

PDF hosted at the Radboud Repository of the Radboud University Nijmegen

The following full text is a publisher's version.

For additional information about this publication click this link.

<http://hdl.handle.net/2066/166355>

Please be advised that this information was generated on 2017-12-05 and may be subject to change.

LÓXORO, TRACES OF A CONTEMPORARY PERUVIAN GENDERLECT

Luis Miguel Rojas-Berscia

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen - Centre for Language Studies

Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics - Language and Cognition Department

ABSTRACT. Not long after the premiere of *Loxoro* in 2011, a short-film by Claudia Llosa which presents the problems the transgender community faces in the capital of Peru, a new language variety became visible for the first time for the Lima community. Lóxoro [ˈlok.so.ro] or Húngaro [ˈuŋ.ga.ro], as its speakers call it, is a language spoken by transsexuals and the gay community of Peru. The first clues about its existence were presented by a comedian, Fernando Armas, in the mid 90's and it is claimed to have appeared not before the 60's. Following some previous work on gay languages (Baker 2002) and languages and society (Halliday 1978), the main aim of the present article is to provide a preliminary sketch of this language in its phonological, morphological, lexical and sociological aspects, based on a small corpus extracted from the film of Llosa and natural dialogues from Peruvian TV-journals. I want to attempt to classify this variety within contemporary sociolinguistic models (*cf.* Muysken 2010) and argue for the "anti-language" (Halliday 1978) nature of it.

Keywords. Lóxoro, Queer Linguistics, Anti-language, Genderlect, Gender studies

RESUMEN. No mucho después del estreno de *Loxoro* en 2011, un corto de Claudia Llosa que presenta los problemas que la comunidad transexual encara en la capital del Perú, una nueva variedad lingüística se hizo visible por primera vez para la comunidad limeña. El lóxoro [ˈlok.so.ro] o húngaro, como sus hablantes lo llaman, es una variedad lingüística hablada por transexuales y la comunidad gay del Perú. Las primeras pistas sobre su existencia fueron dadas por un comediante, Fernando Armas, a mediados de los 90; sin embargo, se dice que apareció no antes de la década de los sesenta. Siguiendo trabajos previos sobre lenguas gay (Baker 2002), así como sobre el significado social de las lenguas (Halliday 1987), el objetivo principal del presente artículo es brindar un esbozo preliminar de esta variedad a nivel fonológico, morfológico y léxico y sociológico, basado en un pequeño corpus extraído del corto de Llosa, así como en diálogos naturales aparecidos en noticieros peruanos, a fin de intentar clasificar esta variedad empleando modelos sociolingüísticos contemporáneos (*cf.* Muysken 2010) y discutir la naturaleza de "anti-lengua" (Halliday 1978) de esta.

Palabras clave. Lóxoro, Lingüística Queer, Anti-lengua, Generolecto, Estudios de género

1. The rise of Lóxoro

Lóxoro¹ or Húngaro² is a Peruvian Spanish variety spoken by the transgender and gay communities in Peru, in the ecology of sex industry and community cohesion. It is characterised for its use by speakers of different regional varieties, as well as for its

¹ Originally from the word *loca* 'crazy woman/effeminate gay' in its historically cryptolalic form *lóxorocáxara* (§3), and eventually reduced to *lóxoro*. It must be added, moreover, that the actual cryptolalisation process nowadays is performed with sVrV insertion/ sV insertion, and with ksVrV insertion, §3.

² It is called Húngaro (en. Hungarian) due to the difficulty Peruvian Spanish speakers have when confronting this language variety, as if it were a completely unrelated language like Hungarian.

cryptolalic nature (*cf.* Taylor (2007) and Baker (2002) for Polari). Although this language is said to have emerged during the 60's or 70's in the twentieth century,³ the first appearance of this language variety in the Peruvian public domain was during the mid-90's when the Peruvian comedian, Fernando Armas, presented his nowadays very well-known character called Fulvio Carmelo. Fulvio Carmelo is Peru's stereotypical gay coiffeur who tells gossips and makes jokes during his appearances on TV-shows. One of the most remarkable characteristics of his language was the use of this phrase:

- (1) hola, chísiricósoros, casarabrósoros, tracas!
 Hello, boys, gays, trans!

