

# Morphological and Phono-Morphological Processes in Limeño Slang: Lexical Creativity and Resemantization in Popular Registers

*Procesos morfológicos y fono-morfológicos en el argot limeño: creatividad léxica y resemantización en registros populares*

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## Abstract

This article analyzes the main morphological and phono-morphological processes involved in the formation of slang words in Lima, especially those used in popular and marginalized sectors. Based on qualitative research with an interpretive-hermeneutic and descriptive approach, a documentary review is carried out of a corpus extracted from previous studies on urban slang in Lima. Derivation, composition, and parasynthesis procedures are identified and classified, as well as phono-morphological phenomena such as metathesis, apheresis, apocope, and prosthesis. The results show that derivation is the most frequent morphological process, while metathesis, due to its playful and intentional nature, stands out as the most productive phono-morphological process. Likewise, it is observed that many resulting words acquire a new meaning that distorts or re-signifies their original meaning, generating phenomena of resemantization. It is concluded that Lima slang, far from being a marginal system, constitutes a fertile field for linguistic research due to its morphological creativity and the interaction of social, phonological, and grammatical factors. Finally, future lines of comparative research with other varieties of popular Spanish in Latin American urban contexts are proposed.

**Keywords:** Lima slang, linguistic morphology, sociolinguistics.

## Resumen

Este artículo analiza los principales procesos morfológicos y fono-morfológicos que intervienen en la formación de voces del argot limeño, especialmente aquellas empleadas en sectores populares y marginales. A partir de una investigación cualitativa con enfoque interpretativo-hermenéutico y carácter descriptivo, se realiza una revisión documental de un corpus extraído de estudios previos sobre jerga urbana en Lima. Se identifican y clasifican los procedimientos de derivación, composición y parasíntesis, así como fenómenos fono-morfológicos como metátesis, aféresis, apócope y prótesis. Los resultados evidencian que la derivación constituye el proceso morfológico más frecuente, mientras que la metátesis, por su carácter lúdico e intencionado, destaca como el proceso fono-morfológico más productivo. Asimismo, se observa que muchas voces resultantes adquieren un significado nuevo que distorsiona o resignifica su sentido original, generando fenómenos de resemantización. Se concluye que el argot limeño, lejos de ser un sistema marginal, constituye un campo fértil para la investigación lingüística debido a su creatividad morfológica y a la interacción de factores sociales, fonológicos y gramaticales. Finalmente, se proponen futuras líneas de investigación comparativa con otras variedades del español popular en contextos urbanos latinoamericanos.

**Palabras clave:** argot limeño, morfología lingüística, sociolingüística.

## Introduction

In every region, language is used diversely, whether for dialectal or sociolectal reasons. In the latter case, various levels of language use can be established: super-standard, used in cultural and scientific circles; standard, corresponding to the middle sectors in their everyday communication; and sub-standard, typical of informal sectors or those with inadequate education.

Within this framework lies argot or jargon, a special and cryptic type of language employed by marginalized groups such as criminals, whose purpose is to create linguistic mechanisms to name the various criminal acts they commit (Berisso, 2023; Catalán Córdova & Sánchez Villena, 2024; Jiménez-Rodríguez & Alfaro Echevarría, 2016; Lovón, 2015), which are part of their sociocultural traits. Words like "goma" to refer to a beating, "faite" to denote a thief who robs without abusing their victim, or "precioso" to indicate that someone has been imprisoned, form part of the inventory of voices of these sub-standard social groups: they are communicative scenes (Pessoa, 2020) of the popularization and vulgarization of communication as part of social relationships.

Buzek (2011) notes that the term "argot" is a linguistic borrowing from French and originally referred to the trade or guild of thieves. Other authors relate the term to a linguistic variety distinct from standard language, which, in many cases, becomes incomprehensible even to its own speakers (Cárdenas, 2015). Cajamarca Nivicela and Sarmiento Valverde (2022) add that this variety is not only used in criminal contexts but can also be found in lexical records outside these contexts: in educational, labor, and everyday realms, for example. It can even extend into journalistic and political domains, as seen in the concept of "mermelada," understood as a payment or gift received by a journalist to ensure they are not overly critical of a particular government or group (Cordero Cabrera, 2024; Lovón, 2022). Regardless of the adopted criterion, argot remains a type of cryptic language, comprehensible and understood only by the initiated.

