

# 1 Geographical and Social Varieties of Spanish: An Overview

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## 1 Introduction

According to Spain's government-sponsored Cervantes Institute,<sup>1</sup> there are more than 400 million native or near-native speakers of Spanish in the world, distributed across every continent except Antarctica.<sup>2</sup> Spanish is the official language in twenty-one countries plus Puerto Rico; is the *de facto* first language for most of Gibraltar (Fierro Cubiella 1997; Kramer 1986); still maintains a small foothold in the Philippines, where it once enjoyed official status (Lipski 1987a); and is known and used on a regular basis by many people in Haiti (Ortiz López forthcoming), Aruba and Curaçao (Vaquero de Ramírez 1986), and Belize (Hagerty 1979). Moreover, in the country that harbors one of the world's largest native Spanish-speaking populations (effectively tied for second place with Colombia, Argentina, and Spain, and surpassed only by Mexico), the Spanish language has no official status at all. That country is the United States, which has at least 40 million native Spanish speakers, that is, some 10% of the world's Spanish-speaking population (Lipski 2008c).

All languages change across time and space, and Spanish is no exception. Although the Spanish language was relatively homogeneous in Spain circa 1500 – the time when Spanish first expanded beyond the boundaries of the Iberian Peninsula – it has diversified considerably as it spread over five continents during more than five hundred years. Many factors are responsible for the evolution of Spanish, including the natural drift of languages over time, contact with other languages, internal population migrations, language propagation through missionary activities, the rise of cities, and the consequent rural–urban sociolinguistic divisions, educational systems, community literacy, mass communication media, and official language policies. It is therefore not surprising that although the Spanish language retains

a fundamental cohesiveness throughout the world, social and geographical variation is considerable. To explore all varieties of Spanish would require several volumes; the following sections offer an overview of regional and social variation in Spanish by means of a number of representative cases, selected to give a sense of the full range of possibilities.

## 2 Dialect divisions in Spain

Spain contains a complex array of regional and social dialects, but the most striking division – immediately noticeable by Spaniards and visitors alike – separates north and south. In the popular imagination, this translates to Castile–Andalusia, but to the extent that dialects exhibit geographical boundaries, the north–south distinction only approximately follows the borders between these historically distinct regions, while also encompassing other areas. The primary features used to impressionistically identify regional origins in Peninsular Spanish are phonetic: “southern” traits include aspiration or elision of syllable- and word-final /s/ (e.g., *vamos pues* ['ba.moh.'pue] ‘let’s go, then’), loss of word-final /r/ (e.g., *por favor* [po.fa.'βo] ‘please’), and the pronunciation of preconsonantal /l/ as [r] (e.g., *soldado* [sor.'ða.o] ‘soldier’). Traits widely regarded as “northern” include the apico-alveolar pronunciation [s<sup>o</sup>] of /s/, the strongly uvular pronunciation [χ] of the posterior fricative /x/ (e.g., *caja* ['ka.χa] ‘box’), and the phonological distinction /θ/-/s/ (e.g., *casa* ['ka.s<sup>o</sup>a] ‘house’ - *caza* ['ka.θa] ‘hunting’). In reality, the regional distribution of these traits does not conform to a simple north–south distinction, since the traits intersect with one another and with additional regionalized features in fashions that cannot be reduced to a single geographical matrix. Most traditional dialect classification schemes for Peninsular Spanish cluster around historically recognized kingdoms and contemporary autonomous regions, albeit with considerable overlap of defining traits along border areas (e.g., Zamora Vicente 1967 and the studies in Alvar 1996). In contemporary Spain, at least the following geographically delimited varieties of Spanish can be objectively identified by linguists, as shown in (1):

- (1) Geographically delimited varieties of Spanish:
  - northern Castile, including Salamanca, Valladolid, Burgos, and neighboring provinces;
  - northern Extremadura and León, including the province of Cáceres, parts of León, western Salamanca province, and Zamora;
  - Galicia, referring to the Spanish spoken both monolingually and in contact with Galician;
  - Asturias, especially inland areas such as Oviedo;
  - the interior Cantabrian region, to the south of Santander;
  - the Basque Country, including Spanish as spoken monolingually and in contact with Basque;
  - Catalonia, including Spanish spoken in contact with Catalan;

- southeastern Spain, including much of Valencia, Alicante, Murcia, Albacete, and southeastern La Mancha;
- eastern Andalusia, including Granada, Almería, and surrounding areas;
- western Andalusia, including Seville, Huelva, Cádiz, and the Extremadura province of Badajoz – the Spanish of Gibraltar is also included;
- south-central and southwest Spain, including areas to the south of Madrid such as Toledo and Ciudad Real.

Features specific to this expanded list of regional varieties as well as socially-stratified variables within given areas will be presented in subsequent sections.

### **3 Dialect divisions in Latin America**

There is no consensus on the classification of Latin American Spanish dialects due to the vast territorial expanse in question, the scarcity of accurate data on the speech of many regions, and the high degree of variability due to multiple language contact environments, internal migrations, and significant rural–urban linguistic polarization. In the popular imagination (e.g., as mentioned in casual conversations), Latin American Spanish dialects are defined by national boundaries, thus Mexican Spanish, Argentine Spanish, Peruvian Spanish, etc. Objectively, such a scheme cannot be seriously maintained, except for a few small and linguistically rather homogeneous nations. Rather, Latin American Spanish is roughly divided into geographical dialect zones based on patterns of settlement and colonial administration, contact with indigenous and immigrant languages, and relative proportions of rural and urban speech communities. For pedagogical purposes, the following classification, which combines phonetic, morphological, socio-historical, and language-contact data, provides a reasonable approximation to actually observable dialect variation in Latin America. This classification, shown in (2), is based on Lipski (1994), where the other dialect classifications are also discussed:

- (2) Latin American Spanish dialect classifications:
- Mexico (except for coastal areas) and southwestern United States;
  - Caribbean region: Cuba, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Panama, Caribbean coast of Colombia and Venezuela, Caribbean coast of Mexico, and also Mexico’s Pacific coast;
  - Guatemala, parts of the Yucatan, and Costa Rica;
  - El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua;
  - Colombia (interior) and neighboring highland areas of Venezuela;
  - Pacific coast of Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru;
  - Andean regions of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, northwest Argentina, and northeast Chile;
  - Chile;
  - Paraguay, northeastern Argentina, and eastern Bolivia;
  - Argentina (except for extreme northwest and northeast) and Uruguay.

## 4 Major variation patterns: phonetics and phonology

Overviews of the pronunciation of Spanish in Spain are found in Alvar (1996) and for Latin America in Canfield (1981) and Lipski (1994). Among the most rapidly identifiable features separating regional and social varieties of Spanish are differences in pronunciation, both the realization of particular sounds and combinations of sounds, and the presence or absence of certain phonological oppositions. The following sections outline some of the more salient phonetic and phonological dimensions of Spanish dialect differentiation.