As we will notice in the following sections (§3), this is a cryptolalic Spanish phrase. Many people associated this slang with queer language; however, nothing more was said until the release of Claudia Llosa's Teddy Award winning short film, *Lóxoro*, in 2011, which depicted the life of the transsexual community in Lima. Many *Lóxoro* speaking characters were presented in the film, letting people notice the great difference between Standard Peruvian Coastal Spanish and this almost unintelligible language. Since people's attention was drawn to this, many popular TV-journals decided to present some documentaries on this language, interviewing famous Peruvian showbiz gay artists, fashion stylists and people involved in the filming of Llosa's *Lóxoro*, who claimed to speak this language variety, eg. "*Jeringas*" de ambiente (Enemigos Públicos 2013), *El lóxoro: el idioma de "ambiente"* (La noche es mía 2012), and *Habla lóxoro* (Al sexto día 2012)⁴.

Peruvian linguists, however, have as yet said nothing about this vital language variety of Peruvian Spanish. Aiming to cope with this lack of interest in the field, in this article I am going to present first some data on Polari, a gay language spoken in the beginning of the twentieth century in the UK which could shed some light on the nature of this similar phenomenon in Peru. Subsequently, the most important aspects of the lexicon, phonology and morphology of the language will be presented based on a small corpus extracted from some of the main documentaries on it, followed by a sociolinguistic analysis of the genesis of this kind of varieties (Halliday 1978).

2. Some issues on Queer Linguistics, the classification of Polari

Since gay language studies are recent, the first question the specialists ask themselves was where to posit these varieties within modern sociolinguistic debates. The first to discuss this topic thoroughly, inspired by a case in the United Kingdom, was Baker (2002) with Polari, a gay language spoken in the in the twentieth century. Something interesting about the case of Polari is that it was used as a secret language by groups of gay men and lesbians in London. Although considered an obsolescent if not a dead variety, the first detailed description of it was made by this author in his book *Polari, The Lost Language of Gay Men*. According to the author it consisted of slangs of stigmatised groups within a framework of resocialisation. Since these gender communities were discriminated, they needed other means for communicating which differentiate them from that oppressing context, a proper language. The problem for linguists interested in language emergence is how to classify languages such as Polari,

³ There are no sources available to prove this. This is based on what the people involved in the interviews said to the journalists.

⁴ The corpus I am analysing for the present article has been extracted from these TV-reportages.

and Lóxico, from a sociolinguistic point of view. Since Polari as well as Lóxico emerged and are used for almost the same means, I consider important the discussion behind their classification as a base for what I call Queer Linguistics.

For the first studies on gay language, a subculture –gay communities in this case – will bring about what constitutes being gay or talking gay. Having this difference between their group and heterosexual groups in mind, these individuals “will use language (either consciously or unconsciously) in a way that reflects these stereotypical aspects of “gay speech” (Baker 2002: 10). Barret (1997: 192-193) already established a list of characteristics assignable to gay speech, such as: lexical items specific to gay language, wide intonational pitch range, hyper-correction and hyper-extended vowels, and a H*L intonational contour co-occurring sometimes with extended vowels, e.g. FAABulous. As Baker also states in his book, it is highly improbable that these characteristics are universal among gay languages or speeches; however, it is important to recognise this first effort to put gay language into the scene.

According to Baker (2002), the fact that Polari started to show proper grammatical structures could be a clue to call it a language. The definition of “what a language is” is, nevertheless, problematic, since what a language is depends mostly on what theory a particular author follows. Moreover, it could also be considered a sociolect (*cf.* Wardhaugh 1986), but, since for Lóxico or Polari we are dealing with specific groups, whose variety is in some cases not even recognised by other groups, it is hard to assume such a classification. It could also be assumed that Polari is a type of slang; however, slangs are frequently common to speakers of different variety-backgrounds, which is not the case for Polari, which could not be understood by other speakers of English. Baker argues for it to be called a jargon or an *anti-language* (*cf.* Halliday 1978). The first definition seems to apply well for Polari, since jargons are group-specific and normally unknown to speakers of other varieties, but in the case of Lóxico, and maybe in Polari, the number of grammatical processes taking place outranks immediately this initial classification. The latter label is far more revealing in order to propose a typology of these language varieties, therefore, I will bring this last definition back in §4. Since this article is fundamentally based on Lóxico, its grammatical characteristics will be sketched in the following sections. The possibility of a universal typology of gay languages, however, remains an open field for future promising studies.