However, despite its originally hermetic character, many of these argot words become part of popular language, that is, of popular or sub-standard communication (Valenzuela-Saavedra, 2020). In Lima, and in many other cities, according to Cappellini (2004), there are newspapers or weeklies aimed at popular sectors that replicate these voices in their headlines: "Bataclanas Machonas. Potoncitas Adaro, Tula, Paola Ruiz, and Silvana Ojeda swear there is a lot of 'torta' in Chollywood," from the newspaper Extra, June 7, 2003; or "Took Viagra to perform well and died. His 'bobo' stands up during a 'chuculún'," from the newspaper Ajá on October 1, 2004. The first headline indicates that a group of vedettes claims there are instances of homosexuality in the Peruvian entertainment scene; the second states that a man dies while engaging in sexual relations after taking Viagra. These newspapers are referred to as yellow press and base their popularity precisely on eye-catching headlines using the sub-standard language of Lima's argot (Macasi Lavander, 2002). Subsequently, in the process of communicative consolidation, complex linguistic interactions form between popular and dominant cultures (Castillo, 2025).

In light of this linguistic reality, which cannot be overlooked, questions arise such as: What are the predominant word formation processes in the voices of Lima's argot? What morphological phenomena can be distinguished in these voices? To address these questions, the morphological analysis precepts proposed by Cuadrado (1998) will be followed. Additionally, for the corpus of analyzed words, the proposal by Vásquez (2008), which identifies the vocabulary of a characteristic marginal group in Lima: the *barras bravas*, will be primarily reviewed. Complementarily, the contributions of Nieto and Paco (2019) and González (2011), who addressed the youth jargon of university students or, as noted by Espinoza (1950), the folkloric literature of our country, will also be considered.

## Methodology

To study the morphological and phonological-morphological processes of Lima's argot, a qualitative investigation with an interpretative-hermeneutic and descriptive approach was developed, based on documentary review. The primary objective was to analyze and classify the word formation procedures employed in Lima's argot.

The sample was formed from previous studies on urban jargon in Lima. The main source was the master's thesis by Vásquez (2008), focused on the vocabulary of the *barras bravas*. Complementarily, the contributions of Nieto and Paco (2019) regarding university jargon were also considered.

The analysis of word formation followed the morphological precepts of Cuadrado (1998), who distinguishes three main processes: derivation, composition, and parasynthesis.

Below, Table 1 clarifies these concepts.

**Table 1**  
*Morphological processes of word formation*

Process	Subprocess	Definition or characteristic	Examples
<b>Derivation</b>			
	Nominalization	Formation of nouns from other grammatical categories.	deseabilidad, contrapunto
	Adjectivation	Formation of adjectives from other grammatical categories.	intuitivo, deseable
	Adverbialization	Formation of adverbs from other grammatical categories.	esencialmente, velozmente
<b>Composition</b>			
	Synapsis	Union of two or more lexical elements that are written separately and joined by a preposition.	mando a distancia, letra de cambio
	Disjunction	Union of two or more lexical elements (typically a noun and an adjective) that are written separately.	opinión pública, cajero automático, papel carbón
	Contraposition	Union of two lexical elements through a hyphen.	sofá-cama, teórico-práctico
	Agglutination	Union of two lexical elements into a single word, which may or may not have undergone morphological changes.	bocamanga, agridulce, tocadiscos, carilargo
<b>Parasynthesis</b>			
	Lexeme + Lexeme + Suffix	Union of two lexemes to which a suffix is added.	misacantano, quinceañera, picapedrero
	Prefix + Lexeme + Suffix	Union of a prefix, a lexeme, and a suffix, where the word does not exist if the prefix or suffix is omitted.	aniñado, automovilismo

**Derivation:** involves the presence of derivational affixes (Hualde et al., 2010).

Examples:

- deseabilidad, a noun derived from the noun deseo with the suffix -bilidad (nominalization).
- contrapunto, a noun derived from the noun punto with the prefix contra- (nominalization).
- intuitivo, an adjective derived from the verb intuir with the affix -iv- (adjectivation).

