labels were most frequently applied to each region. In the second component, the researchers identified the most frequent social or linguistic labels for each region and examined correlations between the most common linguistic labels and respondent ethnicity. Tables 1a through 1c provide demographic information about the respondents. The vast majority of respondents, like the fieldworkers, were undergraduates at UC Santa Barbara between the ages of 18 and 20; however, a few nonstudents and students from other universities also participated in the study. A larger number of female than male respondents participated in the study (Table 1a) due to the fact that female undergraduates outnumber males at UC Santa Barbara.

Ethnicity was of particular interest in the study given both the ethnic diversity of California and the frequently negative attitudes that majority group members hold toward the languages of ethnic minorities. The UC Santa Barbara population is, however, predominantly white, as are the majority of the study participants.

Table 1A
Gender of Survey Respondents

Female	378 (53.8%)
Male	323 (45.9%)
Decline to state	2 (0.3%)
Total	703 (100%)

Table 1B
Ethnicity of Survey Respondents

European American	414 (58.9%)
Latino	89 (12.7%)
Asian American	79 (11.2%)
Mixed heritage	45 (6.4%)
African American	29 (4.1%)
Native American	2 (0.3%)
Other	25 (3.6%)
Decline to state	14 (2.0%)
Not classifiable	6 (0.9%)
Total	703 (100%)

Table 1C
Birthplace/Residence of Survey Respondents

Los Angeles	193 (27.5%)
Northern California	79 (11.2%)
Bay Area	48 (6.8%)
Central Coast	40 (5.7%)
San Diego	33 (4.7%)
Inland	17 (2.4%)
General California	57 (8.1%)
Out of state	144 (20.5%)
Other country	89 (12.7%)
No response	3 (0.4%)
Total	703 (100%)

With regard to birthplace and residence, in order to avoid counting as residents those respondents who had spent only a brief time in a given region, only respondents who were born and who currently resided in the same region are included in Table 1c. The largest group of respondents for whom such data were available was from the Los Angeles region, a fact that reflects the population of UC Santa Barbara undergraduates as well. Northern California (apart from the Bay Area) was the second most common birthplace/residence within California.

Table 2
Types of Map Labels

Geographic areas	5,762 (43.6%)
Languages and dialects	4,003 (30.3%)
Social groups	1,405 (10.6%)
Slang and lexical items	1,362 (10.3%)
Other	698 (5.3%)
Total	13,230 (100%)

To sum up, the respondent profile roughly matched the profile of UC Santa Barbara undergraduates but did not reflect the state's ethnic diversity.

The researchers initially attempted to categorize map labels as geographic, social, linguistic, and descriptive/evaluative, but the degree of overlap among these categories made any such categorization too difficult to be practical. However, after the analysis was completed, four main types of labels emerged as the most frequent: geographic areas, languages and dialects, slang and other lexical items, and social groups. Table 2 provides an overview of the distribution of these labels by type.

As the table indicates, geographic area was the most common type of label, followed by languages and dialects. Social groups, the third most frequent type, were labeled much less often. Slang and other lexical items were the fourth most common type of label. The "Other" category includes labels commenting on aspects other than language or social groupings (e.g., the size of the population of a given area) as well as those whose meaning was difficult to interpret (e.g., *hi*). The following quantitative analysis examines the four largest categories of map labels in detail.

Geographic Regions and Labels

In the first component of the analysis, the research team determined which of the six regions identified above was most frequently labeled, and what geographic labels were applied to each region. The purpose of this analysis was to discover which regions were most salient to respondents and how these were categorized. Table 3 presents the most frequent geographic labels assigned to each region, as well as the total number of labels of all types (geographic, language and dialect, slang and lexical, and social) divided by the number of cells on the map grid assigned to that region. The latter figure, termed the *salience score*, provides a rough indicator of the salience of the region for respondents.

As the table indicates, the most frequent geographic labels were *Northern California* and *Southern California* (variants of a label—e.g., *Southern California*, *So Cal*, *S. Cal*, *Southern Cali*, and *South*—were classified together).[7] Because these two labels were used far more than others (together accounting for 56 percent of the geographic labels), the six regions identified by the research team were used in the analysis to provide finer geographic distinctions.

Table 3
Most Frequent Geographic Label and Salience Score, by Region

Region	Most Frequent Geographic Label	Salience Score
Northern California	Northern California	733.8
Bay Area	Northern California	842
Central Coast	Southern California	834
Inland	Southern California	727.2
Los Angeles	Southern California	930
San Diego	Southern California	777.5

As predicted, the region where the largest group of respondents was born and raised, the Los Angeles area, was also the most salient; it was further correctly anticipated that the Central Coast would be more frequently labeled because most of the data were collected in or near the Central Coast city of Santa Barbara. However, although the second highest salience score is that for the Bay Area, and the second lowest score is that for Northern California, more respondents (of those for whom usable birthplace/residence data are available) were born and raised in Northern California (outside the Bay Area) than in the Bay Area. These results are likely due to the fact that the Bay Area is the most populous and familiar part of Northern California, as well as its cultural and economic center.