3. Phonological aspects of Lóxico and cryptolalisation

Lóxico maintains the phonology of the main varieties of Peruvian Spanish⁵. Below I present the consonant and vowel chart of Lóxico:

⁵ For a more detailed discussion on the dialectology of Peruvian Spanish, *cf.* Escobar (1978), Rivarola (1989) and Caravedo (1992).

Chart 1. Lóxoro consonantal chart

		Place of articulation				
		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Manner of articulation	Voiceless stop	p	t		k	
	Voiced stop	b	d		g	
	Affricate			tʃ (dʒ) ⁶		
	Fricative	f	s		x	(h)
	Nasal	m	n	ɲ		
	Trill		r			
	Tap		ɾ			
	Lateral		l		(ʎ) ⁷	
	Approximant	w		j		

Chart 2. Lóxoro vowel chart

	Anterior	Central	Posterior
Close	i (ɪ) ⁸		u (ʊ)
Mid	e		o
Open		A	

The more interesting fact about Lóxoro is the cryptolalisation process so as to make the language unrecognisable and secret. Polari showed a similar pattern, although pervasive is different levels of linguistic analysis, which “include the formation of ‘backslang’ (pronouncing words as if spelled backwards), productive suffixing (such as adding *-ette* to create novel diminutives), metaphorical compounding (e.g. in Polari, *ogle riah*s, literally ‘eye hairs’ means eyelashes), figurative and camouflaged words (Taylor 2007: 10). Lóxoro performs the cryptolalisation pattern at the syllable level in a process I called sVrV insertion/ sV insertion, both equally productive. It must be said, however, that both processes derive from a historical and obsolete ksVrV insertion. Sometimes this old version

⁶ This phoneme is mostly present in speakers of an Amazonian Spanish background.

⁷ This phoneme is mostly present in speakers of an Andean Spanish background.

⁸ The anterior and posterior vowels, /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ respectively, are common among Andean Spanish speakers (cf. Napurí 2012).

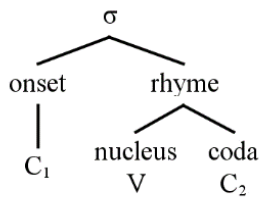
appears in the corpus §9.2⁹, attesting some hints of language change in the language variety. Below I present some words before and after this common process of cryptotalisation in the language:

(2) *Hola* ‘hello’ → **hó**sololásara/ **hosolasa**

(3) *Hombre* ‘man’ → **hó**solrombrésere/ **hosombrese**

From these examples, it can be inferred that the cryptotalisation process occurs in the rhyme level, specifically in the nucleus.

(4)



Assuming this syllable model, the onset is not affected; the vowel is copied twice inside the new added syllables sVrV / sV, while the coda is posited after the sVrV/ sV insertion. There are some specifications, though:

- a) Cryptotalisation is not applied to monosyllabic words.
- b) Bisyllabic words are always cryptotalised.
- c) Words with more syllables are only cryptotalised after stress.

(5) *Tenedór* ‘fork’ → **tenedó**soror

(6) *Computadóra* ‘computer’ → **computadó**sororásara

As an exception, in case of proparoxytonic words, cryptotalisation doesn’t affect the stress syllable:

(7) **Médico** ‘physician’ → **medísiricó**soro

(8) **Rápido** ‘fast’ → **rapísiridó**soro

More examples of this nature can be found in the Annexa section. Although I aimed to account for the whole phonological system, there are still some processes, like syllable deletion for instance, which remain to be studied with further field research.

4. Morphological aspects

Since cryptotalisation is a not an economical process, two suffixes tend to be used for cryptotalisation processes as well as for other grammatical readings; *-dósoro* and *-cuti*.

⁹ These examples were highlighted in bold in the corpus.

