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INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN THE PHRASEOLOGY OF THE SPANISH SPOKEN IN ARGENTINA: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the study of the indigenous component in the diatopic phraseology of Argentinian Spanish. A methodology based on the corpus *EsTenTen11* is applied using *Sketch Engine* to check the frequency of a sample of phraseological units of the conceptual field character-manner-attitude-conduct not included in the DLE (Dictionary of the Spanish Language). The sources used come from dictionaries, which are in turn validated by indigenous informants. The types of phraseological variations detected in the journalistic corpus which are not included in the dictionaries are identified. The results reveal that 5% of the phraseological units have components of indigenous languages and that there is a link between the amount of phraseological units provided by each language and its frequency of use. Quechua has the highest number of very frequent phraseological units, followed by Guaraní and Mapuche. Internal lexical variants, internal morpholexical variants, structural variants, as well as internal morphological inflections have been detected.

Keywords: Phraseology; Diatopic variation; Spanish of Argentina; Indigenous Languages.



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Resumen

El presente trabajo se centra en el estudio del componente indígena en la fraseología diatópica del español de Argentina. Metodológicamente se aplica la lingüística de corpus *EsTenTen11* y se emplea el software *Sketch Engine* para comprobar la frecuencia de una muestra de unidades fraseológicas (UF) del campo conceptual carácter-forma de ser-actitud-conducta no recogidas en el DLE. Las fuentes empleadas proceden de diccionarios, que a su vez se validan por informantes autóctonos. Se identifica los tipos de variaciones fraseológicas detectadas en el corpus periodístico y no registradas en los diccionarios. Los resultados revelan que el 5% de las UF tienen componentes de lenguas originarias y existe una relación directa entre la cantidad de UF aportadas por cada una de las lenguas y su frecuencia de uso. El quechua tiene el mayor número de UF muy frecuentes, seguido del guaraní y el mapuche. Se han detectado variantes internas léxicas, variantes internas morfo-léxicas, variantes estructurales, así como inflexiones internas morfológicas.

Palabras clave: Fraseología; variación diatópica; español hablado en Argentina; lenguas originarias.

1. Introduction

The diatopic variety of Spanish, also called “*la variedad en el espacio* (variety in space)” (cf. Coseriu 1990: 56), can be manifested through the use of phraseological units that usually present some modifications regarding their peninsular form, or that have, among their components, indigenous words recalling the particularities acquired by those languages with a wide geographical reach. In fact, as stated in the preamble of the twenty-third edition of the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (DLE), which is the Dictionary of the Spanish Language of the Royal Spanish Academy, the spreading of the Spanish language, to which each Spanish-speaking region has contributed thousands of words, has been and is so extensive that one can only expect a vast lexicon of more than 88,000 words. In this sense, according to Lipski (2004: 1118), the diversity provided by American Spanish is a product:

not only of its European heritage and internal evolution, but also of the variety of contacts with native languages, and of forced and voluntary immigration.

The impact of indigenous languages on American Spanish has been shown to influence, without exception, all levels of the language, even beyond the inclusion of lexical loanwords (cf. Palacios 2008:18). To that concern, Rosenblat (2002:140) argues that:

since 1492, these languages have incorporated into American Spanish a series of elements such as intonation, articulatory features, suffixes, terms for the flora and fauna and for the material and spiritual life, and, in bilingual regions, even syntactic molds.

This diversity can also be observed in the phraseological universe of Spanish, in which the idiosyncratic creations of each of the Spanish-speaking linguistic regions are reflected. These language units, which contain cultural elements specific to each linguistic region, are not always comprehensible to Spanish users or to users from other Spanish-speaking regions, even though they are expressed in the common tongue. Given this diverse picture, as Moreno de Alba (1993:47) states:

There is an undeniable need to explain how and why American Spanish, without losing its essential unity with European Spanish, is acquiring its own physiognomy in its phonological, phonetic, grammatical and lexical levels.

Therefore, the diversity provided by indigenous American languages, some of which are extinct and others still in use, is a central characteristic and a key factor of differentiation in American Spanish, and there is no doubt of the influence of these languages on the lexical and phraseological configuration of Spanish in general. However, the role that indigenous languages have played and continue to play in American Spanish is known to vary according to very different factors such as the intensity of the contact, the bilingualism or monolingualism of speakers, the degree of acquisition of Spanish and geographic isolation, among others.

In Argentina, from the very moment of its formation, society was configured as a community of languages in contact, in which migratory processes generated complex identities as a result of ethnic and cultural diversity (cf. Siguan 2001: 15). The heterogeneous and constant nature of migratory movements from European countries, mostly from Italy and Spain, that arrived since the last third of the 19th century to the Río de la Plata

region, in general, and to Argentina, in particular, together with the indigenous substratum, generated a wide spectrum of interlinguistic and intra-linguistic contact situations. As a result of this process, it can be noted that, although Spanish is currently the official language of Argentina, it is not the only language spoken in the country. The study of foreign terms and of the phraseology of a language that is spoken in different geographical regions, as is the case of the Spanish language, not only helps to improve our knowledge of the language in question, but also brings us closer to the culture of the different peoples of influence, as Sapir (1954: 259) states:

A thorough analysis of such loanwords can be an interesting commentary on the history of the culture. It is almost possible to determine the role that various peoples have played in the development and diffusion of cultural ideas by the degree to which their vocabulary has infiltrated that of other peoples.