Additionally, it should be noted that although both the Central Coast and the Inland regions were most often labeled as *Southern California*, the second most common label for each region was *Northern California*. The Central Coast lies roughly along the loosely defined but ideologically salient Northern-Southern divide and thus is viewed as sharing characteristics of both; the Inland region transects this boundary. Moreover, as defined by the research team, the Inland region is large in area, comprising five cells on the map in Figure 5 and encompassing the entire eastern region of the state from east of the Bay Area to the southern tip of California. At the same time, the Inland region is recognized by state residents as culturally different from both Northern and Southern California, and thus although geographically parts of it were classified in one of these regions (or both) in many of the maps, respondents used social and linguistic labels to indicate the nature of these differences. Moreover, some respondents indicated a lack of knowledge of certain areas of the Inland region, specifically the less populated desert and mountainous eastern parts of the state, annotating the Inland region with comments such as *Almost no one lives here*; *Does Anyone Live Out Here?*; *No man's land*; *Nothing- oppression, ennui, desert*; and *DEATH VALLEY (NO ONE SPEAKS)*.

As a final note regarding the geographic labeling portion of the study, the research team found, in keeping with findings of previous perceptual dialectology researchers working with U.S. undergraduate populations (e.g., Preston 1993), that respondents' geographic (and by extension cultural) knowledge was often less than perfect. For

example, several respondents labeled the northernmost region of the state as Southern California or vice versa, and a few respondents stated that there is an influence from Canadian English (and Canadian French!) in the northern part of the state, despite the fact that two states (Oregon and Washington) lie between California and the Canadian border. However, these anomalous responses did not affect the overall trends regarding geographic labels.

Social and Linguistic Labels

Because the instructions on the map-labeling task did not direct study participants to focus on any particular aspect of language, respondents were able to decide for themselves which linguistic phenomena were of greatest importance to them. As noted above, respondents most frequently labeled geographic regions, languages and dialects, specific lexical items, and social groups. However, they also often commented on the content of regional speech (*Coastal Speak—these ppl [i.e., people] probably refer to the ocean more so than the rest of CA*), the metalinguistic practices of speakers (*so cal: make fun of people who say "hella"*), and the personality types they perceived as predominant in a given region (e.g., *friendly, materialistic Southern Californians, Central Valley kind of upset at the world and mostly frustrated speaking*; cf. Figure 2, above). The same respondent typically highlighted more than one of these types of issues in the map-labeling task.[8]

Language and Dialect Labels

The language and dialect labels used on the maps included languages (e.g., *Spanish, Japanese*) and dialects of English (e.g., *Ebonics, Standard*) as well as groups of languages (*Diverse*) and unmarked varieties (*Normal*). Table 4 summarizes the language and dialect labels provided by respondents according to region. Shading indicates the region in which a given label occurred the greatest percentage of the time.

As shown in Figure 6, the most frequent labels were overwhelmingly *English* (30.6 percent) and *Spanish* (30.2 percent), with *English* the most common label in Northern California and *Spanish* becoming increasingly common farther south on the map; it is a more common label than *English* in Los Angeles and especially San Diego, despite the fact that English is still by far the majority language in both areas. This striking finding thus reflects the salience of Spanish in southern regions of the state rather than an actual difference in the relative use of Spanish versus English in the northern versus southern regions of California. (Tamasi [2003] likewise finds that Spanish influence is salient for some non-California respondents in their perceptions of Californians' speech.) The *Spanglish* label, which was used by a much smaller number of respondents (1.7 percent), presumably refers to code switching.

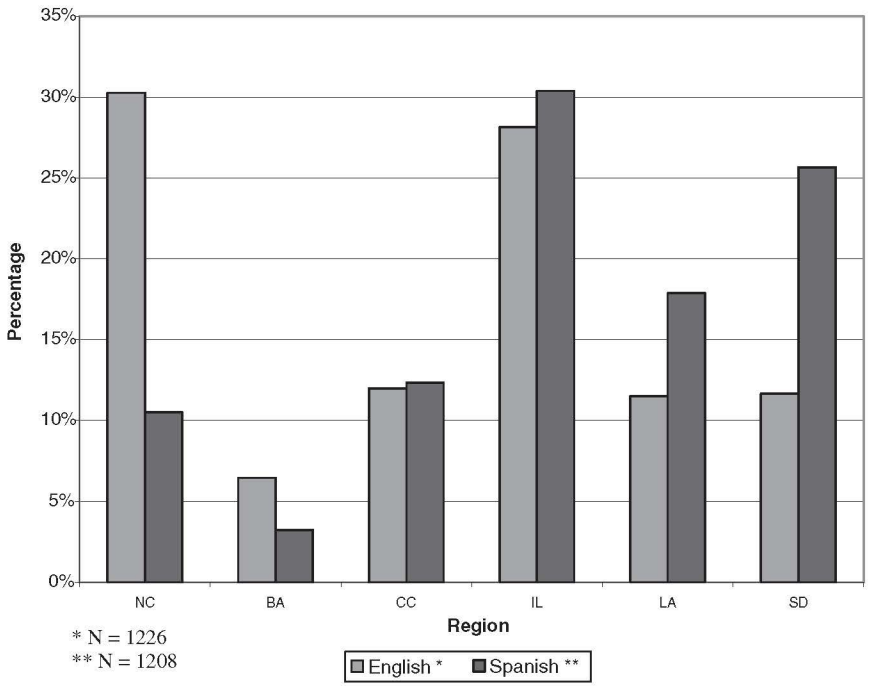
Table 4
Language and Dialect Labels, by Region