4.1. *Loxorificative -dósoro*

The first is normally used to replace the normal syllabic cryptolalisation¹⁰. It can also be used to make stronger cryptolalisations. It can either be added to a common Peruvian Spanish word or to an already cryptolalised Lóxoro word. It remains to be found, however, other types of suffixes in the language which may convey different meanings for cryptolalisation means. Below I show some examples:

(9) Transmisión ‘transmission’ → transmisiósorondósoro

(10) Pilar → Pilásaradósoro

4.2. *Diminutive -cuti*

-cuti is a nominal suffix which indicates speaker’s involvement in the discourse, as well as diminutive/attenuative reading of the cryptolalised root. It normally requires the elision of the previous syllable. Below I present some examples:

(10) loca ‘crazy woman’ → lócuti

(11) SIDA ‘AIDS’ → Sicuti~Sicutidácuti¹¹

It has to be said that *-cuti* seems to have undergone a process of lexicalisation, since it is now a word of daily use among its speakers, meaning ‘friend’.¹²

5. Lexicon

Many Lóxoro original words of daily use can be retrieved in the corpus. Here I list some of them that could be heard in the reportages of the Peruvian TV press:

Chart 3. *Lóxoro vocabulary*

Lexeme	Meaning
Lócuti(n.)	Gays inside the closet
Ploma (adj.)	HIV positive
Chipi (adj.):	man with Small penis
Comercial (adj.)	man with Normal penis
Chala (adj.)	man with Big penis
Chala con furia (adj.)	man with Giant penis
Chiqui (n.)	things Stolen during sexual transactions
Buses (exp.)	‘Someone is coming, let’s act straight’/‘The police is coming, let’s run away’
Bebita (n.)	Gay amateur
Bébe/Gatito (n.):	Boyfriend
Bucles y pericles (exp.)	‘Oh my god’
Tombo (n.)	policeman
Cuti (n.)	friend
Tinka (n.):	HIV virus
Traca (n.):	transsexual

¹⁰ Or may be added even after cryptolalisation.

¹¹ This case is very interesting since *-cuti* might be losing some of its morphosyntactic properties, becoming an intrasyllabic cryptolalising insertion as well.

¹² It may come from the Spanish word *loca* ‘crazy woman’ → lócuti → cuti.

6. Typology of a genderlect

Lóxico, just like Polari, is not a mother-tongue, i.e. there are no infants learning this language from their parents or people around them. It is true, however, that it replaces a language –Spanish in this case –in every aspect of life. Originally Lóxico was used for contexts in which something secret needed to be said or when there were some police controls of the streets in which transsexuals were working. It can be then said that it is indeed a second secret language; however, this broad definition would leave out many of its characteristics.

As I mentioned in §2, this type of language is used by speakers to identify themselves with significant others, transsexuals/gay men that have gone through same life experiences. Nevertheless, it is not just a language variety as any other. Normally, speakers of Lóxico varieties are stigmatised not because of linguistic differences, but because of their conditions as members of a gender community not accepted by Peruvian society (*cf.* Cameron 1995 for other similar examples of covert discrimination). For Halliday (1978), the main reason for this type of languages to exist is resocialisation, a process in which individuals have to recreate their society in opposition to the main one. This is exactly what leads to the creation of a language for this anti-society, an anti-language. For Baker (2002), “anti-languages are therefore concerned with the definition and maintenance of alternative (and often secret) identities, organised through ritual participation in alternative social hierarchies” (*ibid.*: 14), hence, they are normally used to construct new identities¹³. This is precisely what is seen in the award-winning film of Llosa, in which a transgender girl is abused and her “new” mother, Mácuti¹⁴, an older transgender woman who took the role of “new” mother of this girl, looks for her unsuccessfully. This new acquired family model is a great example of how resocialisation in this group takes place and gives us some light on how the emergence of the anti-language Lóxico could have been.

Something else that can be said in order to constrain more where to posit these language varieties in sociolinguistic models is taking the variable gender into account. It is true that Lóxico and Polari are anti-languages; nevertheless, it is impossible to neglect the fact that they are spoken by specific gender communities, i.e. gay men and transsexuals. There are some human societies in which women’s language can differ from that of men¹⁵, however, no social stigma is attached to them. Being that we are dealing with a language variety spoken by a specific socially stigmatised gender community, I prefer to define it as a genderlect. Genderlects are a type of anti-language spoken by specific stigmatised gender communities. A secret language of women used in a macho oppressive society would be considered a genderlect in the same rights. Hence, Lóxico and Polari can be considered anti-languages in a broad way, as well as genderlects in a more specific fashion.

Moreover, and regarding the language from a general perspective, it is important to compare a genderlect with other linguistic varieties. I found interesting to look at Lóxico in opposition to other sometimes stigmatised language varieties. Muysken (2010) wanted to distinguish ethnolects from other types of language varieties. Therefore, he established the following typology. Below I present the same chart adding genderlects in order to see which characteristics this language shares with other existing language varieties among societies:

¹³ Something similar can be seen in the Amixer community of Peru (Bráñez 2012).