Undoubtedly, these traces can also be observed in their phraseological universe and show the language's capacity for assimilation and growth. However, according to Koike (2001: 110):

Hispanic linguistics has paid (and still pays) little attention to phraseological variation, mainly due to the lack of phraseological data covering the entire Hispanic area with which research on the subject can be carried out.

However, if compared to the treatment given to other phraseological variants (morphological, lexical, syntactic, etc.), the study of sociolinguistic variants and, therefore, also of diatopic variants, has occupied a peripheral place within the studies of phraseology. Regarding this issue, Penadés Martínez (2012: 48) affirms that:

if sociolinguistic variants are excluded from the analysis of phraseological variants [...], an authentic analysis of the reality of the language cannot be obtained, as this reality varies, changes and is modified with the passage of time, with the transition from one area to another, by the different speakers (young, adult, men, women, educated, uneducated, etc.) who use it in different communicative situations (formal, informal, etc.), and with different modalities (oral, written, etc.).

In recent years, and parallel to the boom of phraseology, great efforts have been made to collect, systematize and describe the phraseological units of Spanish thanks to the contribution of corpus linguistics to phraseological

research, which allows experts to make inter- and intralinguistic comparisons. In this sense, the appearance of some recent papers, such as those of Mogorrón (2014a, 2014b, 2015a, 2015b), Navarro Brotons (2011) Navarro Brotons & Cuadrado Rey (2016), should be noted. They provide the first results of the contrastive and multilingual analysis of Mexican, Peninsular Spanish and Argentinian variants via the incorporation of specialized software and the use of textual corpora in the studies of diatopic variants of Spanish. Except for a few papers (Corpas Pastor, 2018, Mogorrón, 2018, Bolaños-Fabres, 2015), there is little research carried out in the field of the Spanish phraseology addressing the presence of indigenous languages in the different American variants of Spanish. This situation may be due to the fact that efforts have traditionally been focused on lexical studies as opposed to those of set phrases in both lexicographic and dialectological methodology (cf. Haensch 1997: 286; Casado Velarde 2005: 689-690).

2. Research proposal

This paper addresses the presence of components of indigenous languages in the phraseology of the Spanish spoken in Argentina. It considers, just like Mogorrón (2014a), that together with the Mexican variety, the Argentinian variety is one of the most complex due to its geographic extension, number of speakers, distribution of native speakers who regard it as their mother tongue, contact with indigenous languages or as a language of migrants, among others. Therefore, the main objectives of this study are the following:

1. To establish a state of the art regarding the development of the phraseology and the phraseography of the Spanish spoken in Argentina.
2. To contextualize the current situation of indigenous languages in Argentina.
3. To establish the frequency of use in journalistic texts of a corpus of phraseological units belonging to the conceptual field character-manner-attitude-conduct which are not included in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (DLE).

4. To identify the types of variations of the phraseological units of the corpus detected in the journalistic corpus that are not included in the dictionaries of the Argentinian variety.

Regarding its structure, this paper is divided into seven sections. The first section contains an introduction, followed by the objectives of this paper, which are listed in the second section. The third section addresses the first objective and establishes a state of the art in relation to the development of the phraseology and the phraseography of the Spanish spoken in Argentina. The fourth section addresses the second objective and contextualizes the current situation of indigenous languages in Argentina. The fifth section describes the methodology, sources, selection criteria and tools used to compile and test the corpus created for this paper. The sixth section addresses the third (6.1) and fourth objectives (6.2), which aim to determine the frequency of use of the corpus of phraseological units in journalistic texts and to identify the different types of phraseological variants. The seventh section focuses on delivering the conclusions of this paper.

3. Phraseology and phraseography of the Spanish spoken in Argentina

Among the papers focusing on the study of the phraseology of the Argentinian variant, Zamora's (1993) contribution should be cited. The author compares phraseological units from Buenos Aires with their peninsular equivalents and highlights both divergent and common elements. Sciutto's PhD thesis (2005a) addresses the somatic phraseological units of the Spanish of Río de la Plata and he (Sciutto 2005b) subsequently studies these units from a contrastive and interlinguistic perspective. In a recent paper, the author (Sciutto 2015) expands this initial corpus of somatisms and analyzes them from a morphosyntactic perspective. Pauer (2008) addresses linguistic phraseology in the area of Río de la Plata from a contrastive perspective with Peninsular Spanish and reports similarities and differences between Argentinian and Uruguayan expressions. Cuadrado Rey (2016) proposes a compilation of Argentinian phraseological units that are not included in dictionaries and makes a proposal for their translation into German. In a later paper (Cuadrado Rey 2018), the author analyzes the phraseological units related to the conceptual