Label	Northern California	Bay Area	Central Coast	Inland	Los Angeles	San Diego	**Total**
English	371 (43.0%)	79 (31.1%)	147 (29.7%)	345 (30.8%)	141 (22.3%)	143 (22.4%)	**1,226 (30.6%)**
Spanish	127 (14.7%)	39 (15.4%)	149 (30.1%)	367 (32.7%)	216 (34.2%)	310 (48.6%)	**1,208 (30.2%)**
Chinese	51 (5.9%)	34 (13.4%)	26 (5.3%)	45 (4.0%)	38 (6.0%)	19 (3.0%)	**213 (5.3%)**
Diverse	40 (4.6%)	20 (7.9%)	22 (4.4%)	40 (3.6%)	30 (4.7%)	16 (2.5%)	**168 (4.2%)**
Ebonics	23 (2.7%)	11 (4.3%)	11 (2.2%)	30 (2.7%)	34 (5.4%)	18 (2.8%)	**127 (3.2%)**
Standard	44 (5.1%)	8 (3.1%)	11 (2.2%)	26 (2.3%)	5 (0.8%)	3 (0.5%)	**97 (2.4%)**
Japanese	23 (2.7%)	12 (4.7%)	11 (2.2%)	21 (1.9%)	18 (2.8%)	8 (1.3%)	**93 (2.3%)**
Asian	14 (1.6%)	8 (3.1%)	18 (3.6%)	24 (2.1%)	16 (2.5%)	11 (1.7%)	**91 (2.3%)**
Korean	9 (1.0%)	3 (1.2%)	12 (2.4%)	21 (1.9%)	20 (3.2%)	12 (1.9%)	**77 (1.9%)**
Normal	23 (2.7%)	2 (0.8%)	8 (1.6%)	20 (1.8%)	10 (1.6%)	8 (1.3%)	**71 (1.8%)**
Spanglish	1 (0.1%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (1.2%)	23 (2.1%)	18 (2.8%)	22 (3.4%)	**70 (1.7%)**
Broken	1 (0.1%)	1 (0.4%)	6 (1.2%)	14 (1.2%)	9 (1.4%)	10 (1.6%)	**41 (1.0%)**
Tagalog	4 (0.5%)	3 (1.2%)	6 (1.2%)	14 (1.2%)	8 (1.3%)	2 (0.3%)	**37 (0.9%)**
Vietnamese	3 (0.3%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (0.8%)	7 (0.6%)	6 (0.9%)	4 (0.6%)	**24 (0.6%)**
Nonstandard	5 (0.6%)	1 (0.4%)	0 (0.0%)	7 (0.6%)	4 (0.6%)	1 (0.2%)	**18 (0.4%)**
Other	124 (14.4%)	33 (13.0%)	58 (11.7%)	117 (10.4%)	59 (9.3%)	51 (8.0%)	**442 (11.0%)**
Total	863 (100%)	254 (100%)	495 (100%)	1,121 (100%)	632 (100%)	638 (100%)	4,003 (100%)

Perhaps surprisingly, the third most commonly named language was Chinese, although it was mentioned much less frequently than English or Spanish (5.3 percent). This label was particularly common in the Bay Area, home to a long-standing and well-known Chinese community, while Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Tagalog were listed most frequently in the Los Angeles region. (Oddly, the cover term *Asian languages* and its variants occurred most often in the Central Coast region, which does not have a particularly large Asian population.) The "Other" category includes less frequently listed languages such as Hebrew and Armenian, as well as comments like *Different accent*.

With regard to dialects, the most frequently used label, *Ebonics*, or AAVE, was surprisingly small (3.2 percent). It seems that the recent demographic shift from African Americans to Latinos as the largest ethnic minority in California (as well as in the United States as a whole) is reflected in respondents' focus on Spanish over AAVE. A wide variety of labels was used to refer to the latter linguistic variety: the researchers included *Ebonics*, *Hip Hop*, and nonce forms such as *Blackese* in this category.[9] In addition to these labels, one respondent labeled two major regions on the map *NORF* and *Down SOUF*, apparently alluding to the pronunciation of syllable-final /θ/ as /f/ by some AAVE speakers, and another respondent illustrated other stereotyped phonological and grammatical features of AAVE in labeling Compton, a largely African American suburb of Los Angeles, *They is gangster FOSHO!* (i.e., *for sure*). Unlike some other labeled varieties, no lexical items were given to illustrate the dialect (although *fo sho* is often treated as lexical, especially by non-AAVE

Figure 6
Percentage of *English* and *Spanish* Labels, by Region



speakers; cf. Bucholtz 2004). For the most part, few negative attitudes were expressed toward AAVE, contrary to the condemnations and mockery it was subjected to following the 1997 Ebonics controversy in Oakland (e.g., Rickford and Rickford 2000; Ronkin and Karn 1999). However, remarks such as *intelligent speakers but also a large black contingent*, written in the Bay Area region, indicate that racist ideologies have by no means been eradicated. Several respondents also commented on the use of AAVE by non–African Americans through labels such as *Wigger* (a term for a white person who "acts black") in Northern California and adjacent regions and *Asians acting black* in the Bay Area and adjacent regions.