¹⁴ From *ma* 'mother' and the loxico diminutive *-cuti*.

¹⁵ See, for instance, Kokama, a language member of the Tupi-Guarani language family.

Chart 4. Properties of the different dimensions of ethnolects, genderlects and contributing varieties (based on Muysken 2010: 16)

	Ethnolect	L2 acquisition	Street language	Mixed language	(Transplanted) immigrant language	Genderlect
Stable	+	-	-	-	±	+
Individual	-	+	±	±	±	-
Signal of identity	+	-	+	+	+	+
Specific to a particular ethnic group	+	±	-	+	+	-
Specific to a particular gender group	-	-	±	-	-	+
Specific to a particular setting	-	-	+	+	-	±
Requires a thorough knowledge of the original language of the own group		±	±	+	+	+
Words or constituents from the home language	-	-	±	+	+	N/A
Newly formed words	-	-	+	-	+	+
Words from the language of other group(s)	-	-	+	-	-	+
Particular pronunciation or sentence intonation	+	+	+	±	±	+
Non-standard grammatical basic patterns from the national language	±	+		+	±	+
Non-standard use of endings from the national language	+	+	±	±		+
Periphrasis instead of verb endings	±	+	+		±	N/A

As it can be inferred from the chart, genderlects behave similarly to other language varieties among societies; however, they are not completely equal to any of them. One of the properties that makes it more different is gender distinction, which could be somehow shared only with street language. It is revealing though, that 10/12 properties are shared with street language if we include the (±) cases, something that can be explained from the fact that Lóxoró and Polari started as street languages and were lately complexified. Other interesting issue that remains pendant for further research is the fact that genderlects share 8/12 properties with transplanted immigrants' languages, something that could be explained from the fact that both are sometimes stigmatised and represent different societies: the foreign society and the anti-society. Further research on these languages remains, albeit, pendant for future studies on language variance among stigmatised gender groups. It is important to study these language varieties not only from a descriptive point of view, but from the theoretical perspective that language is the conceptualisation of the world from the point of view of a specific human group. If this is so, Lóxoró or any other gay languages constitute important topics for what is commonly known as general linguistic theory.

7. Conclusion

From the discussion, it can be seen that Lóxico, in the same fashion as Polari, is an anti-language (Halliday 1978) in a broad sense, and a genderlect, specifically. This language variety has undergone some changes in its cryptolalisation processes and is still spoken nowadays in Peru. From what can be retrieved from the corpus, there are two cryptolalisation processes going on synchronically in the language, phonological sVrV / sV insertion and (-cuti & -dóxico) suffixing. Moreover, a lexicon with unknown entries to Standard Peruvian Coastal Spanish speakers is used.

Apart from the processes occurring formally in the language, genderlects —Lóxico in this case— share many properties with street languages, revealing its origins, since they were primarily used for street purposes in their beginnings. Moreover, some shared properties with immigrant languages can be noted. However, further comparative research of this kind remains pendant. According to modern linguistic discussions, language diversity description is one of the main aims of our discipline (Evans & Levinson 2009), linguistics, in the XXI century, sometimes highly blinded by language-dependent universalist theories. The field of sociolinguistics of genderlects, then, appears as a new born field which can shed some light on extra contexts in which language forms and functions emerge for specific purposes; in this case, the resocialisation of a stigmatised gender community.

Luis Miguel Rojas-Berscia

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen – Centre for Language Studies

Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics – Language and Cognition Department