### 4.1 Presence–absence of oppositions: /s/-/θ/, /j/-/ɬ/

In general, all regional and social varieties of Spanish share the same inventory of vowel and consonant phonemes, with two exceptions: the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ and the palatal lateral /ɬ/ have geographically delimited distribution, and are absent in the remaining varieties of Spanish. The phoneme /θ/ occurs as an independent phoneme opposed to /s/ (e.g., *casa* ['ka.sa] 'house' -*caza* ['ka.θa] 'hunting') only in Peninsular Spain. The opposition /s/-/θ/ characterizes all Peninsular varieties of Spanish except for western and central Andalusia. In western Andalusia, the neutralization of /s/-/θ/ in favor of /s/ is known as *seseo*, and it typifies the speech of these provinces. Many speakers in rural areas and smaller towns throughout Andalusia neutralize the opposition in favor of [θ] (e.g., *mi casa* [mi 'ka.θa] 'my house'). This neutralization is known as *ceceo*, and is usually stigmatized by the speakers themselves and in neighboring urban areas; *ceceo* imitations figure prominently in the verbal repertoires of many Spanish comedians as well as in dialect literature. The opposition /s/-/θ/ is not found in the Canary Islands (where *seseo* is the norm), nor in any part of Latin America. In the residual Spanish still found in the Philippines, the opposition /s/-/θ/ occurs sporadically, given the varying Peninsular origins of the ancestors of Philippine Spanish speakers (Lipski 1987a). In Equatorial Guinea, the only officially Spanish-speaking nation in Africa, the opposition /s/-/θ/ is also variable since the Peninsular sources for Guinean Spanish came both from Castile (where the distinction is made) and from Valencia (where *seseo* used to prevail). Most Guineans, except for those who have lived extensively in Spain, are not consistent with respect to the /s/-/θ/ distinction (Lipski 1985a).

The palatal lateral phoneme /ɬ/ (written as *ll*) was once opposed to /j/ (written as *y*) in all varieties of Spanish (e.g., *se calló* [se ka.'ɬo] 'he/she became silent' -*se cayó* [se ka.'jo] 'he/she fell down'). The opposition, with few minimal pairs to its credit, began to erode in favor of non-lateral pronunciations beginning in the sixteenth century, and today only a few Spanish-speaking regions maintain the distinction. The neutralization of /ɬ/-/j/ in favor of the latter phoneme is known as *yeísmo*. In Peninsular Spain, /ɬ/ occurs as an independent phoneme in a few northern areas, but is rapidly disappearing today among younger generations. In the Canary Islands, /ɬ/ was retained robustly by all speakers until the final decades of the

twentieth century, but is now rapidly fading. The phoneme /ʎ/ is not present in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea and is heard only occasionally in Philippine Spanish. In Latin America, the phoneme /ʎ/ is maintained in all regional and social dialects of Paraguay and Bolivia, and in neighboring areas of northeastern and northwestern Argentina. In highland Peru, pockets of /ʎ/ still remain, as they do in the central highlands of Ecuador. In Quito and other northern highland areas of Ecuador, the lateral pronunciation of /ʎ/ gives way to a groove fricative pronunciation [ʒ], but the opposition /ʎ/-/j/ is still maintained (e.g., *halla* [ˈa.ʒa] ‘he/she finds’ – *haya* [ˈa.ja] ‘that he/she may have’) (Haboud and de la Vega 2008).

#### 4.2 Realization of coda consonants: /s/, /n/, /l/, /r/

In Spanish the greatest variation in the pronunciation of consonants occurs in post-nuclear position, often referred to as “coda” or “syllable-final.” The post-nuclear or coda position is universally regarded as the weakest in terms of neutralization of oppositions, replacement by weaker versions of the consonant, such as approximants (sounds with very slight constrictions, weaker than fricatives) or vocoids (near-vowel sounds such as semivowels), depletion of all supralaryngeal features (meaning those features involving the action of the tongue, lips, pharynx, and velum), and total effacement (Hualde 1989a, 2005). Coda position is also the environment in which the greatest sociolinguistic differentiation of Spanish dialects typically occurs. The consonants most affected by coda-weakening processes are /s/, /r/, /l/, and /n/.

By far the most common modification of Spanish coda consonants involves /s/, including aspiration to [h], deletion, and other instances of weakening. In Spain, syllable- and word-final /s/ is aspirated or elided massively in the south, from Extremadura through Andalusia (including Gibraltar) (Lipski 1987b), Murcia, and parts of Alicante, but even in central and some northern regions (e.g., Cantabria), coda /s/ is frequently aspirated. In the Canary Islands, weakening of coda /s/ occurs at rates comparable to Andalusia (Lipski 1985b). In Latin America, reduction of coda /s/ reaches its highest rates in the Caribbean (Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Venezuela, coastal Colombia), as well as on the Mexican coast centering on Veracruz and Campeche. On nearly all Mexico’s Pacific coast, final /s/ is also reduced nearly as frequently as in the Caribbean (Moreno de Alba 1994). In Central America, /s/-reduction is massive in Nicaragua, and occurs at a lesser rate in El Salvador and Honduras. In South America, the entire Pacific coast from Colombia through Chile is a zone of heavy /s/-reduction. In Argentina and Uruguay, /s/-reduction is somewhat tempered in the large cities, but reaches high levels in provincial areas, as it does throughout Paraguay and eastern Bolivia. It is more economical to mention those Spanish-speaking areas where coda /s/ strongly resists effacement: most of northern Spain, most of Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and the highlands of Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia (Lipski 1984, 1986).

Found in some /s/-aspirating dialects is the aspiration of word-INITIAL postvocalic /s/, as in *la semana* [la.he.ˈma.na] ‘the week.’ Aspiration of word-initial /s/ is

most frequently found in the vernacular speech of El Salvador and much of Honduras (Lipski 1999a), and also in the traditional Spanish of northern New Mexico (Brown 2004). Rates of aspiration of word-initial/s/are considerably lower than those for word-final/s/-reduction, but there are no Spanish dialects in which word-initial/s/is aspirated while word-final/s/remains intact. Unlike aspiration of syllable- and word-final/s/, which is often just a regional trait with no negative connotations, aspiration of word-initial/s/is frequent only in colloquial speech in the regions where it occurs, and is predominantly found among less educated speakers.

In much of central Spain where reduction of coda/s/reaches only moderate levels, the phonetic result before a following consonant is a weak [r] as in *los niños* [lor.'ni.ɲos] 'the children.' This variant is not consistently found anywhere in Latin America.

Coda liquids/l/and/r/are particularly susceptible to weakening processes in Spanish, and most weakening phenomena affect both consonants to some extent. In phrase-final position, the most common result is complete elision. Loss of phrase-final/l/and/r/is common in southern Spain; it is also frequent in most regional and social dialects of the Canary Islands. In Latin America, deletion of word-final/r/is common in eastern Cuba, Panama, the Caribbean coast of Colombia, much of Venezuela, along the Pacific coast of Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, and in Afro-Bolivian Spanish (Lipski 2008a). In all of these regions, deletion of/r/is associated with colloquial speech, but does not necessarily carry a heavy stigma, as indicated. Deletion of final/l/is less frequent in careful speech. In southern Spain (including the Canary Islands), the opposition of preconsonantal/l/and/r/is tenuous, with neutralization in favor of [r] constituting an Andalusian stereotype (e.g., *el niño* [er.'ni.ɲo] 'the child'). In some parts of the Canary Islands and occasionally in Murcia, coda/r/is realized as [l] as in *puerta* ['puɛl.ta] 'door.' The change of coda/r/to [l] is more common in the Caribbean, particularly in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, in central Cuba and eastern Venezuela. Lateralization of/r/, although occurring frequently in the aforementioned dialects, is often criticized, and forms the basis for jokes and popular cultural stereotypes. Found in western Cuba, the Caribbean coast of Colombia (and in the Afro-Colombian creole language Palenquero: Schwegler 1998: 265; Schwegler and Morton 2003), and parts of Andalusia is loss of word-internal preconsonantal coda liquids combined with gemination of the following consonant; when the following consonant is a voiced obstruent/b/,/d/, or/g/the resulting geminate is always a stop, not a fricative or approximant as normally occurs intervocally. Examples include *algo* ['ag.go] 'something,' *puerta* ['puɛt.ta] 'door,' and *caldo* ['kad.do] 'soup.' Gemination is frequently depicted in dialect literature, always in portrayals of uneducated speakers, and is usually avoided in careful speech. Another regional variant is "vocalization" of coda liquids to semivocalic [j]; this occurs primarily in the Cibao region in the north of the Dominican Republic, and was once found occasionally in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and southeastern Spain (e.g., *por favor* [poj.fa.'βoj] 'please,' *capital* [ka.pi.'taj] 'capital'). This pronunciation is stigmatized and found in many literary stereotypes, particularly in the Dominican Republic.