field character-manner-attitude-conduct included in the database of the Frasytram research group of the University of Alicante and establishes a framework on phraseological variation applied to the Spanish of Argentina. This framework, which was the first of its kind, can be extendable to other varieties of Spanish. Regarding research on the phraseology of Argentinian regional variants, Soto de Matulovich's work (2008) can be cited, as it analyzes the presence of phraseological units in the press of the province of Salta. There is also a research project called "Fraseología del español hablado en la provincia de Córdoba" (Phraseology of the Spanish spoken in the province of Córdoba), directed by Professor Toniolo of the National University of Córdoba (UNC). This project is being developed with the objective of making an inventory of fixed phrases in the Cordovan modality of educated language.

As for the most relevant lexicographic works that address the phraseology of Argentinian Spanish, that is to say, that record only those words and expressions used exclusively in Argentina, Lisandro Segovia's *Diccionario fraseológico de uso* (1906) must be mentioned. This is the first dictionary written in Argentina that is exclusively phraseological, since, prior to this project, there had only been notes on phraseological elements included in speech dictionaries. However, the latter were not projects dedicated exclusively to phraseology. According to Barcia (2010), this publication can be considered the first Spanish-American phraseological dictionary. It is a total phraseological dictionary, not a contrastive one, whose edition was incorporated as one of the fourteen sections of the *Diccionario de argentinismos* (1911), which was reedited by the Academia Argentina de Letras (Argentinian Language Academy) in 2006. Among this type of dictionaries, the *Diccionario fraseológico del habla argentina, frases, dichos y locuciones*, published by Barcia and Pauer in 2010, must be included. It is an Argentinian phraseological dictionary with a contrastive analysis of Argentinian and Peninsular Spanish that is based, on the one hand, on the *Diccionario fraseológico documentado del español actual*, published by Seco, Andrés and Ramos in 2004; and, on the other hand, on the *Diccionario Espasa de dichos y frases hechas* (2007 edition) by Buitrago Jiménez. This phraseological dictionary includes around eleven thousand entries and includes phraseological units from the gaucho and lunfardo variants,

and even everyday idioms still in use that have changed their meaning over time. The growing interest in the Argentinian paremiological heritage should also be noted, as evidenced by the publication of the *Refranero de uso argentino* by Barcia and Pauer (2013). This publication carries out a complete analysis of the origin of *refranes* (sayings), their antecedents, characteristics and links with Spanish, and also of a selected bibliography of Argentinian and Spanish works. The lexicographic publications cited, as well as the incipient works addressing different aspects of Argentinian phraseology, represent the beginning of a path that will lead to reflect on and describe in greater detail the identity of this language variety.

4. The present state of indigenous languages in Argentina

Although most research on indigenous languages in Argentina focuses on the regions of contact with Guaraní (Northeast), Quechua (Northwest) and Mapuche (Patagonia), Martínez (2008) explains that, in recent decades, and as a consequence of the great influence of migrants from neighboring countries who speak Guaraní or Quechua, the interest towards research on the contact between Spanish and indigenous languages both in the city and the province of Buenos Aires has increased significantly (Martínez, 2008: 255). This author identifies four regions in which the contact between Spanish and the indigenous languages occurs (Martínez, 2008: 256). These are: 1. Regions with indigenous populations in which, in addition to the Spanish-indigenous language bilingualism, there are situations of monolingualism in the indigenous language (Salta, Jujuy or Formosa). 2. Regions with Creole bilingual speakers, as is the case in some areas of the provinces of Corrientes (Spanish-Guaraní bilingualism) and Santiago del Estero (Spanish-Quichua bilingualism). 3. Border regions with Paraguay and Bolivia, such as the province of Misiones, where Guaraní is spoken along with Spanish, the border of Formosa and Paraguay, where Guaraní also coexists with Spanish, or the Northwestern region, bordering Bolivia, where there is contact with Quechua. 4. Urban conglomerates that have increased their linguistic heterogeneity due to the influence of bilingual Quechua-Spanish immigrants from Bolivia and Peru; and Guaraní-Spanish immigrants from Paraguay.

The multicultural and multilingual panorama of these urban centers has also been enriched in recent decades with the settlement of Paraguayan, Bolivian and Peruvian citizens, who have joined internal migrants from the coast and the Northwest. Therefore, although Argentina has historically tried to conceal its ethnolinguistic plurality, this trend has been reversed in recent decades, as language contact is undeniably the rule, and monolingualism the exception (cf. Hecht 2011: 1). Thus, Argentina can now be considered a multilingual country with immense sociolinguistic and socio-cultural diversity, where, in addition to Spanish and the languages of migration, there are twelve indigenous languages belonging to five different linguistic families, as well as the Mapuche language, which does not belong to any family (Chart I).