**Composition:** consists of the union of two words, with or without morphological variation (Booij, 2021).

It manifests in different procedures:

- **Synapsis:** elements written separately and joined with a preposition (mando a distancia, letra de cambio).
- **Disjunction:** a noun and an adjective written separately (opinión pública, cajero automático).
- **Contraposition:** two lexical elements united with a hyphen (sofá-cama, teórico-práctico).
- **Agglutination:** two lexical elements fused into a single word (bocamanga, agridulce).

Examples:

- tocadiscos, a noun formed from the verb toca and the noun discos (agglutination).
- carilargo, an adjective formed from the noun cara and the adjective largo (agglutination).
- papel carbón, a noun formed by two terms with morphosyntactic independence (disjunction).

**Parasynthesis:** combines previous processes under the structure lexeme + lexeme + suffix, or prefix + lexeme + suffix, as long as the intermediate forms do not already exist in Spanish.

Examples:

- quinceañera, a noun formed from quince + años + suffix -era.
- automovilismo, a noun formed from auto + móvil + suffix -ismo (without the prior existence of movilismo).
- picapedrero, a noun formed from the verb pica + noun piedra + suffix -ero.

Regarding phonological-morphological processes, Table 2 includes those in which, despite the presence of a phonological component, the morphological structure of the word is altered through changes in the root or morphemes.

**Table 2**  
*Phonological-morphological processes of word formation*

Process	Definition	Examples
<b>Metathesis</b>	Permutation or change of place of a sound or syllable within a word.	<i>dentrífico</i> (for <i>dentífrico</i> ), <i>pediórico</i> (for <i>periódico</i> ), <i>murciégalo</i> (for <i>murciélago</i> ).
<b>Apheresis</b>	Elimination of sounds at the beginning of a word.	<i>chelo</i> (for <i>violonchelo</i> ), <i>bus</i> (for <i>autobús</i> ), <i>norabuena</i> (for <i>enhorabuena</i> ).
<b>Apocope</b>	Elimination of sounds at the end of a word.	<i>buen</i> (for <i>bueno</i> ), <i>tan</i> (for <i>tanto</i> ), <i>moto</i> (for <i>motocicleta</i> ).
<b>Syncope</b>	Elimination of sounds within a word.	<i>mascar</i> (for <i>masticar</i> ), <i>navidad</i> (for <i>natividad</i> ), <i>setiembre</i> (for <i>septiembre</i> ).
<b>Epenthesis</b>	Addition of sounds within a word.	<i>inflingir</i> (for <i>infligir</i> ), <i>deas</i> (for <i>des</i> ), <i>aprietar</i> (for <i>apretar</i> ).
<b>Paragoge</b>	Addition of sounds at the end of a word.	<i>ojalai</i> (for <i>ojalá</i> ), <i>nadies</i> (for <i>nadie</i> ), <i>dijistes</i> (for <i>dijiste</i> ).
<b>Prothesis</b>	Addition of sounds at the beginning of a word.	<i>emprestar</i> (for <i>prestar</i> ), <i>desapartar</i> (for <i>apartar</i> ), <i>acompletar</i> (for <i>completar</i> ).

- **Metathesis:** Change in the order of sounds in a word (*dentrífico* for *dentífrico*; *pediórico* for *periódico*; *murciégalo* for *murciélago*) (Nieto & Paco, 2019).
- **Apheresis:** Suppression of sounds at the beginning of the word (*chelo* from *violonchelo*; *bus* from *autobús*; *norabuena* from *enhorabuena*) (Bybee, 2020).
- **Apocope:** Suppression of sounds at the end (*buen* from *bueno*; *tan* from *tanto*; *moto* from *motocicleta*).
- **Syncope:** Suppression of sounds within (*mascar* from *masticar*; *navidad* from *natividad*; *setiembre* from *septiembre*).
- **Epenthesis:** Addition of sounds within the word (*inflingir* for *infligir*; *deas* for *des*; *aprietar* for *apretar*).
- **Paragoge:** Addition of sounds at the end (*ojalai* for *ojalá*; *nadies* for *nadie*; *dijistes* for *dijiste*).
- **Prothesis:** Addition of sounds at the beginning (*emprestar* for *prestar*; *desapartar* for *apartar*; *acompletar* for *completar*).