Wundtlaan 1

6525XD Nijmegen

The Netherlands

luismiguel.bercia@mpi.nl

References

- Al sexto día (2012). *Habla Lóxico*. Lima, Panamericana Televisión. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mtASZgnrfvQ>
- Baker, P. (2002). *Polari: the Lost Language of Gay Men*. London, Routledge.
- Barrett, R. (1997). The Homo-genius’ Speech Community. In A. Livia and K. Hall (eds.), *Queerly Phrased*. Oxford, Oxford Studies in Sociolinguistics, pp. 181-201.
- Bráñez-Medina, R. F. (2012). *La construcción discursiva de las identidades “amixer” y “no-amixer” en el espacio virtual. Un caso de racismo cultural justificado a través de la ortografía*. Bachelor Thesis, PUCP. Available at http://tesis.pucp.edu.pe/repositorio/bitstream/handle/123456789/1618/BRANEZ_MEDINA_ROBERTO_CONSTRUCCION.pdf?sequence=1
- Cameron, D. (1995). *Verbal Hygiene (The Politics of Language)*. London, Routledge.
- Caravedo, R. (1992). Espacio geográfico y modalidades lingüísticas en el español del Perú. In C. Hernández Alonso (coord.) *Historia y presente del español de América*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León-Pabecal, pp.719-741.
- Enemigos Públicos (2013). *Jeringas de ambiente*. Lima, Panamericana Televisión. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6LLz5oJSWqQ>
- Escobar, A. (1978). *El castellano en el Perú. Variaciones Sociolingüísticas del castellano en el Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

- Evans, N. & Stephen C. Levinson (2009). The Myth of Language Universals: Language diversity and its importance for cognitive science. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 32, pp. 429-492. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X0999094X>
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as a Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. London, Edward Arnold.
- La noche es mía (2012). *Lóxoro: el idioma de "ambiente"*. Lima, Frecuencia Latina.
- Llosa, C. (2011). *Loxoro*. Lima, Patria Producciones.
- Muysken, P. (2010). Ethnolects as a multidimensional phenomenon. In M. Norde, B. De Jonge & C. Hasselblatt (eds.), *Language Contact: New perspectives*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, pp. 7-26. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/impact.28.02muy>
- Napurí, A. (2012). Bases fonológicas del español andino: la relevancia de las vocales del quechua. In C. Amorós Negre, R. Muhr, C. Fernández Juncal et al. (eds.), *Exploring linguistic standards in non-dominant varieties of pluricentric languages*. Viena, Peter Lang, pp. 11-23.
- Rivarola, J. L. (1989). Bilingüismo histórico y español andino. In S. Neumeister (coord.), *Actas del IX Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*. Berlin: Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, pp. 18-23.
- Taylor, H. (2007). *Polari: A sociohistorical study of the life and decline of a secret language*. Bachelor Thesis, University of Manchester.
- Wardhaugh, R. (1986). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford, Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics.

Appendix

Below I present two glossed and transcribed examples of the corpus dialogues.

Conventions employed:

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ART	Article
DET	Determinant
DIM	Diminutive
DO	Direct Object
EMPH	Emphatic
IO	Indirect Object
FUT	Future tense
LXF	Loxorification
PART	Participle
PAS	Past Tense
RFL	Reflexive
SBJ	Subjunctive

(1) Habla Lóxico (Al Sexto Día 2012) (8:26-9:43)

-This is a conversation between two transsexual prostitutes in a taxicab, talking about some colleagues which were imprisoned after a police control in the zone. They are gossiping about a woman and his husband who was there.

A: Bueno, estamos en camisirinósoro, para que se hagan éserellásaras
Well be-1PL in (way)LXF for that RFL do-3PL.SBJ (they;FEM)LXF

su contrórodósoro de las
3POS (control)LXF of DET

“Well, here we are for them to do their control

infeccióseredósoros de infecciósonósoro de transmisiórodósoro y el
(infections)LXF of (infections)LXF of (transmission)LXF and DET

VIHsicutá-cuti.
HIV/AIDS-DIM

of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV.

¿Por qué serásara la amisirigásara tiene miéseredásara la
Why (be;3SG.FUT)LXF DET (friend)LXF have-3P (fear)LXF DET

señórodásara?
(lady)LXF

Why it is that that lady is afraid?”

B: Esa estása tráramáradásara pues. Crésere tósoro los
 DET (be-3P)LXF (traumatised)LXF EMPH (believe-1)LXF (all)LXF DET

dísiriásaras. Se llávéseron
 (day;PL)LXF RFL (carry;3PL.PAS)LXF

“She’s traumatised, I believe, everyday. They? Were taken

la ósorotrásara séseremáranásara, lo préseresáran y
 DET (other)LXF (week)LXF ART (emprison-3PL.PAS)LXF and

entrásaron
 (enter-3PL-PAS)LXF

last week to prison. They (the policemen) broke in.

puésere, ahora el písirisósoro. Sacaron tósorodásara **lásaras**¹⁶
 (EMPH)LXF now DET (floor)LXF take out-3PL.PAS (all)LXF DET

chísiricásaras y que
 (girls)LXF and that

They took all the girls

estásarabásaran cónsoro **lásara** ósorotrásaradásara pues. Y entonces
 (be-3PL-IPF)LXF (with)LXF (DET)LXF (other)LXF EMPH and then

estaba tráusaramáradásara, dice.
 be-3.IMP(traumatised)LXF say-3

And he was with the other (girl). Then she was traumatised, she says.”