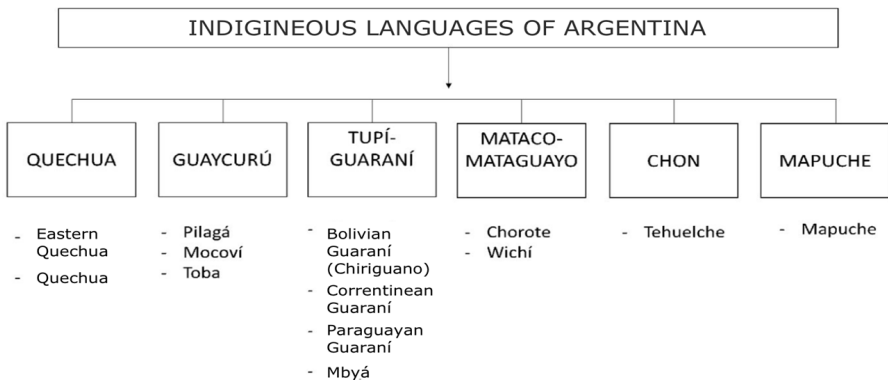


Chart I. Breakdown of indigenous languages in Argentina by linguistic families

Although each of the languages spoken in Argentina is known to have a very diverse degree of vitality and despite the fact that there are also varying degrees of their contact with Spanish, there is no exact data on the indigenous population in Argentina, on the actual number of speakers, on the language children learn to speak, or whether they are mostly monolingual or bilingual. The most recently published data that can be taken into consideration are the results of the 2010 Census, which continues the work developed for the first time in 2005 with the *Encuesta Complementaria de Pueblos Indígenas* (ECPI), or Complementary Survey of Indigenous Peoples,

of the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INDEC). The census is, according to the INDEC of the Republic of Argentina, the second systematic survey, carried out within the framework of a general population census, on the characteristics and living conditions of the population that identify themselves as belonging to and/or descending from indigenous peoples in the country. According to the results, 2.38% of the country's total population, that is, 955,032 people, identify themselves as belonging to and/or being first generation descendants of indigenous peoples. Below is a description of the situation and location of each of the five language families into which the indigenous languages currently spoken in Argentina are grouped.

4.1. *Quechua / Santiago del Estero Quichua*

Quechua was the only indigenous language in Latin America that played the role of the language of a civilization before the arrival of the Europeans. Nowadays, it is still used by several million people in different countries (Southern Colombia, Northwestern Argentina, population centers in Northern Chile as a result of contemporary emigrations, Bolivia, and, above all, Ecuador and Peru). Therefore, Quechua is one of the largest language families both geographically and in terms of its number of speakers: around twelve and half a million in the region (Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Chile and Argentina). According to Censabella (2005), there are three distinct groups of Quechua speakers in Argentina: a) migrants from Bolivia and Peru who have settled in recent years in large cities, mainly in the area of the capital and Greater Buenos Aires, b) indigenous people known as "collas", who live in Northwestern Argentina, in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy, and c) the Creole population of Santiago del Estero who speak Santiago del Estero Quichua, also known as Santiaguense Quechua.

4.2. *The Guaicuruan language family*

Within the Guaicuruan language family, of Chaco origin, the Toba people are the largest ethnic group and are found mainly in the provinces of Chaco, Formosa and, to a lesser extent, in the East of Salta. In the last decade, as Martínez (2008: 259) states, numerous Toba families have settled in Santa

Fe and Buenos Aires. In the town of Derqui, in the province of Buenos Aires, research on the validity of the language, the maintenance of the Toba identity and their education is being carried out.

4.3. *The Tupí–Guaraní language family*

The Northeast of Argentina, bordering Brazil and Paraguay, has traditionally been referred to as the Guaranitic region (Vidal de Battini 1964). It is a border region comprising the Argentinean provinces of Corrientes, Chaco, Formosa and Misiones, and the north of Entre Ríos. As for the dominance of this language, it is worth noting that, when Spanish was established as the official language of the colonial administration, Guaraní was the language used by many riverside populations along the Paraná River not only in their interpersonal relationships, but also for commercial exchange. Two relevant factors regarding the current vitality of Guaraní must be pointed out: on the one hand, its status of co-official language in Paraguay and, on the other hand, the high degree of mobility of its speakers due to the free movement of people facilitated by the MERCOSUR treaty between Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela.

The Guaraní language, together with the Chiriguano and Mbyá languages, belongs to the Tupí–Guaraní language family. Within this family, there are eight languages specifically called Guaraní, which are spoken by more than five million people throughout the continent. Four languages of this family are spoken in Argentina: 1. Eastern Bolivian Guaraní, or Ava Guaraní, spoken by Chiriguano, Chané and Tapiete people from the provinces of Salta and Jujuy; 2. Correntinean Guaraní, mainly spoken in the province of Corrientes, but also in Chaco, Misiones, Formosa and, due to migrations, in Rosario and Buenos Aires; 3. Paraguayan Guaraní, spoken by migrants from Paraguay; 4. Mbyá, spoken by the Mbyá people in Misiones.