It is important to highlight that some of these terms correspond to dialectal forms not accepted by the RAE, such as *dentrífico*, *inflingir*, *aprietar*, or *dijistes*. However, others have been normalized and are now part of the lexical heritage of Spanish, contributing to its evolution: *chelo*, *navidad*, *bus*.

### Results and discussion

In Lima, as noted by Calvo Pérez (2021), certain marginalized groups employ a special type of language with a cryptic character, meaning it is intended for outsiders not to understand the meaning of what is expressed. This type of language is referred to as *argot*, *jargon*, *gibberish*, *germanía*, or *lunfardo*; in the case of Lima, it is called *replana*.

Despite its secretive nature, some voices from the *replana* have migrated to popular sectors and have even become part of the regional dialect. An example of this is provided by the Real Academia Española (n.d.), which defines *lunfardo* as the jargon of the lower class of Buenos Aires, whose terms have been incorporated into the popular Spanish of Argentina and Uruguay. In this sense, *jargon* or *replana* not only differentiates social groups but also integrates them (Gutiérrez Narrea, 2014).

Currently, words from the *replana* are part of the recurrent lexicon of various population groups in Lima. It is not unusual to hear expressions like *trome* (for *master*), *causa* (for *friend*), *un toque* (for "a moment"), *jerma* (for

woman, girlfriend, or wife), or cerbatana (for beer). All these voices have originated from some morphological or phonological-morphological process.

Below, Table 3 presents a selection of words according to the identified formative process (Vásquez, 2008). In some cases, the meaning of the original or derived word is also added.

**Table 3**

*Voices of Lima's argot formed by derivation, composition, and parasynthesis (Vásquez, 2008)*

Original Word	Formed Word(s)	Explanation
<b>Derivation</b>		
Aquí	aquije, acantolao, Acapulco	Derivation by suffixation from "aquí".
Ano	anís, anillo	Derivation with a clear sexual connotation.
Barrio	barrunto	Derivation referring to a place or the people from the same neighborhood.
Bola	(en) bolero	Derivation meaning "to be pregnant."
Cabro	cabrito, brito, británico, broca, brócoli	From "cabro," "cabrito" is formed by derivation. "Brito" arises from apheresis of "cabrito," and "británico" is another derivation. "Broca" results from a metathesis of "cabro," and "brócoli" is a new derivation. All refer to a homosexual person.
Causa	cápsula	Derivation referring to a friend, as they share the same "cause," the same troubles.
Cerveza	cerbatana, Cervantes	Derivation from the word "cerveza."
Cero	Serapio	Derivation referring to a person without money.
Feo	Federico, federal	Derivation referring to an unattractive person.
Figura	figureti	Derivation referring to a person seeking the spotlight.
Gil	Gilberto	Derivation from "gil," meaning "fool," "in love," or "partner."
Helado	Helena	Derivation describing a very cold drink.
Lata	latear	Derivation from the shortening of "patear lata." "Latear" means to walk aimlessly.
Leche	lechero	Derivation referring to a lucky person.
Macho	machete	Derivation referring to a boyfriend or husband.
Maleta	maletero	Derivation describing a person who talks badly about another behind their back.
Mano	manuela, manuelero	Derivation referring to masturbation or the person who practices it.
Mesa	Mesopotamia	Derivation.
Mí	Miki, Miki maus	Derivation.
Microbús	microbio	Derivation.
Mostaza	mostacero	Derivation referring to an active homosexual.
No	nómade, nomo, nopo	Derivation.
Pago	Paganini	Derivation referring to the person who takes on a bill or blame.
Pavo	pavilo, Pavarotti	Derivation from "pavo," referring to a foolish person.
Preso	precioso	Derivation referring to a person incarcerated.
¿Qué fue?	¿Qué fuego?	Derivation from the phrase "¿Qué fue?".
Robo	Roberto, Roberto Carlos	Derivation referring to a robbery.
Ron	Ronaldo, Ronaldiño	Derivation.
Sano	zanahoria	Derivation referring to an innocent and naive person.