Both Standard English and "normal" ways of speaking were most often labeled in the Northern California region, while "broken English" was located mainly in San Diego. These labels parallel the mapping between English and Northern California on the one hand and Spanish and San Diego on the other. It is striking that Northern California is identified as the site of Standard English or "normal" speech, for, as discussed below, this region is also associated with rural speakers. However, respondents who identified Northern California as the locus of standard or normal speech

Table 5
Language and Dialect Labels, by Ethnicity of Respondent

	African Americans	Asian Americans	European Americans	Latinos	**Total**
English	69	126	588	211	**994**
Spanish	39	75	592	254	**960**
Ebonics	0	8	57	35	**100**
Chinese	12	44	90	24	**170**
Total	120	253	1,327	524	2,224

tended not to label the region as rural. It appears that for some respondents, Northern California functions as the symbolic opposite of Southern California, while for others its most salient quality is its remoteness from large urban centers, similar to the inland eastern portions of the state.

Additional analysis was carried out to determine whether any correlation existed between the four most frequently named language and dialect labels and the four most common ethnicities among the respondents (Table 5).

Although no statistically significant relationships were found, some suggestive patterns can be seen in the table. African Americans did not mention Ebonics at all, while Latinos were more likely to mention Spanish than English (as were European Americans), and Asian Americans mentioned Chinese proportionately more often than other ethnic groups. These trends may indicate that speakers of the same ethnic background are more likely to mention a language associated with that ethnicity, but less likely to mention a dialect associated with their ethnicity. More research is required on this question.

Slang and Other Lexical Labels

In addition to labels for languages and dialects, respondents also noted specific linguistic items as characteristic of a particular region. These labels were typically lexical and overwhelmingly focused on slang. This emphasis is no doubt a result of the fact that the vast majority of respondents were teenagers and young adults, for whom slang is of particular interest. The slang terms and other lexical items labeled on the maps are summarized in Table 6. As before, the region in which a given label is used the greatest percentage of the time is shaded.

By far, the most frequently remarked-upon slang term in the map-labeling data was *hella*, accounting for 47.4 percent of the slang and other lexical labels. *Hella* is a slang term originating in Northern California and one that remains—aside from a few brief moments in the national spotlight due to its circulation in popular culture—largely restricted to that region (Bucholtz 2006). The term, which apparently lexicalized from *(a) hell of (a)*, functions as both a quantifier (*There were hella people there*) and an intensifier (*He runs hella fast*). Four respondents also mentioned the

Table 6
Slang and Other Lexical Labels, by Region

Label	Northern California	Bay Area	Central Coast	Inland	Los Angeles	San Diego	**Total**
hella	406 (78.4%)	92 (76.0%)	47 (29.4%)	100 (31.7%)	1 (0.7%)	0 (0.0%)	**646 (47.4%)**
dude	4 (0.8%)	3 (2.5%)	17 (10.6%)	22 (7.0%)	25 (16.8%)	17 (17.2%)	**88 (6.5%)**
like	1 (0.2%)	1 (0.8%)	9 (5.6%)	26 (8.3%)	20 (13.4%)	11 (11.1%)	**68 (5.0%)**
bro/bra	2 (0.4%)	2 (0.4%)	10 (6.3%)	22 (7.0%)	14 (9.4%)	16 (16.2%)	**66 (4.8%)**
grip	2 (0.4%)	0 (0.0%)	10 (6.3%)	22 (7.0%)	15 (10.1%)	9 (9.1%)	**58 (4.3%)**
chill	2 (0.4%)	1 (0.8%)	7 (4.4%)	9 (2.9%)	8 (5.4%)	5 (5.1%)	**32 (2.3%)**
Other	101 (19.5%)	22 (18.2%)	60 (37.5%)	114 (36.2%)	66 (44.3%)	41 (41.4%)	**404 (29.7%)**
Total	518 (100%)	121 (100%)	160 (100%)	315 (100%)	149 (100%)	99 (100%)	1,362 (100%)

slang term *hecka*, the G-rated equivalent of *hella*, but this term was not counted separately, because tokens of *hecka* always co-occurred with *hella*.