4.4. *The Mataco–Mataguaya language family*

According to Censabella (2005), other Chaco languages spoken in Argentina, Wichí, Nivaclé and Chorote belong to the Mataguayan language family. The Wichí language has the largest number of speakers, around sixty thousand people, and is located in the provinces of Chaco, Formosa,

and Salta. The Nivaclé and the Chorote people are mainly found in Salta. The Vilela language is still in use but has very few speakers and is in serious danger of disappearing.

4.5. *Mapuche*

The Mapuche people live in the provinces of Neuquén, Río Negro, La Pampa and Chubut. There are also groups in the province of Buenos Aires. According to Virkel (2004: 243), given the current relevance and spreading of Mapuche, it can be considered the most relevant indigenous language in South America. He also notes that, in rural Chubut, there are many loanwords of this language related to flora, fauna, topography, food, clothing, musical instruments and religion.

4.6. *Chonan languages*

To this linguistic family of Patagonia belong the extinct languages of Tierra del Fuego, Selk'nam, and Haush, as well as Tehuelche, which is now extinct and whose grammar was systematized by Fernández Garay (2002).

5. Methodology, sources and corpus

Of all the terms used in research to refer to the units studied by phraseology, this paper uses the term Phraseological Unit (PU). This name is closely linked to the term designating the discipline, is highly accepted internationally and encompasses all the different types of set phrases. As Corpas Pastor (1996) describes, they are lexical units composed of a minimum of two or more graphic words at their lower limit, being able to reach the level of the compound sentence. Due to the great variety of types of PUs present in languages and given the inability to address all these phraseological categories in the same paper, this analysis focuses on the so-called “fixed verb phrases” (Mogorrón, 2008, 2010, 2012), which include the following set phrases: 1. verbal idioms; 2. verbal collocations; 3. support verbs; and 4. comparative verb phrases.

The subcorpus, which is described below and will be used as the basis of this analysis, is part of the multilingual database of the Frasytram research group of the University of Alicante, which contains about 45,000 PUs.

The basis of this corpus comprises phraseological units of the Peninsular Spanish variety, but it also includes diatopic variants of American Spanish and its equivalents in several languages.

5.1. Sources, delimitation criteria, selection and classification

The corpus compiled for this paper focuses on the phraseological units of Argentinian Spanish with components of indigenous languages that belong to the conceptual field character-manner-attitude-conduct. The corpus has been compiled using two different sources: on the one hand, lexicographical works and, on the other hand, data provided by informants through surveys. The initial hypothesis of this paper has considered that, by combining two types of sources, the data compiled would be more complete and would include either phraseological units of recent creation or units that are not collected in lexicographic works. Below, the sources used are explained in detail.

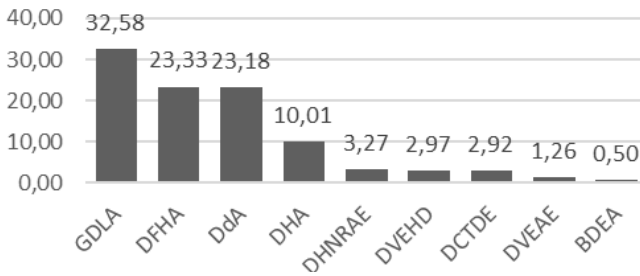
5.2. Lexicographical sources

In the lexicographic practice, the compilation of lexical material can be carried out through two different means: through secondary sources, compiling useful materials from other dictionaries and lexicographic studies, or through primary sources, taking advantage of a corpus of original materials such as texts, recordings and surveys, among others (cf. Haensch 1997: 54).

Since any corpus must meet the criterion of data authenticity, special attention has been paid to the sources used to collect the phraseological units of the corpus. For this purpose, two different types of sources have been employed: on the one hand, nine different lexicographic sources that collect Argentinean phraseological units and, on the other hand, data provided by Argentinean informants. The following dictionaries were used as lexicographic sources: *Diccionario de coloquialismos y términos dialectales del español* (2011), *Diccionario fraseológico del habla argentina. Frases, dichos y locuciones* (2010), *Diccionario de americanismos* (2010), *Gran diccionario de los argentinos* (2009), *Diccionario del habla de los argentinos* (2008), *Diccionario de hispanoamericanismos no recogido por la Real Academia*

(2006), *Diccionario de uso del español de América y España. Diccionario Vox* (2003), *Diccionario del verbo español, hispanoamericano y dialectal* (2000), *Breve diccionario ejemplificado de americanismo* (1999).