Original Word	Formed Word(s)	Explanation
Sapo	zapallo	Derivation referring to a gossip.
Sí	cicatriz, cinta, Cinthia, sílice, sismo	Derivation.
Tono	Tónex, tónico	Derivation referring to a party.
Tú	Tumbes, tuna	Derivation.
Virgen	Virginia	Derivation.
Yo	Yolanda, Yogui	Derivation.

### Composition

Amarra + bolas	Amarrabolas	A union of "amarrar" and "bola". It refers to a player who does not pass the ball.
Agua + brava	Agua brava	A union of "agua" and "brava". It means strong liquor.
Blanco + iazul	Blanquiazul	A union of "blanco" and "azul". It refers to a supporter of the Alianza Lima team.
Botar + se	Botarse	A union of "botar" and the pronoun "se". It means to become vain.
Cholo + tranqui	Cholitrانqui	A union of "cholo" and "tranqui". It refers to a person with Andean features.
Chupar + se	Chuparse	A union of "chupar" and the pronoun "se". It means to become cowardly.
Dar + cuerda	Dar cuerda	A union of "dar" and "cuerda". It means to encourage.
Dar + vuelta	Dar vuelta	A union of "dar" and "vuelta". It means to commit murder.
Doble + filo	Doble filo	A union of "doble" and "filo". It refers to a bisexual person.
Hablar + piedras	Hablar piedras	A union of "hablar" and "piedras". It means to speak nonsensically.
Meterse + una + bomba	Meterse una bomba	A union of "meterse", "una" and "bomba". It means to become intoxicated.
Palo + gringo	Palo gringo	A union of "palo" and "gringo". It signifies one thousand dollars.
Pagar + pato	Pagar pato	A union of "pagar" and "pato". It means to be blamed for something.
Sacar + de + misio	Sacar de misio	A union of "sacar" and "misio". It means to give money to someone who does not have it.
Sacar + la + vuelta	Sacar la vuelta	A union of "sacar", "la" and "vuelta". It means to be unfaithful to a partner.
Tirar + piedras	Tirapiedras	A union of "tira" and "piedras". It refers to a group of troublemakers.

### Parasynthesis

Batido + chela+ ado	Batichelado	Formed by the combination of composition ("batido" and "chela") and derivation. It refers to a person who has consumed drugs and beer.
Em + pila + ado	Empilado	Formed by the combination of a prefix ("em-") and a suffix ("-ado") to the lexeme "pila." It means to be very energetic.
En + chuf + ado	Enchufado	Formed by the combination of a prefix ("en-") and a suffix ("-ado") to the lexeme "enchufe." It refers to someone who is in a good mood or connected.

### Voices of Lima's argot formed by derivation

Examples: aquije, acantolao, Acapulco, anís, anillo, barrunto, bolero, cabrito → britito → británico → broca → brócoli, cápsula → causa, cerbatana, Cervantes, Serapio, Federico, figureti, Gilberto, Helena, latear, lechero, machete, maletero, manuela, Mesopotamia, Miki, microbio, mostacero, nómade → nomo → nopo, paganini, pavilo → Pavarotti, precioso, ¿qué fuego?, Roberto → Roberto Carlos, Ronaldo → Ronaldiño, zanahoria, zapallo, cicatriz → Cinthia, tónex, Tumbes → tuna, Virginia, Yolanda → Yogui.

In this group, derivation appears as the most frequent procedure. A particular case is cabro, which gave rise to a series of derivations and metatheses: cabrito → britito → británico → broca → brócoli, all with connotations of homosexuality.

### Voices of Lima's argot formed by composition

Examples: amarrabolas, agua brava, blanquiazul, botarse, cholitranqui, chuparse, dar cuerda, dar vuelta, doble filo, hablar piedras, meterse una bomba, palo gringo, pagar pato, sacar de misio, sacar la vuelta, tirapiedras.