Word-final nasal consonants are also subject to regional and social variation in Spanish. The most common alternative to the etymological [n] is a velar nasal [ŋ], which often disappears, leaving behind a nasalized vowel. Velarization of phrase-final/n/is the rule in Galicia and parts of Asturias, Extremadura, Andalusia, the Canary Islands, all Caribbean and Central American dialects, along the Pacific coast of Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador, and sporadically in the Andean highlands. Word-final prevocalic nasals are typically also velarized in these dialects, although with generally lower rates than for phrase-final/n/(Lipski 1986): *un otro* [uŋ.'o.tro] ‘another.’ Velarization is almost never explicitly acknowledged by naive (e.g., untrained in linguistics) speakers of any dialect, and many velarizing speakers are unable to accurately identify this sound in their own speech and that of other members of their speech community even when this pronunciation is brought to their attention.

In the Spanish of the Yucatan, Mexico, phrase-final/n/is often realized as [m], as in *Yucatán* [Øu.ka.'tam], *Colón* [ko.'lom] ‘Columbus,’ and *pan* [pam] ‘bread’ (Michnowicz 2008). This pronunciation has traditionally been associated with Maya-dominant bilinguals, but as Yucatan cities, particularly Mérida, grow in economic importance through tourism and light industry, many non-Maya-speaking residents have come to regard the labialization of word-final/n/with pride, as a marker of local identity. The change of final/n/to [m] also occasionally occurs in western Colombia (Montes 1979).

### 4.3 Realization of rhotics/ɾ/and/r/

Spanish has two rhotic (“r”-like) phonemes, the single tap/ɾ/and the trill/r/. All monolingual varieties of Spanish maintain this opposition in some form (e.g., in *caro* ['ka.ro] ‘expensive’ vs. *carro* ['ka.ro] ‘cart,’ *cero* ['se.ro] ‘zero’ vs. *cerro* ['se.ro] ‘mountain’). Most Sephardic (Judeo) Spanish has lost the opposition/ɾ/-/r/, usually in favor of the tap. In the Afro-Bolivian Spanish dialect, this distinction is often neutralized in favor of the tap (Lipski 2008a), while in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea, the tap–trill distinction is also tenuous, but is frequently neutralized in favor of the trill (Lipski 1985a) (e.g., *tres* [tres] ‘three,’ *pero* ['pe.ro] ‘but’). The tap phoneme shows little regional or social variation except in coda position, where it is subject to the range of elision and neutralizations described in the preceding section. The combination/tr/fuses into an alveolar quasi-affricate, almost [tʃ], in the Andean highlands, Chile, Paraguay, northeastern Argentina, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and sometimes in New Mexico and parts of central Mexico. In these dialects, *otro* ‘other’ and *ocho* ‘eight’ are pronounced nearly identically.

The “trill”/r/, on the other hand, is subject to considerable regional and some social variation (Hammond 1999, 2000 offers a survey). The most common alternative to the alveolar trill is a voiced prepalatal fricative [ʒ], found throughout the Andean region (highland Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia), as well as in much of northern Argentina, parts of Paraguay, and occasionally in Chile. In Central America, fricative/r/is common in Guatemala, and is often heard in Costa Rica, although an alveolar [ɹ] or retroflex [ɻ] approximant, quite similar to English *r*, is more

commonly heard in Costa Rican Spanish. In much of highland Bolivia, bilingual (Aymara-speaking) individuals often realize /r/ as [z], effectively creating minimal pairs based only on voicing, such as *caso* ['ka.so] 'case' vs. *carro* ['ka.zo] 'cart' (Mendoza 2008: 221). In much of the Caribbean region, particularly the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and parts of Puerto Rico, a partially devoiced (often described as "pre-aspirated") trill is found: *carrera* [ka.hré.ra] 'race.' A velar fricative [x] or uvular trill [ʁ] is a frequent variant of /r/ in Puerto Rico, especially in rural and interior areas, although it is generally stigmatized (López Morales 1983); for some speakers, *jamón* 'ham' and *Ramón* 'Raymond' are virtually homophonous.

#### 4.4 *Unstressed vowel raising and vowel reduction*

The raising of final atonic /o/ to [u] and /e/ to [i] is confined to a few regions of Spain and Latin America, and typifies rural speech. Typical examples include *nochi* < *noche* 'night,' *lechi* < *leche* 'milk,' *vieju* < *viejo* 'old,' *buenu* < *bueno* 'good.' Oliver Rajan (2007) and Holmquist (2001, 2005) document this trait for the speech of rural highland Puerto Rico. In Spain this pronunciation predominates in Galicia, but is occasionally found in other northern regions, possibly reflecting the raising of unstressed mid-vowels in Galician and Asturian-Leonese. Vowel-raising generally carries negative prestige, and is avoided by individuals seeking upward or outward mobility.

The reduction of atonic vowels (shortening, devoicing, and in the extreme case, elision), is characteristic of only a few Spanish dialects, all found in Latin America, and all the result of previous or contemporary contact with Native American languages. This behavior is found in some parts of central Mexico, and in the Andean highlands of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Phonological analyses are found in Lipski (1990) and Delforge (2008). The most common instances occur in contact with /s/, as in *pres(i)dente* 'president,' *(e)studiant(e)s* 'students.'

#### 4.5 *Vowel harmony*

Vowel harmony is not common among the Romance languages, although metaphony (the raising of tonic vowels conditioned by final atonic vowels) frequently occurred in the development of Spanish. In a few Spanish dialects, all in Spain, harmony systems have emerged. The most robust patterns are found in the northern Cantabrian region, historically influenced by Asturian and Leonese dialects to the west. In the Montes de Pas dialect (Penny 1969a, 1969b, 1978; McCarthy 1984), all vowels in a word agree in tenseness or laxness (also known as [-ATR] or "minus advanced tongue root"), with laxness harmony being triggered by the masculine singular count suffix [-ʊ], producing alternations like those in (3):

- |     |             |                       |              |                      |
|-----|-------------|-----------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| (3) | [pu.'ʎu.ku] | 'young chicken'       | [pu.'ʎu.kus] | 'young chickens'     |
|     | ['mi.ju]    | 'mine' (m. sg. count) | ['mi.ju]     | 'mine (m. non-count) |

The tense-lax distinction is found for all vowels except /e/, which is transparent to laxing harmony. Pasiego also exhibits vowel harmony for the feature [high], in

which all atonic vowels in a word must agree in height with the tonic vowel; the low vowel /a/ does not participate in height harmony, neither as a trigger (when in tonic position) nor as a target (when atonic) (4):

- (4) [ku.'mi.ða] 'food' [bin.di.'θir] 'to bless'  
 [ko.'lor] 'color' [xe.'le.ʎo] 'fern'