Based on these selection criteria, the final corpus contains only phraseological units that are not included in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (DLE), edited by the Royal Spanish Academy. The current edition, which is its twenty-third edition, was published in 2014 and, although it offers a total of 93,111 entries compared to 88,431 in the previous edition, with a total of 195,439 meanings and nearly 140,000 amendments that affect around 49,000 entries, the phraseological units of the corpus of this paper are not included in the dictionary. As a result of the application of these exclusion criteria, a lexicographic corpus of a total of 1,989 phraseological units has been compiled. Graph 1 shows the percentage of phraseological units contributed to the corpus by each lexicographic source:



Graph 1. Percentage of PUs by source consulted (%).¹

1. GDLA. *Gran diccionario de los argentinos*. 32,58% (648)
- DFHA. *Diccionario fraseológico del habla argentina. Frases, dichos y locuciones*. 23,33% (464)
- DdA. *Diccionario de Americanismos*. 23,18% (461)
- DHA. *Diccionario del Habla de los argentinos*. 10,01% (199)
- DHNRAE. *Diccionario de hispanoamericanismos no recogidos por la Real Academia Española*. 3,27% (65)
- DVEHD. *Diccionario del verbo español, hispanoamericano y dialectal*. 2,97% (25)
- DCTDE. *Diccionario de coloquialismos y términos dialectales del español*. 2,92 % (58)
- DUEAE. *Diccionario de uso del español de América y España*. 1,26% (59)
- BDEA. *Breve diccionario de americanismos*. 0,50% (10)

5.3. Informants and surveys

Given the dynamics of language and the fact that the language units used by a linguistic community are not necessarily included in dictionaries, surveys of informants residing in Argentina and belonging to different age groups, and with different educational backgrounds, were used for this paper. These surveys were conducted between July and August 2015 in Buenos Aires. In total, thirty informants belonging to three age groups were included.

The first group is composed of eight people between twenty and thirty-five years old, the second group comprises twelve people between thirty-six and fifty years of age, and the last group includes ten people over fifty years of age.

As for the origin of the selected informants, fifteen of them are from Buenos Aires, both from the capital (Autonomous City of Buenos Aires) and from the Buenos Aires conurbation (*Conurbano Bonaerense* in Spanish). The remaining fifteen live in nearby towns located in the Province of Buenos Aires (La Plata, Luján and Mar del Plata, among others). Four informants were born in other provinces such as Córdoba, Santa Fe, Misiones or Tucumán, but have been living in the aforementioned areas in Buenos Aires for more than fifteen years.

Regarding the informants' level of education, 60% (18) have intermediate education. Informants with higher education represent a lower percentage, around 24% (7), followed by those with primary education, with 16% (5).

The questionnaire used for this paper has a two-pronged approach that contemplates both the identification of the phraseological units and the inclusion of possible variations. In this context, the criteria of judgment, necessity, and prestige proposed by Haensch (1993) have taken into account. According to the criterion of judgment, the speakers of a language perfectly know the units that are most frequently used. The criterion of necessity addresses those lexical units that are only used in certain domains, but that are fundamental within these; and, finally, the criterion of prestige addresses those units that are little used, but that are so necessary in certain subjects that will eventually become generalized (Haensch

1993). The questionnaire includes the Argentinian phraseological units selected from the aforementioned lexicographical sources. The informants were asked to read the phraseological units in the questionnaire and point out those units unknown to them or that they consider to be in disuse. As a result of the evaluation of all the answers provided by the informants, it can be concluded that 9% of the phraseological units belonging to the corpus of this paper are in disuse. However, if a total analysis of the phraseological units included in the survey is carried out taking into account only those units that were marked as in disuse by at least five informants, then this percentage is reduced to 5%.

5.4. Selection of the Argentinian phraseological units with components of indigenous languages

Taking into account the above-mentioned sources and delimitation and selection criteria, the Argentinian phraseological units containing lexemes of indigenous languages were selected from the compiled corpus. A total of 101 phraseological units were obtained, which means that 5% of the initial total number of phraseological units have terms from indigenous languages among their components. A total of 47 terms from the following indigenous languages were used in the 101 phraseological units: Tehuelche (*gualicho*), Guaraní (*caracú, catinga, maraca, matete, yacaré*), Mapuche (*ají, guayo, laucha, pichi, pilcha, poncho, pucho*), Quechua (*aca, antarca, ñapa, api, cancha, carpa, caucho, chala, chancua, chocho, choclo, chongo, chúcaro, chucho, concha, cucuvica, gaucho, guacho, guampa, guanaco, guasca, mate, nana, ñaupa, ocote, ojota, papa, poroto, pupo, quincho, suri, yapa, yuyo, zapallo*).

Only 4 indigenous languages belonging to 3 linguistic families were observed to be represented in the phraseological units of the corpus. No records of phraseological units were found that contained terms belonging to languages from the Guaicuruan family, nor from the Mataco-Mataguayan family.