In this case, idiomatic expressions that reinforce cultural and social values predominate, such as pagar pato (to be blamed for something) or dar vuelta (to murder).

### Voices of Lima's argot formed by parasynthesis

Examples: baticheleado, empilado, enchufado.

This process occurs to a lesser extent but reflects the productivity of parasynthesis in creating colloquial terms with strong semantic weight in the urban context.

### Phonological-morphological processes

Within the phonological-morphological processes, there was an abundance of voices formed by metathesis, understood as the intentional transposition of sounds. While in common usage it may be due to perceptual errors (humadera for humareda, metereológico for meteorológico), in Lima's argot this resource is used consciously and playfully.

The intentionality is observed in the so-called reverse language or vesre, which consists of inverting the syllabic order of words to generate new terms. This phenomenon is linked to the French verlan and English back slang, although the lexical flow in Lima is more limited (Calvo Pérez, 2021; Nieto & Paco, 2019).

**Table 4**

*Voices of Lima's argot formed by metathesis*

Term	Original word	Meaning and explanation
<b>Ajoba</b>	abajo	Used as a colloquial way to refer to a lower position.
<b>Bezonca</b>	cabezón	Refers to a stubborn person or someone with a large head.
<b>Broca</b>	cabro	Alludes to a homosexual person. The term arose as an antithesis to "macho cabrío," changing the structure of the original word.
<b>Charede</b>	derecha	Used as an inverted way to refer to the direction "right."
<b>Chulapi</b>	pichula	Vulgar term referring to the penis or male genitalia.
<b>Fercho</b>	chofer	Refers to a person who drives professionally.
<b>Izdaquier</b>	izquierda	Used as an inverted form of the direction "left."
<b>Jerma</b>	mujer	The initial term was "jermu," a metathesis of "mujer," which then evolved to "jerma" to reflect the feminine gender with vowel opening.
<b>Jeropa</b>	pajero	Refers to a person who masturbates.
<b>Jonca</b>	cajón	Commonly used to refer to a beer box.
<b>Lompa</b>	pantalón	Evolved from the metathesis "lontapan," which then underwent apocope and syncope to reach the final form of "lompa."
<b>Lonsa</b>	salón	Used as an inverted form of the word "salón."
<b>Merco</b>	comer	Used as a noun meaning "food." From "merco," "mercurio" is formed, with the same meaning of food.
<b>Mica</b>	camisa	Results from the transposition of syllables and the elision of the syllable "sa."
<b>Mogra</b>	gramo	Used to refer to a quantity of one gram.
<b>Monfu</b>	fumón	Refers to a person addicted to drug use, especially narcotics.
<b>Ñoba</b>	baño	Used as an inverted and colloquial form of "baño."
<b>Ñorsa</b>	señora	Initially from the masculine "ñorse" (from metathesis of "señor"), it received feminine inflection in its final form.
<b>Norma</b>	hermano	This term resulted from metathesis and elision to reach the final version.
<b>Plonso</b>	soplón	Refers to an indiscreet person who doesn't keep secrets.

Term	Original word	Meaning and explanation
<b>Roca</b>	carro	Used to refer to a car, especially if it is large.
<b>Taba</b>	Bata	Meaning shoe. The term alludes to the footwear brand "Bata."
<b>Tegen</b>	gente	Used as an inverted form of the word "gente."
<b>Telo</b>	hotel	Used as a metathesis of "hotel," generally to refer to a transient lodging.
<b>Tolaca</b>	calato	Means "naked" or "newborn child." "Calato" comes from Quechua ccala.
<b>Tombo</b>	botón	Refers to a police officer. The term implies a synecdoche, as police uniforms used to have many buttons.
<b>Trome</b>	maestro	The term evolved through rapid pronunciation and transposition. "Maestro" became "mestro," then "mehtro" with the elided "s," and finally "trome" through metathesis.