To the east of Cantabria lies Asturias, whose regional dialects are known collectively as Bable. Metaphony is found in this region, whereby word-internal vowels raise under the influence of a word-final high vowel: /a/ becomes [e], /e/ becomes [i], and /o/ becomes [u]. Depending upon the particular dialect, metaphony can affect all vowels in the phonological word (including clitics), all vowels in the final foot (the tonic vowel plus post-tonic vowels), or only the tonic vowel. Hualde (1989b) and Walker (2004) provide theoretical accounts of these different harmony mechanisms. Some Asturian examples, included in (5), are:

- (5) ['bleŋ.ku] 'white (m. sg.)' ['bla.ŋka] 'white (f. sg.)'  
 ['pi.lu] 'hair (count sg.)' ['pe.lo] 'hair (mass)'  
 [kal.'di.ru] 'pot' [kal.'de.ros] 'pots'

Another form of vowel harmony is found in southeastern Spain, in the eastern Andalusian dialect cluster. In all of Andalusia, coda consonants are weak and frequently elided, particularly in word-final position. In most varieties of Spanish, vowels are lax in closed syllables (with coda consonants), and in western Andalusian and Latin American dialects in which word-final coda consonants such as /s/ and /r/ are elided, the vowel in the now open syllable reverts to the tense vowels found in other open syllables. Eastern Andalusian is unique in that the lax vowel remains after word-final consonants have been elided. This is particularly noticeable with non-low vowels, and results in minimal pairs, as in (6):

- (6) /tjene/ ['tje.ne] 'have (3 sg.)'  
 /tjenes/ ['tje.ne] 'have (2 sg.)'  
 /pero/ ['pe.ro] 'dog'  
 /peros/ ['pe.rɔ] 'dogs'

For many speakers, laxing of the word-final vowel triggers vowel harmony, at least up to the stressed vowel and sometimes extending to pretonic vowels and even preposed clitics. Theoretical and phonetic accounts include Zubizarreta (1979), Sanders (1994), Corbin (2006), among many others.

## 5 Intonational differences: selected regional traits

Intonational patterns vary widely across Spanish regional and social dialects, and while most of the variation can be regarded strictly as subphonemic, meaning that

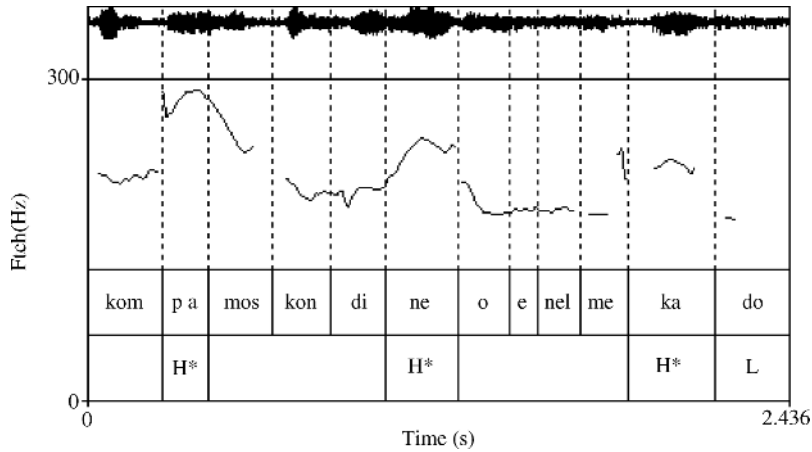
they do not create oppositions based on different meanings, they provide unmistakable identification of these dialects. It is often the case that intonational sequences, referred to impressionistically as *el tono* 'tone' or *el cantado* 'the song,' provide the quickest and most reliable identification of a speaker's regional and social origins, even in the presence of background noise that masks individual vowels and consonants. Most work on Spanish intonation has been conducted within the framework of Autosegmental-Metrical Phonology, which describes prenuclear pitch accents, nuclear (phrase-final) pitch accents, and boundary tones as combinations of High and Low tones. Overviews can be found in Ladd (1996) and Gussenhoven (2004); for Spanish Beckman et al. (2002), Hualde (2002), and Sosa (1999). Within this framework, pitch accents – which fall on some but not all tonic syllables – are marked with an asterisk \* for the tone most closely aligned with the tonic syllable. Leading or trailing tones may also be included if they form an integral part of the pitch accent configuration.

Most research on Spanish intonational patterns – including regional variants – has concentrated on pitch accent configurations that affect meaning (e.g., broad vs. narrow focus, and declarative vs. interrogative utterances). Less attention has been directed on intonational patterns that serve to identify regional and social dialects, although native speakers of Spanish can frequently identify familiar dialects more effectively based on intonation than on segmental or lexical traits. As the study of Spanish intonational patterns becomes increasingly nuanced, a more complete picture of the role of intonation in dialect differentiation will emerge. Two brief examples will illustrate the possibilities.

### **5.1 *Pitch and tone: the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea and San Basilio de Palenque***

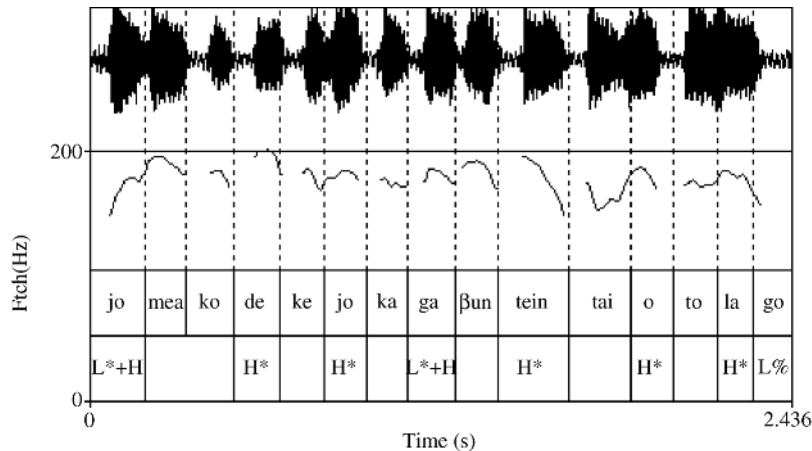
Equatorial Guinea is the only Spanish-speaking country in sub-Saharan Africa. For most Guineans, Spanish is a second language, spoken in conjunction with one or more African languages. With the exception of Annobonese creole Portuguese (*fa d'ambú*) and Pidgin English (*pichi*), all Guinean languages have lexically specified High and Low tones on all vowels. As a consequence, Guineans tend to interpret Spanish pitch accents as phonologically High tones, and retain the high pitches even in connected speech. In a fashion similar to lexical tone languages, High pitch is always aligned with the tonic syllables, as in the sentence *Compramos con dinero en el mercado* 'We buy with money in the market' pronounced by a native speaker of Ndowé, a Bantu language spoken along the coast of Río Muni, on the African continent between Cameroon and Gabon (see Figure 1.1).

An even more drastic variant involving sequences of early-aligned high peaks on prenuclear accents comes from the Afro-Colombian village of San Basilio de Palenque, where the vernacular Spanish takes on many of the same suprasegmental traits as the local Afro-Hispanic creole language, Palenquero (Hualde and Schwegler 2008), itself formed several centuries ago in contact with Kikongo and



**Figure 1.1** High pitch aligned on tonic syllables in *Compramos con dinero en el mercado* ‘We buy with money in the market’ (Ndowé, Bantu language).

other West and Central African lexical tone languages. In the following sentence, multiple high peaks with no downdrift and minimal tonal valleys between pitch accents make the utterance (pronounced in a normal nonemphatic conversation) sound excited or upset. The sentence is (allowing for local phonetic traits) *Yo me acordé que yo cargaba un treinta y ocho largo* ‘I remembered that I was carrying a long-barrel .38 [revolver]’ (see Figure 1.2).