The distribution of terms by indigenous language in the 101 phraseological units obtained is, in descending order, as follows: Quechua (67), Guaraní (14), Mapuche (13) and Tehuelche (7). Below (Table 1), there is

an example for each term contributed by an indigenous language that is included in a phraseological unit:

Term	PU	Indigenous Language
aca	<i>no valer (alguien) ni aca</i>	Quechua
ají	<i>ser (alguien) más malo que un ají</i>	Mapuche
antarca	<i>caerse (alguien) antarca</i>	Quechua
añapa	<i>hacer (alguien) añapa (algo)</i>	Quechua
api	<i>hacer (alguien) api (algo)</i>	Quechua
cancha	<i>abrir (alguien) cancha</i>	Quechua
caracú	<i>meter (alguien) la pata hasta el caracú</i>	Guaraní
carpa	<i>hacer (alguien) (algo) con carpa</i>	Quechua
catanga	<i>ser (alguien) un negro catanga</i>	Guaraní
caucho	<i>ser (alguien) de caucho</i>	Quechua
chala	<i>fumar (alguien) en chala (a alguien)</i>	Quechua
chancua	<i>hacer (alguien) chancua (algo)</i>	Quechua
chocho	<i>estar (alguien) chocho</i>	Quechua
choclo	<i>cargar (alguien) con el choclo</i>	Quechua
chongo	<i>ser (alguien) un chongo</i>	Quechua
chúcaro	<i>ser (alguien) chúcaro/a</i>	Quechua
chucho	<i>andar (alguien) con chucho</i>	Quechua
concha	<i>hacer (alguien) concha (algo)</i>	Quechua
cucuvica	<i>hacer (alguien) cucuvicas</i>	Quechua
gaucho	<i>ser (alguien) gaucho</i>	Quechua
guacho	<i>ser (alguien) un guacho</i>	Quechua
gualicho	<i>dar (a alguien) gualicho</i>	Tehuelche
guampa	<i>clavar (alguien) las guampas</i>	Quechua
guanaco	<i>ser (alguien) un guanaco</i>	Quechua
guasca	<i>dar (alguien) guasca (a alguien)</i>	Quechua
guayo	<i>colgar (alguien) los guayos</i>	Mapuche
laucha	<i>ser (alguien) una laucha</i>	Mapuche

maraca	<i>ser (alguien) una maraca /un maraca</i>	Guaraní
mate	<i>estar (alguien) (bien/mal) del mate</i>	Quechua
matete	<i>hacerse (alguien) un matete</i>	Guaraní
nana	<i>hacerse (alguien) nana</i>	Quechua
ñaupa	<i>ser (algo o alguien) del tiempo del ñaupa</i>	Quechua
ocote	<i>estar (alguien) con el ocote afuera</i>	Quechua
ojota	<i>parar (alguien) la ojota</i>	Quechua
papa	<i>ser (algo) una papa</i>	Quechua
pichi	<i>ser (alguien) un pichi</i>	Mapuche
pilcha	<i>empilcharse (alguien)</i>	Mapuche
poncho	<i>pisar (alguien) el poncho</i>	Mapuche
poroto	<i>anotarse (alguien) un poroto</i>	Quechua
pucho	<i>fiar(le) (alguien) un pucho (a alguien)</i>	Mapuche
pupo	<i>rascarse (alguien) el pupo</i>	Quechua
quincho	<i>tener (alguien) (un) quincho</i>	Quechua
suri	<i>hacerse (alguien) el suri</i>	Quechua
yacaré	<i>ser (alguien) yacaré</i>	Quaraní
yapa	<i>estar (alguien) de yapa</i>	Quechua
yuyo	<i>echarse (alguien) a los yuyos</i>	Quechua
zapallo	<i>ser (alguien) un zapallo</i>	Quechua

Table 1. Argentinian phraseological units with components of indigenous languages

The following two examples of phraseological cards were created for each of the phraseological units gathered from the above-mentioned sources. They include the phraseological unit (1), its definition (2), its source (3), a use case, together with the URL where the use case can be found and its date of publication (4), and comments (5):

1. UF	2. Definición de la expresión
<i>ser (alguien) yacaré</i>	Se utiliza para denominar a los oriundos de la provincia de Corrientes, por la presencia de este animal, especialmente, en la zona de los Esteros del Iberá.
	3. Fuente de la expresión
	Encuesta
4. Ejemplo de uso, fuente, fecha, enlace.	
Leonardo Mayer, es un yacaré bravo, que dejó a Argentina en un grupo mundial. https://www.todocorrientes.com/m/noticia_13319_mayerunyacarbravoquedejaargentinaenelgrupomundial-2.htm 15.09.2016	
5. Observaciones	
Según el DLE un yacaré es América Meridional un caimán, un reptil emidosaurio.	