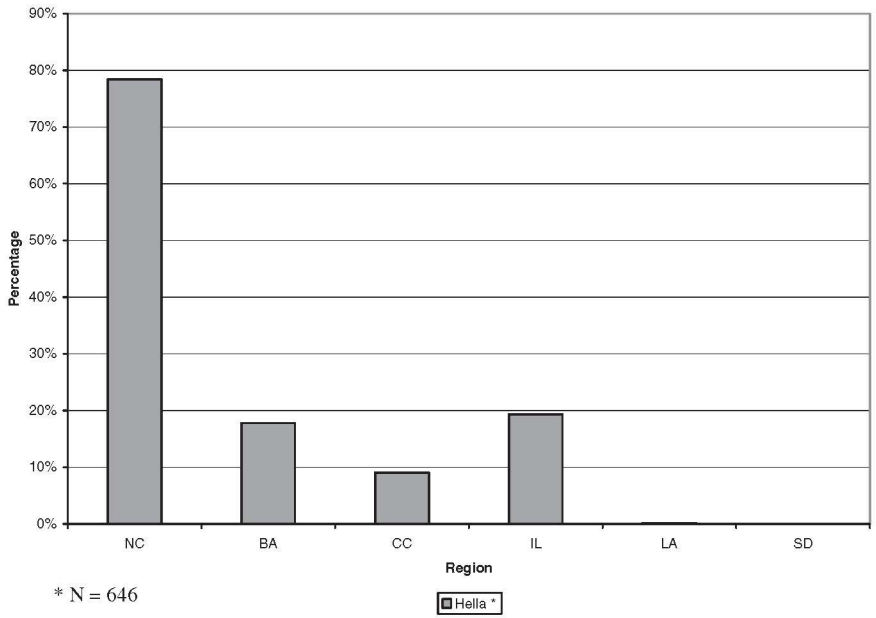
For Southern Californians in particular, *hella* represents a crucial shibboleth separating the two major regions of the state. As shown in Figure 7, respondents tended to identify *hella* overwhelmingly as a Northern California slang term, and its appearance in other regions of the map drops dramatically from north to south.

Thus Northern California was variously labeled *the hellas*, *Land of the Hella's*, and *Hella capital*, and one respondent provided an isogloss designating "the 'hella' line." (In the map data, the Central Coast around Santa Barbara seemed to be the dividing line between users and nonusers of *hella*, and the fact that the study was conducted in this region may have enhanced respondents' focus on this particular issue.)[10] *Hella* users were also negatively evaluated by Southern Californians, and the term came in for a good deal of criticism, such as *Hella is not a real word* and *[*hecka *is] probably the worst word ever*.

Hella was occasionally contrasted with *(a) grip (of)* (cf. Figure 1, above), a Southern California term that shares the quantifier function of *hella* (e.g., *I have a grip of homework*), but does not extend to its intensifier use. The term was much less widely remarked upon (4.3 percent of the total slang and other lexical terms), and some nonusers found it rather unfamiliar; thus one respondent from Northern California commented, "So-Cal: They say 'crip' a lot."[11] The focus on *hella* over *grip* suggests that in some circumstances, respondents orient to cultural difference more than to cultural familiarity, that is, the largest group of respondents is from Southern California but respondents most frequently label the slang of another region. This finding conforms with research in both social psychology and linguistic anthropology that demonstrates that language attitudes or ideologies are often rooted in the foregrounding of linguistic difference in relation to what is taken to be similar to one's own language use (e.g., Gal and Irvine 1995; Giles 1977; Giles and Powesland 1975; Irvine 2001; Irvine and Gal 2000; Tamasi 2003).

Further support for this finding comes from the fact that terms stereotypically associated with Southern California, such as *dude* and *like*, were far less often commented

Figure 7
Percentage of *hella* Label, by Region



on than *hella*. *Dude*, the second most often mentioned term (6.5 percent of the total slang and other lexical terms), did not receive any negative evaluation; although the word is widespread throughout the country both as an address term and as a discourse marker in young people's, and perhaps especially young men's, speech (Kiesling 2004), for many California residents who responded to the survey, the epicenter of *dude* is coastal Southern California, particularly San Diego, presumably because of the term's association with surfers and a laidback persona. Two other terms associated with this persona were also mainly listed in the southern coastal regions of the state: the affiliative term *bro*, a shortened term for *brother* (along with its Hawaiian Creole English variant *bra*), which occurred with the highest percentage in the San Diego region; and *chill*, which functions both as a verb meaning 'to relax' and, in its most innovative use, as an adjective similar to *cool*; like *grip*, this term was associated mainly with Los Angeles.

Like, the third most frequently noted lexical item (5.0 percent), is not a slang term but an innovative particle functioning either as a discourse marker (Blyth, Recktenwald, and Wang 1990; Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Underhill 1988) or, together with the copula, as

a quotative marker (Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Ferrara and Bell 1995, inter alia). The respondents did not distinguish between these two uses, and both uses seem to have been understood as slang (or else as "filler language," as one respondent put it) because of their informality and their association with younger speakers. In the map-labeling task, *like* was mentioned with the highest percentage in the Los Angeles region and often co-occurred with the social labels *Valley Girl* and/or *surfer* (or variants thereof), the two groups most associated with the term.

The "Other" category includes a scattering of other slang terms, including *tight* (a positive evaluative term associated with Northern California); the intensifiers *totally*, *mad*, and *super* (associated with Southern California); and Southern Californians' use of the definite article *the* in referring to the numbers of highways or freeways. This usage is in fact a major regional shibboleth in California (Geyer 2001; cf. Figure 3, above), although it is overshadowed in the data by the much greater emphasis on the regional slang term *hella*.