**Figure 1.2** High peaks with no downdrift in *Yo me acordé que yo cargaba un treinta y ocho largo* ‘I remembered that I was carrying a long-barrel .38 [revolver]’ (Palenquero, Afro-Hispanic creole).

## 6 Regional and social morphosyntactic differentiation

Although sharing substantially the same basic grammatical patterns, Spanish varieties around the world diverge in terms of word order, the behavior of object clitics, and choice of verb tense, and mood, in addition to combinations directly attributable to contact with other languages. The following sections present a selection of morphosyntactic variables that differentiate Spanish dialects.

### 6.1 *Object clitic agreement and doubling*

Spanish of all regions permits a direct object noun phrase to be replaced by a clitic, regardless of the animacy of the DO; thus (7):

- (7) Veo a Juan/el libro. 'I see John/the book.'  
Lo veo. 'I see him/it.'

When the DO is a personal pronoun (i.e., [+animate]), both the clitic and the full pronoun may appear; indeed, for most dialects, if a personal pronominal DO occurs, a clitic must accompany it (8):

- (8)  $Lo_i/*\emptyset_i$  veo a  $\acute{e}l_i$  'I see him.'

In a subset of Spanish dialects (particularly in the Southern Cone), clitic doubling of ([+definite]) DO NOUNS is also possible, and often even preferred (9):

- (9)  $Lo_i/\emptyset_i$  veo a  $Juan_i$  'I see John.'

In the Andean region, and sometimes extending into the Río de la Plata region, clitic doubling is not only found when the direct object is a pronoun or animate noun, but also occurs with inanimate [+definite] DOs. In monolingual and sociolinguistically unmarked varieties, the clitic agrees in gender and number with the direct object noun (10):

- (10) No  $lo_i$  encontró a  $su\ hijo_i$  'She did not find her son.' (Peru)  
 $La_i$  ves  $una\ se\~{n}ora_i$  'You see a woman.' (Peru)

Among Spanish-recessive bilinguals (speaking Quechua or Aymara) in the Andean region, invariant *lo* is often used to double all direct objects, irrespective of gender or number. The use of non-agreeing *lo* is widely regarded as an indicator of imperfect acquisition of Spanish, and is never found among monolingual Spanish speakers or balanced bilinguals (Godenzzi 1986, 1991a, 1991b; Mendoza 2008: 227). Some examples are shown in (11):

- (11) Cerrámelo<sub>i</sub> la puerta<sub>i</sub> 'Close the door for me.' (Bolivia)  
 ¿Me lo<sub>i</sub> va a firmar la libreta<sub>i</sub>? 'Are you going to sign the register  
 for me?' (Salta, Argentina)  
 Se lo<sub>i</sub> llevó una caja<sub>i</sub> 'He carried off a box.' (Peru)

## 6.2 Regional word order patterns: interrogation; object–verb order

Spanish typically places the subject after the verb in interrogative sentences, both in absolute interrogatives (requiring a yes–no answer) and in phrases with interrogative words (12):

- (12) ¿Sabe usted a qué hora llega el avión? 'Do you know what time  
 the plane arrives?'  
 ¿Qué quiere Juan que le digamos? 'What does Juan want us  
 to tell him?'

There is a cluster of dialects, including the Caribbean (Cuba, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, coastal Colombia, much of Venezuela, parts of Panama) in which subject–verb inversion does not occur in absolute interrogatives, nor in sentences with interrogative words, provided that the subject is a pronoun (13):

- (13) ¿Usted me puede ayudar? 'Can you help me?'  
 ¿Dónde tú compraste esa bicicleta? 'Where did you buy that bicycle?'

In these same dialects, overt subject pronouns such as *tú* and *yo* are more frequent than in varieties of Spanish that do not present noninverted questions. Noninverted questions with interrogative words appear to be extending their domain of application, for example, in Dominican and Cuban Spanish, to occasionally encompass full nouns in subject position (e.g., Suñer 1994), as in *¿qué tu mamá quiere?* 'What does your mother want?' and *¿Dónde Juan compró eso?* 'Where did Juan buy that?' In the dialects of Spanish that exhibit noninverted questions, they are sociolinguistically unmarked and are used by nearly all speakers. In fact, inverted questions such as *¿Qué quieres tú?* 'What do you want?' may take on connotations of impatience or aggressiveness when used in these dialects.

Outside the Caribbean region, noninverted questions are occasionally found in the Spanish of the Canary Islands, in South American communities bordering on Brazil (since vernacular Brazilian Portuguese also exhibits noninverted questions), and in the traditional Afro-Bolivian dialect (Lipski 2008a). Along the Brazilian border (e.g., in northern Uruguay, northeastern Argentina, northern Bolivia, and eastern Paraguay), bilingual contact with Portuguese also results in occasional "*in situ*" questions, in which the interrogative word has not been moved to the front of the sentence (14):

- (14) ¿Naciste dónde? 'Where were you born?'  
 ¿Esto cuesta cuánto? 'How much does this cost?'

Another regionalized shift in word-order patterns is found in the Andean region, principally the highlands of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, where Spanish is in contact with Quechua and/or Aymara. In the latter two languages, the direct object normally comes before the verb; they are “O-V” languages, in contrast to the “V-O” pattern that typifies Spanish. Spanish-recessive bilingual speakers frequently place the direct object before the verb in configurations not usually found in the Spanish of other regions (15):

- (15) *Mi santo de mí lo han celebrado.* ‘They celebrated my saint’s day.’  
*Dos hijitos tengo.* ‘I have two children.’  
*Estico primer hijo es.* ‘This is my first child.’

Predicate nouns and adjectives as well as prepositional phrases are also placed preverbally, as in the following examples from highland Ecuador (16):

- (16) *Sembradita tengo la manzanilla.* ‘I have camomile planted.’  
*A cortar alfalfa mi mamá está yendo.* ‘My mother is going to cut alfalfa.’

Placing predicates in preverbal position, while occasionally possible in emphatic or topicalized sentences, is not the norm for the monolingual Spanish of any region, and in Andean dialects, O-V constructions are stigmatized and regarded as a demonstration of limited proficiency in Spanish.

### 6.3 *Regionalized verb tense/mood usage*

The choice of verb tenses and moods is relatively uniform across the Spanish-speaking world. There are only a small number of cases where regional or social variation can be consistently observed. Among the more noteworthy cases of variation in verb usage are the following.

First, a fundamental dichotomy separates Spain from most of Latin America as regards the interpretation of the preterite–present perfect distinction (e.g., as in *el jefe no llegó/no ha llegado hoy* ‘the boss didn’t/hasn’t come today’). In most of Spain, the first sentence implies that the boss did not come and is not expected come, while the second sentence leaves open the possibility for a later arrival. In Spain, the present perfect can be used even when the moment of speaking is not included, as in *lo ha hecho ayer* ‘(he/she) did it yesterday.’ In Latin America, the simple preterite (e.g., *llegó* ‘arrived’) does not necessarily exclude the present moment, so that *el jefe no llegó* could be construed as ‘the boss hasn’t arrived [yet]’ (Alarcos 1947; Moreno de Alba 1988: 176–180; more recently Howe and Schwenter 2008; Schwenter and Torres-Cacoulllos 2008).