In Table 4, relevant examples from the corpus of Vásquez (2008) are presented: *ajoba* (abajo), *bezonca* (cabezón), *broca* (cabro), *charede* (derecha), *chulapi* (pichula), *fercho* (chofer), *izdaquier* (izquierda), *jerma* (mujer), *jeropa* (pajero), *jonca* (cajón), *lompa* (pantalón), *merco* (comer), *mica* (camisa), *mogra* (gramo), *monfu* (fumón), *ñooba* (baño), *ñorsa* (señora), *norma* (hermano), *plonso* (soplón), *roca* (carro), *taba* (zapato), *tegen* (gente), *telo* (hotel), *tolaca* (calato), *tombo* (policía), *trome* (maestro)\*.

From this list, Nieto & Paco (2019) note as frequent in university youth speech voices such as *jeropa*, *telo*, *jerma*, *jonca*, *lompa*, *mica* and *tolaca*, in addition to others like *choborra* (drunk), *grone* (black, also used for fans of the Alianza Lima club), *lleca* (street), *merfi* (firm), *nepe* (penis), *nopor* (porno), *ponja* (Japanese), and *rioba* (neighborhood). The case of *merfi* is interesting, as it not only presents metathesis but also a displacement of the /r/, which does not occur in *nopor*, which adheres to a stricter *vesre*.

Loayza Maturrano (2013) found in students from the Universidad Nacional Agraria La Molina a technical jargon linked to their academic specialty, where processes such as apheresis, apocope, siglonomos (formation of words from acronyms, like DAP for "diámetro a la altura del pecho"), resemanticization, and composition also appear.

In summary, the results show that:

1. Derivation is the most productive morphological process in the formation of voices in Lima's argot.
2. Metathesis is presented as the most intentional and playful phonological-morphological process, often combined with other resources such as apheresis, apocope, or syncope.
3. Lima's argot, far from being a simple marginal code, constitutes a fertile field of linguistic creativity, where social, cultural, and phonological factors converge.

## Conclusions

In the analysis of Lima's argot, it is confirmed that the predominant morphological process is derivation, while the phonological-morphological phenomenon that contributes the most terms is metathesis. Both word formation pathways reflect the dynamism, plasticity, and linguistic creativity that characterize this sociolect, rooted in the popular sectors of the city.

Derivation in Lima's argot does not always adhere to the traditional affixation rules typical of the formal norm. In many cases, words are created by adding structures that divert the term toward another already existing, completely resemanticizing it. This procedure generates new meanings that, in most cases, are far removed from the original meaning. Thus, words from standard language transform into common nouns (such as *anís*, *cápsula*, *machete*) or into proper nouns loaded with connotation (such as *Pavarotti*, *Paganini*, *Ronaldo*). Derivation can retain the grammatical category—such as *microbús* and *microbio*, both nouns—or modify it, as occurs in *maleta* (noun) and *maletero* (adjective). A particularly notable phenomenon is the conversion of affirmative and negative adverbs into nouns that lose their original value, such as *nómade* (with the value of no) or *silice* and *cicatriz* (with the value of yes).

On the other hand, words created through metathesis involve the formation of entirely new terms. This procedure not only alters sounds but often permutes entire syllables, transforming the original morphological structure and denaturalizing the root of the word. In the metathesis from *comer* to *merco*, for example, the root *com-* disappears, and a new base *merc-* is generated, which can even serve as a starting point for other derivations, as seen in *mercurio* with the meaning of food. In some words, these restructuring processes combine

with other mechanisms, such as addition and elision, as observed in examples like lompá (from pantalón), mica (from camisa), and norma (from hermano).

The study of Lima's argot opens new lines of research that deserve to be explored in the future. It is necessary, on one hand, to establish comparisons with the argot used in other Peruvian cities to determine their similarities and divergences, as well as to analyze the possible influence of Argentine lunfardo on local jargon. On the other hand, a deeper examination of the morphosyntactic and phonological characteristics of these voices would allow for a more detailed understanding of the mechanisms that sustain the constant evolution of Spanish in Peru. Answers to these questions will contribute significantly to the knowledge of our language and to the understanding of the links between identity, culture, and popular communication.

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