Social Group and Attribute Labels

The foregoing discussion of slang terms indicates the close relationship between language and social groups for the survey respondents; in fact, these were often conflated, such that a social group label was combined with a linguistic label like *talk* or *speech*, as in *hick talk* or *surfer speech* (this pattern was also found with regional labels, such as *NorCal talk*). However, compared to linguistic labels for languages or dialects, social group and attribute labels occurred much less frequently in the data. Table 7 summarizes the most common social labels provided by respondents; the region in which a term occurs the highest percentage of the time is once again shaded.

Unexpectedly, the label *hicks* and two other forms referring to rural dwellers, *hillbillies* and *rednecks*, were collectively the most common social label (17.9 percent); previous perceptual dialectology studies have not found such labels for Californians among respondents who do not live within the state and who are familiar with media representations primarily of urban, coastal California. Moreover, this label was applied to a wide area of the state, particularly Northern California, where it made up 26.2 percent of all social labels, and the Inland region, where it constituted 23.7 percent of all social labels; these regions together comprise ten different cells in the map grid. Many other arguably related labels were excluded to facilitate the tallying process, such as *cowboys*, *farmers*, *ranchers*, *desert folk*, *okies*, *country*, *mountain*, *rural*, *white trash*, and *twangy* (cf. *Southernish* in Figure 4), as well as idiosyncratic labels such as *inbred*, *Willie Nelson land*, and *Central Valley (they don't get out much, very ag based kids, no beach : ( )*.[12] In addition, commentary on specific linguistic forms associated with rural California speech occasionally occurred, such as the lexical stress shift to the initial syllable in some Inland dialects, captured in the label *We're gonna do a ceement job*. These were also excluded from the count. The surprising focus on rural residents in a state known primarily for its coastal urban

Table 7
Social Group and Attribute Labels, by Region

Label	Northern California	Bay Area	Central Coast	Inland	Los Angeles	San Diego	**Total**
Hicks	117 (26.2%)	6 (7.9%)	16 (8.8%)	86 (23.7%)	16 (8.4%)	11 (7.1%)	**252 (17.9%)**
Surfers	9 (2.0%)	4 (5.3%)	52 (28.7%)	49 (13.5%)	58 (30.4%)	47 (30.1%)	**219 (15.6%)**
Mexicans	6 (1.3%)	2 (2.6%)	13 (7.2%)	35 (9.6%)	23 (12.0%)	32 (20.5%)	**111 (7.9%)**
Laid-back	31 (7.0%)	5 (6.6%)	16 (8.8%)	21 (5.8%)	7 (3.7%)	6 (3.8%)	**86 (6.1%)**
Valley girls	3 (0.7%)	1 (1.3%)	7 (3.9%)	31 (8.5%)	21 (11.0%)	9 (5.8%)	**72 (5.1%)**
White	23 (5.2%)	3 (3.9%)	13 (7.2%)	13 (3.6%)	6 (3.1%)	5 (3.2%)	**63 (4.5%)**
Hippies	43 (9.6%)	4 (5.3%)	4 (2.2%)	6 (1.7%)	1 (0.5%)	2 (1.3%)	**60 (4.3%)**
Latinos	5 (1.1%)	1 (1.3%)	9 (5.0%)	18 (5.0%)	10 (5.2%)	14 (9.0%)	**57 (4.1%)**
Upper-class	20 (4.5%)	7 (9.2%)	9 (5.0%)	6 (1.7%)	6 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	**48 (3.4%)**
Gangsters	11 (2.5%)	3 (3.9%)	4 (2.2%)	9 (2.5%)	12 (6.3%)	5 (3.2%)	**44 (3.1%)**
Asians	12 (2.7%)	8 (10.5%)	5 (2.8%)	12 (3.3%)	3 (1.6%)	3 (1.9%)	**43 (3.1%)**
Gays	14 (3.1%)	7 (9.2%)	2 (1.1%)	3 (0.8%)	1 (0.5%)	0 (0.0%)	**27 (1.9%)**
Blacks	9 (2.0%)	4 (5.3%)	1 (0.6%)	9 (2.5%)	2 (1.0%)	1 (0.6%)	**26 (1.9%)**
Other	143 (32.1%)	21 (27.6%)	30 (16.6%)	65 (17.9%)	25 (13.1%)	13 (8.3%)	**297 (21.1%)**
Total	446 (100%)	76 (100%)	181 (100%)	363 (100%)	191 (100%)	156 (100%)	1,405 (100%)

centers may reflect the sizable agricultural industry in California, as well as the linguistic and cultural distinctiveness of this group. Rural residents are not as highly visible outside of the state as the coastal urban dwellers who populate Hollywood films and television shows, but they are familiar to most Californians.

The second most common social label in the map data, *surfers* and related forms (15.6 percent), conforms more closely to stereotypes of California. The relatively high percentage of occurrences of this label, especially in the Los Angeles region, is presumably due to the salience of this category among the predominantly Southern California respondents; surprisingly, however, the fourth most common label, *laid-back* (6.1 percent), which may suggest the casual surfer persona discussed above, was more frequent in the Central Coast region than in other surfing areas farther south, perhaps reflecting the fact that the Central Coast has no large cities.