Second, in Southern Cone dialects (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, and Bolivia), and generally in Peru, Ecuador, and parts of Colombia, it is usual for subjunctive verbs in subordinate clauses to appear in the present tense even when the verb of the main clause requires past-tense reference (17):

- (17) Me pidió que le *haga* [*hiciera*] ‘He asked me to do him a favor.’  
 un favor.  
 ¿Sería posible que me *ayudes* ‘Could you help me with  
 [*ayudaras*] con mi tarea? my homework?’

This usage, while unremarkable in the areas mentioned above, is not acceptable in other Spanish-speaking countries, where a past subjunctive verb form is required.

Third, in much of the Andean region, the Spanish pluperfect indicative (*había* + PAST PARTICIPLE) is used to express information known only indirectly by the speaker, or deduced from indirect observation. Thus, a speaker who saw someone arrive can say *Llegaste anoche* ‘You arrived last night,’ while someone who has not witnessed the arrival, but encounters the interlocutor the following day and thereby deduces the arrival, can say *Habías llegado anoche*, literally ‘You had arrived last night.’ Similarly, an individual who reveals a previously unknown talent or ability might elicit a comment such as *Habías sabido montar a caballo* ‘So you learned how to ride a horse.’ Although this non-canonical use of the Spanish past perfect indicative is not a direct translation from Quechua or Aymara, the semantic nuances encoded by the pluperfect in Andean dialects corresponds to Quechua and Aymara evidentiality markers, which signal first-hand versus reported or deduced information (Laprade 1981; Mendoza 1991: 155–157, 196–203; Speranza 2006). Within the Andean region, these constructions are used by most speakers, irrespective of social class or bilingual language background.

Fourth, in highland Ecuador and occasionally in other Andean Spanish dialects, the Spanish future tense is used in imperative constructions: *comprarás el libro* ‘buy the book,’ *comerás todito* ‘eat it all up.’ As in true imperative constructions, clitic pronouns may follow the verb: *escribirás-me* ‘write to me,’ *dará-me lo que prometió* ‘give me what you promised.’ Although other varieties of Spanish occasionally employ future-tense verbs as imperatives (e.g., in the Ten Commandments), it has been suggested that the use of the future tense in Quichua<sup>3</sup> as a softening device for imperatives has contributed to the higher frequency of such constructions in highland Ecuadoran Spanish (Haboud 1998: 213–245; Haboud and de la Vega 2008: 177–178; Hurley 1995).

#### 6.4 Contact-induced morphosyntax: northern Uruguay (Portuguese); Andean highlands (Quichua)

In much of the Spanish-speaking world, Spanish is in daily contact with other languages, in bilingual environments that are highly conducive to language mixing and transfer. Two representative cases are described below. The first involves Spanish in contact with the cognate language Portuguese at various points near the Brazilian border. The second entails contact between Spanish and Quichua in the Andean region of South America.

In Spanish-speaking South American countries that border on Brazil (that is, all except Uruguay, Ecuador, and Chile), at least some Portuguese is spoken near the

Brazilian border, with usage varying widely depending on the type of border and ease of crossing, the nature of the communities on either side of the border, commercial and familial relations with Brazil, and the availability of Brazilian mass media and schools. In northern Uruguay stable hybrid varieties have emerged since the end of the nineteenth century, known to linguists as *Fronterizo* or *dialectos portugueses del Uruguay* (DPU) and by the speakers themselves as *portuñol* (Elizaincín 1992; Elizaincín et al. 1987). This variety is grammatically closer to vernacular southern Brazilian Portuguese than to Spanish, but contains numerous Spanish lexical and functional items as well.<sup>4</sup> Other South American border regions also exhibit hybrid language behavior, although more frequently used with neighboring Brazilians than among fellow citizens, but in some regions there are native Portuguese-speaking enclaves within nominally Spanish-speaking border regions. This normally occurs in twin-city contexts with either an open and “dry” border (where one crosses the border simply by crossing a street), or an open border marked by a creek or small river, with no border controls to limit traffic between the two countries. Among the dry border areas where Spanish–Portuguese hybrid language is used by non-Brazilians are Rivera, Uruguay (bordering on Santana do Livramento), Bernardo de Irigoyen in Misiones Province, Argentina (bordering on Dionísio Cerqueira and Barracão), Pedro Juan Caballero, Paraguay (bordering on Ponta Porã), Capitán Bado, Paraguay (bordering on Coronel Sapucaia), and Leticia, Colombia (bordering on Tabatinga), as well as Santa Elena do Uairén (Bolívar state) in Venezuela, only a few kilometers from an open land border with Brazil and the town of Pacaraima. Open borders represented by creeks or narrow rivers are found in Artigas, Uruguay (bordering on Quaraí), Bella Vista Norte, Paraguay (bordering on Bela Vista), Cobija, Bolivia (bordering on Brasiléia), and San Antonio, Misiones Province Argentina (bordering on Santo Antônio).

When attempting to speak Portuguese, whether to Brazilians or to other bilingual members of their own communities, Spanish-speakers in these border regions frequently mix the two languages freely and at times unconsciously, creating what is known locally as “portuñol”; only in northern Uruguay have these patterns coalesced into a stable language used freely among fellow Uruguayans. In the remaining border areas “portuñol” is more heterogeneous, being used principally to Brazilians or among descendants of Brazilians living outside the borders of their country. Some examples of spontaneous “portuñol” mixed language are given below; Spanish words are in regular type, Portuguese words are in italics, cognate Spanish–Portuguese words are in bold face, and hybrid forms not identical to either Spanish or Portuguese are in small capitals (Lipski 2009a, 2009b) (18):

- (18) a. **cuando** yo *ia* en la **otra** escuela nosotros TENÍA **que ir** arriba por **un** barranco  
 ‘When I went to the other school, we had to climb up an embankment’  
 {Bernardo de Irigoyen, Argentina}
- b. nosotros TENÍA **que** *segurar* las **casa** sino *ía í* **para** abajo  
 ‘we had to secure the houses or else they would fall down’ {Bernardo de Irigoyen, Argentina}

- c. **porque** *não tem*, **como** le puedo *falar*, **vitrina**  
‘because there isn’t how can I explain it, a show window’  
{Guayaramerín, Bolivia}
- d. *mas* *algunoh brasileiro entendem* lo **que** *hablamoh* *nosotro loh* **boliviano**  
‘but some Brazilians understand the way we Bolivians speak’  
{Guayaramerín, Bolivia}
- e. *eleh* *tiene* **que** *se adaptar a* las REGLA, *verdã* *tiene* **que** *tener tudo*  
DOCUMENTASÓN **ser** REGULARIZADU  
‘they [Brazilians] have to conform to the rules, right? they have to have  
all the documents in order’ {Pedro Juan Caballero, Paraguay}
- f. *quando fica velho* **a partir di** **cuarenta cinco cincuenta** *año él ja no pode*  
*mais*  
‘when one gets old, past forty-five or fifty’ {Pedro Juan Caballero,  
Paraguay}

In nearly all Spanish-speaking communities on the Brazilian border, the vernacular Portuguese practice of marking plural/s/only on the first element of plural noun phrases (usually an article or other determiner) frequently carries over to Spanish; this can be observed in several of the preceding examples.