A: Ah, así tásarantósoro de tráramáradásara la señórorásara
 (surprise)that-way (so.much)LXF of (traumatised)LXF DET (lady)LXF

porque sícutitácuti
 because AIDS?

“Is she that traumatised,

que tiéserenésere la fiscalización-cutitácuti.
 That (have-3)LXF DET (fiscalisation)-DIM

because of his husband having AIDS ? because of the fiscalisation?”

B: Clásaro pues, chísiricásara.
 (Obviously)LXF ENF girl

“Of course, girl”.

A. ¿Cuásarantásaras chísiricásaras se han llevasa, cuti?
 (How many)LXF (girls)LXF RFL have-3PL (take;PART)LXF friend

¹⁶ In some cases, even the monosyllabic articles were cryptolalised.

“How many girls were imprisoned?”

B: Váasarariásaras, pues, pero están adéserentróroso. Los policísiriásaras
(Many)LXF ENF but be-3 (inside)LXF DET (police)LXF

así dícirin.
so (say-3)LXF

“Many of them, but they are inside (now). That is what the policemen say.”

A: Ay bucles y pericles, amísirigásara. ¿Por qué serán así, cuti éseres?
(Oh my god) (friend)LXF why be;3.FUT so friend (they)LXF

“Oh my god, my friend. Why are they like that?”

¿por qué?, sícutitácuti. Esa es la grásaran problemásiticásara de
Why (yes)LXF that be;3 DET (great)LXF (problem)LXF of

nosórorotrásaras.
(we)LXF

Why? Yes. That is our great problem.”

(2) Jeringas de ambiente (Enemigos Públicos 2013) (5:45-6:15)

-This is a conversation in between two gay hairstylers. They are being interviewed by a famous TV journals' reporter who posed nude for a personal calendar.

A: Béserebésere
(baby)LXF
“Baby”

B: Hósorolásara, ¿cómo **estáxaras**?
(hello)LXF how (be-2)LXF
“Hello, how are you?”

A: Mísirirásara al Victorhúsurugóroso, ¿qué te pareceretésere?
(look;2.IMP)LXF to (Victor Hugo)LXF what 2.IO (think-about;3)LXF
“Look at Víctor Hugo, what do you think?”

B: ¿Chasalasa el Victorhusgasa?
(big-dicked)LXF DET (Victor Hugo)LXF
“Is he big-dicked?”

A: De asalmasa, doblasadasa. Yo lo quieseroso en mi casamasa, pero él
(undoubtedly)LXF (folded)LXF1 3.DO (want;1)LXF in 1;POS (bed)LXF but
3
no quieserese; tiene miesedoso míxiri.
NEG want-3 have-3 (fear)LXF (1.OBL)LXF
“Of course, even folded. I want him in my bed, but he doesn't want. He is afraid of me.”

B: Pero, ¿no es **óxoroáxara**¹⁷?
 but NEG be-3 (gay)LXF
 “But, isn’t he gay?”

A: Nóxoro, es hosombrese. ¿Has visistoso su calatasarioso?
 (No)LXF be;3 man (have-2)LXF (see-PRT)LXF 3POS (naked-calendar)LXF
 “No, he is a man. Have you seen his nude calendar?”

B: ¡Síxiri! A mí me gusustasa cuando está con la espusumasa.
 (Yes)LXF to 1OBL1;OI (like;3)LXF when be-3 with DET (foam)LXF
 “Yes! I like it when he is with foam.”

A: ¡Say!, riquisistoso.
 yes (delicious)LXF
 “Yes, delicious!”

B: A mí me gusustasa que está con su pasaloso
 to 1;OBL 1;IO (like-3)LXF that be-3 with 3.POS (stick)LXF
 “I like when he is with a stick.”

A: Sabrasa, ¡el culisitoso!
 Delicious DET (buttocks)LXF
 “Delicious, and his buttocks!”

¹⁷ From *olla* ‘closeted gay man’.