The third most common label was *Mexicans* (7.9 percent), in keeping with the respondents' heavy emphasis on Spanish speakers, as shown in Table 4. However, the pan-ethnic label *Latinos* (and the variant *Hispanics*) was relatively infrequent (4.1 percent). Instead, the national-origin term *Mexicans* was preferred, a reflection of the large Mexican-heritage population within the state as well as the tendency of many non-Latinos to overlook the diversity within this ethnic grouping. In a few cases, speakers did not distinguish between labels referring to language and those referring to a social group, as when a respondent remarked of the southern Inland region, "since it is real close to Mexico there is a lot of Mexican spoken there." The largest percentage of use of the label *Mexicans* occurred in the San Diego area of the map (constituting 20.5 percent of the social labels in that region), which resonates with the cultural ideology that Southern California is heavily populated by Mexicans.

This ideology is vividly illustrated in the label that one respondent used for San Diego: *All Mexican.*[13] Remarkably, the term *Mexicans* was more frequent than *white* (4.5 percent), which may suggest that whiteness is unmarked and nonsalient while Mexicanness is marked and salient. On the other hand, commonly mentioned categories such as hicks, surfers, Valley girls, and hippies may be ideologically associated with whiteness. The Central Coast area had the highest percentage of the label *white*, perhaps due to the disproportionate number of European American students at UC Santa Barbara (the general area apart from the university, in fact, has a large Latino population). The term *Blacks* (or *African Americans*) occurred only 1.9 percent of the time; the low frequency of this label greatly underrepresents the African American population of the state. Interestingly, while the largest percentage of this ethnic label is in the Bay Area, the highest percentage of the linguistic label *Ebonics* occurred in Los Angeles (see Table 4, above). Another pan-ethnic label in the map data, *Asians* (3.1 percent), was used to refer to Asian cultures collectively without singling out individual languages or ethnic groups, and it too centered in the Bay Area. This use of a pan-ethnic label contrasts with the use of labels for specific Asian languages, as shown in Table 4 (above).

In the *Valley girl* category, only the collocation *Valley girls* was counted, because of the ambiguity of the term *(the) Valley/valley*, which in particular local regions can refer to the Central Valley, the San Joaquin Valley, and the Imperial Valley, among others, as well the San Fernando Valley, which includes much of the city of Los Angeles, and from which the term *Valley girl* derives. Hence, terms such as *Valley talk* and *Valleyish*, which likely refer to the San Fernando Valley, were excluded, and the total count is therefore a conservative one. Somewhat surprisingly given its salience in popular culture, the *Valley girl* label was relatively uncommon (5.1 percent). We offer two possible explanations for this result: first, the term *Valley girl* circulated most widely in the 1980s, when many of the respondents to the survey were very young children. Thus, the term may not have as much cachet as in previous decades. Second, many of the respondents to the survey were young California women who might easily be categorized by others as Valley girls; as already discussed, social similarity is typically far less often commented on than social difference. It is worth noting that one respondent labeled the entire middle of the state *VALLEY GIRLS, ALL OF THEM, EVEN THE MEN, GIRLY MEN THEY ARE (INCLUDES LA)*. The Los Angeles region had the highest percentage of this label.

Several other social group labels occasionally occurred in the data. The *hippie* label (4.3 percent of the total social labels) was most frequently applied to Northern California. Mentions of drug use and drug-related language use were also associated both with hippies and with this region, where much of the state's illegal marijuana crop is grown. The *upper-class* category (3.4 percent), which included labels such as *posh*, *rich*, and *highly educated*, was associated primarily with the Bay Area. The *gang(ster)* label (3.1 percent of the total social labels) was most strongly associated with Los Angeles. In most cases, it was impossible to determine whether the term

gang(ster) also had racial/ethnic associations, although in one case a respondent labeled Northern California as featuring specifically "white gangster talk." Contrary to expectation, very few respondents commented on the association of the Bay Area (and specifically San Francisco) with queer identities (1.9 percent of the total social labels), although a handful of stereotypically based comments (*san Fran speaks like wussies*, *Bay Area Gay lisp!*, and *Lithpy*) suggested that this association is especially salient for homophobic respondents.

The analysis of the map-labeling task demonstrates that respondents oriented to very different aspects of the linguistic landscape of California, from language choice to slang to stereotypical social groups, which, as shown above, were often associated with particular regions of the state. The picture of California's linguistic diversity that emerges from the map data is one in which languages—particularly Spanish and English—and slang terms figure more centrally than dialects, the focus of previous research in perceptual dialectology. The maps also reveal a remarkably broad range of linguistic and social labels, as well as specific lexical items associated with particular regions. Although the respondents' representations of language use within California do not necessarily conform with the reality of the state's linguistic diversity, the data offer a far more detailed portrait than has been found in research concentrating on national-level trends.