Quechua-Spanish contacts have resulted in numerous modifications in Andean Spanish, some of which have already been described (e.g., clitic doubling, atonic vowel reduction, object–verb word order). In the area of morphosyntax, most instances of Quechua influence are confined to Quechua-dominant bilinguals with little formal training in Spanish (e.g., Cerrón Palomino 1976; Rivarola 1990). Although increased access to Spanish-language education across the Andean region is reducing the number of individuals with limited abilities in Spanish, Quechua-dominant bilinguals are still numerous in parts of highland Ecuador and Peru, and to a lesser extent in Bolivia. When speaking Spanish, even to monolingual interlocutors, Quechua-dominant speakers often introduce Quechua case-markers and emphatic or topicalizing particles. The most common instance is the focus or affirmative particle *-ca*, which in Quechua can attach to nouns, pronouns, and verbs. The particle *-ca* is often used in Spanish by Quichua-dominant speakers, as in the following examples recorded in Imbabura province in northern Ecuador (19):

- |      |  |                              |
|------|--|------------------------------|
| (19) | <i>nosotros-ca</i> <i>ya no trabajamos</i> | ‘we don’t work any more’     |
|      | <i>in Angla-ca</i> <i>sí hay capella</i>   | ‘in Angla there is a chapel’ |
|      | <i>aura-ca</i> <i>sí tinimos</i>           | ‘now we have [it]’           |
|      | <i>Otavaloca</i> <i>toda la veda</i>       | ‘we have lived in            |
|      | <i>vevemos</i>                             | Otavaloca all our lives’     |

The particle *-ca* has made its way into the monolingual Spanish dialect spoken in the Afro-Ecuadoran communities of the highland Chota/Mira and Salinas Valleys, in the provinces of Imbabura and Carchi (Chalá Cruz 2006; Lipski 2008b). These communities derive from Jesuit haciendas that had transferred to private ownership by the end of the eighteenth century. Afro-Choteños are monolingual

speakers of Spanish, but their ethnic dialect does include evidence of prior contact with Quichua. Some examples, shown in (20), include:

- (20) yo *ca* como nunca me ha salido 'since I have never seen  
[those apparitions]'  
yo *ca* no voy a ir 'I'm not going'  
él *ca* queriendo pegar a mí 'he wants to hit me'  
ahora *ca* ya no se ve eso 'that isn't seen any more'

The adverb *ta(n)* (< Spanish *también* 'also'), analyzed as a negative emphatic or indefinite marker by Muysken (1982: 110), or the homophonous affirmative suffix are also frequently found in Quichua-influenced Spanish, as in the following examples from Imbabura province, Ecuador (21):

- (21) a. *maicito-ta trigo-ta cebada-ta tudito no madoramus, perdemos tudito*  
'the corn, wheat, and barley didn't ripen, we lost everything'  
b. *come trigo-ta, cebada-ta, todo come ese rata*  
'it eats wheat, barley, that rat eats everything'  
c. *borriguito-ca ya acaba, puerco-tan ya no hay*  
'there are no more sheep, there are no more pigs'  
d. *una arroba di papa-tan cargado, así sabíamos sober*  
'carrying a sack of potatoes, that's how we would climb  
[to the village]'  
e. *esi tiempo-tan todo istá cambiando-ta*  
'in these times everything is changing'

Perhaps the most frequent stereotype of Quechua-induced morphosyntax in Andean Spanish is the use of the gerund instead of a finite conjugated verb form. It is commonly asserted that most such uses of the gerund represent transfer of the Quechua subordinating suffix *-shpa*, used when the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are identical, and the suffix *-kpi* for dissimilar subjects (e.g., Haboud 1998: 207–210; Haboud and de la Vega 2008: 175–177). In spoken Spanish, however, the gerund occurs relatively infrequently, so it is not likely that Quechua-dominant speakers are actively translating *-shpa* combinations with gerunds in Spanish. More plausibly, gerund-based constructions are so frequently heard in bilingual Andean speech communities that Quechua-dominant speakers who acquire Spanish informally simply learn this predominant pattern without any implicit awareness of morphosyntactic equivalence (e.g., Muysken 1982). Some representative examples of the Andean use of the Spanish gerund from Imbabura province, Ecuador in (22) are:

- (22) a. *tractur-ta teniendo platita-ca, tractor ponindo*  
'as for tractors, if [we] have money, [we] use a tractor'  
b. *todo llamando padrecito vene*  
'when [we] call for anything, the priest comes'

- c. cosecha *acabando* toditu *acabando* ay vuelta sembramos cebada por ahi  
'when the harvest is all over, we plant barley over there'
- d. allá en la casa chiquitica *tenendo*  
'there in that little house [I] have [*cuyes* = guinea pigs]'

Andean Spanish, again centering on Ecuador and southern Colombia, also uses the gerund in benefactive constructions, typically using *dar*: *dame comprando un periódico* 'buy me a newspaper,' *me dió abriendo la botella* 'he/she opened the bottle for me.' This type of construction may be a translation from Quichua, but is used widely by monolingual Spanish speakers as well. With the exception of *dar* + GERUND constructions, none of the contact-induced phenomena just described are found in the speech of monolingual Spanish speakers or Spanish-dominant bilinguals, and all carry connotations of marginality associated – often unfairly – with lack of educational opportunities in Spanish.

## 7 Lexical variation

Lexical differences among Spanish dialects are so numerous and all-encompassing as to elude easy classification. Linguists on both sides of the Atlantic often speak of "Americanisms" vs. "Peninsularisms," but to divide the lexicon in this fashion is a considerable oversimplification. There are, however, some common threads that lend substance to a rough Old World–New World lexical split. In addition to numerous borrowings from Native American languages, most of which have not entered the Peninsular Spanish lexicon, Latin American varieties contain several items of nautical provenance, introduced into the speech of future colonists during the long ocean crossings, and which have lost their nautical connotations in the Americas. These include *botar* (from 'bail water' to 'throw away'), *amarrar* (from 'belay an anchor line' to 'tie up [anything]'), *timón* (from 'rudder' to 'steering wheel' [in some countries]), and *arribar* (from 'make port' to simply 'arrive'). Several lexical items that are current throughout Latin America are considered archaic or have disappeared entirely from Spain: *platicar* 'to chat,' *cobija* 'blanket,' *pollera* 'rustic skirt,' *cabildo* 'municipal authority.' Words describing recent technological innovations – even when borrowed from English – often take different forms on either side of the Atlantic as well as among Latin American nations, for example, *ordenador* [Spain] – *computador/computadora* [Latin America], *teléfono móvil* [Spain and parts of Latin America] – *teléfono celular* [much of Latin America] 'cellular telephone.' 'Automobile' may be rendered as *coche* [Spain], *carro* [much of Latin America], *máquina* [Cuba], *auto* [Southern Cone], while words for 'large bus' include *autobús* [known everywhere], *autocar* [Spain], *guagua* [Caribbean and Canary Islands], *camión* [Mexico], *chiva* [Colombia], *movilidad* [Peru], *flota* [Bolivia], *colectivo* [Argentina], and *ómnibus* [Uruguay]. 'Fair-complexioned, blonde' can be *güero* [Mexico], *canche* [Guatemala], *chele* [Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua], *macho* [Costa Rica], *fulo* [Panama], *mono* [Colombia], *catire* [Venezuela], and *gringo* [much of South America]. Slang and taboo items further complicate the

lexical profile of the Spanish language, as does dialect mixing resulting from demographic displacements, so that dialect classification via lexical criteria is a frustrating enterprise. In addition to a few core lexical items particular to each region, the main points of lexical stability involve morphological endings, especially diminutive suffixes, and choice of second-person pronouns and the accompanying verb morphology.

### 7.1 *Variation in diminutive suffixes*

All varieties of Spanish share the productive diminutive suffixes *-ito/-ita*, used to express a wide range of meanings from size to endearment to scorn; the suffixes *-illo/-illa*, while still relatively productive, are largely restricted to specialized or nondiminutive meanings (e.g., *ojillos* 'beady eyes,' *amiguillo* 'questionable friend,' *mundillo* 'closed clique,' *abogadillo* 'disreputable lawyer'). In addition, there are several regional diminutive suffixes that continue to be productive. In Spain *-iño/-iña* is frequent in Galicia, *-ino/-ina* can still be heard in Extremadura, *-ín* is productive in Asturias, *-ete* in Catalunya, Valencia and parts of Aragon, and *-ico/-ica*, once common in old Spanish and still used in Judeo-Spanish, is found in Aragon, Navarra, and Murcia, and in Latin America in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Ecuador, Colombia, Costa Rica, and occasionally elsewhere (Lipski 1999b). In Spain, *-ico* can in principle be attached to any noun or adjective; in Latin America, *-ico* is restricted to words whose final consonant is /t/ (or occasionally the group /tr/): *momentico* 'just a moment,' *chiquitico* 'very little,' *maestrica* 'dear teacher.' The diminutive suffixes *-ingo/-inga* are productive in eastern Bolivia, and occasionally are heard elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> In Murcia and parts of Granada, *-iquio/-iquia* occasionally are found, while *-icho/-icha* appear from time to time in Aragon and La Mancha and surrounding areas.

### 7.2 *Second-person subject pronouns and accompanying verb forms*

Most varieties of Spanish exhibit a choice of second-person singular subject pronouns that roughly express the familiar–formal dichotomy, while only in Peninsular Spain is this distinction maintained in the plural, via the *vosotros–ustedes* choice. Pragmatic factors governing the choice of familiar vs. formal pronouns are complex and vary considerably across geographical regions, social classes, and age- and gender-defined cohorts. The availability of specific pronouns and the accompanying verbal morphology is largely defined by region, in a few instances intersected by social and ethnic variables. *Usted* and *ustedes* are found in all varieties of Spanish; all variation involves second-person pronouns expressing familiarity.

In Peninsular Spain, the second-person familiar subject pronouns are *tú* and *vosotros*. *Vosotros* was traditionally absent in western Andalusia and the Canary Islands, but is increasingly frequent in all of Andalusia. In Equatorial Guinea and the Philippines, both *ustedes* and *vosotros* are used, sometimes indiscriminately, as a

reflection of the varied Peninsular origins of colonial settlers and administrators (Lipski 1987a, 2008d). In Latin America, *ustedes* is the only second-person plural pronoun, while among singular pronouns *vos* is the main alternative to the familiar *tú*. Páez Urdaneta (1981) offers an overview of *voseo* usage. *Vos*, originally a plural pronoun in Latin and old Spanish, always has singular non-formal reference in Latin American Spanish, and always combines with the object clitic *te*, rather than *os* – the clitic corresponding to *vosotros*. Every Latin American nation except Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic has at least some speech communities where *vos* is used. Attitudes toward the use of *vos* vary widely. In Southern Cone nations and in parts of Central America (particularly Nicaragua following the 1979 Sandinista revolution: Lipski 1997), *vos* is generally accepted as the national standard and is freely used in advertising and in public discourse where familiar pronouns are appropriate. In countries where *vos* is confined to smaller regions, speakers may exhibit ambivalence, being proud of using a distinctive regional trait but often reluctant to use *vos* outside of their own speech community.

There are a few Latin American dialect zones in which *usted* predominates even when familiar reference is intended. This includes Costa Rica and parts of the Colombian interior. In the latter region *su merced* ‘your mercy’ sometimes shifts from a deferential form of address to an expression of extreme familiarity (Ruíz Morales 1987). Similar uses of *su merced* have been reported for the Dominican Republic (Pérez Guerra 1988).

## 8 Summary

The preceding sections have provided a glimpse into the range of variation that characterizes the Spanish language throughout the world. The descriptions are, of necessity, snapshots representative of the time of writing (mid-2010), and must be set against the backdrop of a rapidly changing world. The turn of the twenty-first century has witnessed rapid shifts in social communication patterns as well as increased demographic mobility, and the consequences for dialect variation are only beginning to be fully appreciated. One example of the linguistic “new world order” is increased exposure to national prestige norms in mass communication and telecommunications media. In much of Latin America, cable television is now readily available in peripheral regions of several countries where previously no national channels could be received. Mobile telephones and Internet access are now functional in numerous places where landline infrastructure would probably never have been possible, and the increased use of text messaging, blogs, chat rooms, and e-mail has provided easy communication links between isolated speech communities and compatriots far from home. On the one hand, greater exposure to national norms often results in the attenuation of regional and local dialect traits, but, on the other hand, the availability of chat rooms and blogs appears to be reinforcing the use of minority languages and dialects, such as Sephardic (Judeo) Spanish, Aragonese, Chabacano (Philippine Creole Spanish), and intertwined Spanish–English code-switching, to name only a few cases. Increased ethnic

awareness and pride in previously stigmatized languages and dialects is also raising the profile and self-esteem of minority dialects, such as the local Spanish vernacular of San Basilio de Palenque, Colombia, (Morton 2005; Schwegler and Morton 2003), the once-stigmatized “liquid gliding” of /r/ and /l/ in the Dominican Cibao region (Pérez Guerra 1991), the upsurge of Spanish–Quichua hybrids known as *media lengua* or *chaupi shimi* ‘half-language’ in northern Ecuador (Gómez Rendón 2008), and the rising popularity of *portuñol/fronterizo* speech in northern Uruguay (e.g., literary and cultural production such as Behares and Díaz 1998, Behares et al. 2006). Massive migrations from rural areas to major cities continue to occur throughout Latin America, with the result that cities like Lima, Guayaquil, Bogotá, Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia), Mérida and Tijuana (Mexico), and Caracas have become multi-dialectal mosaics in which rapid sociolinguistic evolution is all but inevitable. Increased communication – by electronic means or demographic proximity – thus embodies the potential both for rapid dialect leveling and for greater awareness and maintenance of dialectal features as identity markers. The only impossible outcome is the creation or retention of rigid geographical and social dialect boundaries.

## NOTES

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- 1 <http://www.cervantes.es>. Other estimates, such as those by Ethnologue (<http://www.ethnologue.com>) and UNESCO (<http://www.unesco.org>), also give totals around the 400 million figure.
- 2 Since Argentina unilaterally claims a large swath of Antarctica, and maintains small but permanent bases (as does Chile), one could arguably stretch the boundaries of the Spanish-speaking world past the Antarctic Circle.
- 3 In most of the Spanish- and English-speaking world, this language is referred to as *Quechua*, despite the fact that the language possesses only three vowel phonemes, /i/, /a/, and /u/. In Ecuador, the official name is *Quichua*; examples drawn from Ecuador will employ this variant.
- 4 A somewhat similar Portuguese–Spanish variety, albeit with different historical antecedents, is spoken in the Portuguese town of Barrancos, along the border with southwestern Spain. Navas Sánchez-Elez (1992) and Clements (2009: ch. 8) provide details.
- 5 For example, *fotingo* < *Ford-ingo* is a now dated expression used in Cuba to refer to a decrepit old automobile.

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