Conclusion

The great value of perceptual dialectology is that it highlights the extent to which language ideologies are situated—geographically bounded, socially contingent, and specific to particular places, times, and people. The methodology offers insights into the semiotics of the linguistic varieties associated with imagined communities (Anderson 1983) at the level of the nation, the state, and other politically defined units, and yields information about the ideologically powerful symbolic boundaries that partition geographic space into discrete social groupings. In places like California that are subject to extensive ideological representation and circulation beyond their own borders, studies of residents' own views of the linguistic and cultural groups around them can help to complicate and correct highly ideologized perspectives, although inevitably in any such study some familiar ideologies will be reproduced and other new ideologies will come into play.

The study's findings therefore demonstrate the value of using the methods of perceptual dialectology to investigate perceived linguistic differences—including but not restricted to perceived dialect differences—within a single state or region. This approach is particularly useful inasmuch as the distinction between languages, dialects, and styles, widely recognized as problematic by sociolinguists, is generally not carefully maintained by nonlinguists. Not surprisingly, residents are aware of greater complexity and diversity than nonresidents, and thus report a number of

categories of linguistic difference that are not part of most nonresidents' knowledge, such as the speech of rural communities in inland parts of the state and the presence of many different ethnic groups. The study highlights the importance of expanding the scope of perceptual dialectology studies to include not only the regional dialects that have been the focus of most work, but also social dialects, subcultural styles, and other languages that may be tied to the social geography of a place.

California's cultural salience across the nation has yielded greater attention to its linguistic patterns than those of its neighboring states, both in cultural representations and in the results of studies of the perceptual dialectology of the United States. Nevertheless, this higher degree of salience does not necessarily lead to a higher degree of accuracy in the perceptions of nonresidents, which focus on the most stereotypical and highly visible aspects of California's language and culture. State-, region-, and city-specific perceptual dialectology research therefore complements the nationwide studies that have been the focus of research thus far by shedding light on the language ideologies that circulate among local residents. Indeed, some work in this vein has already begun (e.g., Johnstone 2004). It is our hope that other researchers will pursue the issue of local language ideologies by investigating the perceptual dialectology of other social spaces, from states and provinces to cities, neighborhoods, and even institutions like schools. Such research will help document the diversity of ways in which speakers assign social value to their own and others' language.

Notes

1. To our knowledge, Benson (2003) is the first and only previously published study of perceptual dialectology within an individual state (Ohio).

2. Most of the existing research focuses on attitudes toward language policies, particularly those promoting English-only initiatives and opposing bilingual education. No previous study has focused on perceptions of linguistic diversity throughout the state.

3. Likewise, two well-regarded documentaries that address language use in California, the 1986 series *The Story of English* (specifically Program 1, "An English-Speaking World"; Cran 1986) and *Do You Speak American?* (Cran 2005), focus heavily on these social categories in their segments on Californians' speech.

4. Fought's (2002) study is based on data collected several years earlier in the same linguistics course (a fact which in part inspired the present article).

5. All excerpts from the data preserve the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization of the original.

6. Preston (1993) notes that in his initial perceptual dialectology research on U.S. dialect regions, he used a map of the United States with no state boundaries marked. In his later work, he used maps with boundaries, explaining that otherwise "folk dialectology research is confounded with folk geography" (1993, 335). In our study, a map of California was used in which no city or county boundaries were marked, on the assumption that such boundaries are not visually identifiable by most California residents. To aid respondents in identifying general regions, the state capital, Sacramento, was marked with a star and other major cities were marked with black dots, but no city or other names were provided. As we note below, some confusions regarding the geography of California did in fact emerge in our data, although these probably would not have been remedied by the inclusion of state-internal boundaries.

7. Fought (2002) likewise found that a sizable number of her California respondents differentiated between the northern and southern parts of the state, even though the task in her study did not focus on state-internal differences.

8. In Tables 4 through 7, chi-square analyses found statistically significant relationships between region and each of the three types of labels, as well as between language and dialect labels and respondent ethnicity. However, due to the nature of the data, statistically significant relationships between specific regions or ethnicities and specific labels could not be identified.

9. The term *ghetto* was classified separately because it does not clearly refer to African American speech or speakers; for example, one respondent labeled cell C6 *San Gabriel Ghetto asian talk. -talk about racing cars* as well as *LA Ghetto talk*; the latter label does not clearly refer to African Americans, and the former obviously does not. Another reason to exclude the term is that *ghetto* on its own may be intended not as a label for a speech variety but rather as a label to indicate that speakers in a given region use the term as slang (as an adjective with a somewhat negative evaluative meaning; e.g., "That jacket is so ghetto!").

10. This folk division is quite a bit farther south than the dialect boundary between Northern and Southern California proposed by Carver (1987), which is also based on lexical isoglosses, albeit for non-slang items.

11. The respondent's confusion may also be due to the existence of the Crips, a notorious Los Angeles–based gang.

12. The symbol : (is an emoticon (a symbol used in Internet discourse to express affect) representing a frowning face; it is unusual to find such symbols in handwritten texts such as the survey data.

13. In fact, according to the 2000 U.S. Census, only 25 percent of San Diego is of Latino ethnicity (of any national descent).

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