Phraseological card I. Guaraní

1. UF	2. Definición de la expresión
<i>abrir (alguien) cancha</i>	Coloquial. Apartar o eliminar los obstáculos para llegar a un lugar o para conseguir un objetivo.
	3. Fuente de la expresión
	GDLA
4. Ejemplo de uso, fuente, fecha, enlace.	
Dejó afuera a Mauricio Pineda y se inclinó por jugar con líbero (Roberto Ayala) y stoppers (Nelson Vivas, quien entra por el marginado Gustavo Lombardi, y Roberto Sensini). Así le abrió cancha a Sergio Berti, quien se moverá como carrilero, pero con obligaciones defensivas, al igual que Diego Simeone. http://edant.clarin.com/diario/1998/04/22/r-06201d.htm , Clarín, 22.04.1998	
5. Observaciones	
El DRAE registra cancha con origen en el quechua <i>kancha</i> y con el significado de, recinto, patio. Además, el diccionario incluye cuatro locuciones que contienen el vocablo <i>cancha</i> , la primera es de uso general, <i>dar cancha a alguien</i> con el significado de ‘reconocerle la capacidad de actuar conforme a su voluntad en un determinado asunto’. Las siguientes dos son de uso únicamente en Cuba, <i>estar alguien en cancha</i> ‘estar bien preparado o entrenado para algo determinado’ y <i>estar alguien fuera de cancha</i> . ‘No estar preparado o entrenado para algo determinado’. La última locución citada es estar en su cancha ‘estar en su elemento’ es de uso en Chile, Nicaragua y Paraguay.	

Phraseological card II. Quechua

5.5. Evaluation of the phraseological units with an extensive corpus

Once the corpus of phraseological units in Argentinian Spanish that include among their components terms of indigenous languages has been compiled, this paper also aims at establishing, with the help of large corpora, the frequency of use of each phraseological unit in journalistic texts and detecting possible variants not yet registered.

The online tool *Sketch Engine* (SkE) has been used, which is a corpus analysis and management software that performs textual analysis of corpora with special emphasis in collocates and word distribution patterns (Kilgariff et al 2014). This tool has many applications, which include generating lists of most frequent words, detecting concordance and retrieving lexical collocations and packages to study word distribution, frequent expressions or collocates (Zanettin 2012). *Sketch Engine* (SkE) can also process different types of corpora. On the one hand, the tool includes compiled corpora in different languages to which it provides access, and, on the other hand, users can create their own corpus by uploading files to the platform or creating it automatically with the tool *WebBootCat* using keywords, among other functions.

This paper has used the corpus *esAmTenTen11* (American Spanish), which contains 8,641,717,816 tokens, 7,475,579,365 words and 17,913,256 files, and it has automatically been aligned using the *Freeling pipeline v5* software. The corpus includes 18 national varieties of American Spanish, although it should be noted that the Argentinian variety is the largest, as it represents 39% of the total corpus, with 3,338,970,830 tokens.

6. Results

6.1. Frequency of use of the phraseological units

Sketch Engine can be used to search for contexts in which certain combinations of words or lemmas occur, including inflected forms. This question is of great relevance due to particularities of the Argentinian variety such as *voseo* (referring to somebody as “vos”) and the consequent variations in the verbal paradigm. In addition, the tool can limit the search to newspaper websites with the .edu, .gov, .org and .com extensions of the .ar domain assigned to websites in Argentina. The initial corpus of 101 Argentinian

phraseological units with components of indigenous languages was used to determine the frequency of use of each of these PUs. Since the phraseological units from the corpus showed three differentiated frequency ranges, they were divided into three categories: very frequent (presence in more than 400 web pages/ frequency ≥ 0.12); frequent (presence in more than 146 web pages/ frequency ≥ 0.01); and infrequent (presence in less than 10 web pages/ frequency of ≤ 0.01).

The results show that 22% of the phraseological units in the corpus, a total of 22, are used very frequently in journalistic texts, from which PUs with terms from Quechua are predominant.

An example of a very frequent phraseological unit is *marcar la cancha (a alguien)*, which was found in 2,000 websites and it has a frequency of 0.6 per million.

Rank	Source	Left context	KWIC	Right context
1	conciudadanos.com.ar	ras horas al frente del Palacio de los Leones, Mónica Fein salió ayer a	marcar la cancha	respeto de la autorización que le otorgó el Concejo para aumentar el
2	wallergoobar.com.ar	Jrgencia el tribunal marcó los límites del Poder Ejecutivo, en este fallo	marca la cancha	de los poderes Legislativo y Judicial. </s><s> La Corte dice que el dipu
3	mariaherminia grande.com.ar	lidad que en la interna gane el radicalismo. </s><s> Agustín Rossi le "	marcó la cancha	" al resto del peronismo al fijar el límite para la unidad. " es con Cristine
4	anbarloche.com.ar	arme como comunidad, y no solamente cuando los poderes en puja ya	marcaron la cancha	, para especular con la desinformación mediática. </s><s> - Para los ri
5	crecercontodos.org.ar	ntificado con el proyecto nacional de Cristina. </s><s> Es por ello que	marcó la cancha	y afirmó que "el 18 es una elección atípica ya que nos va a permitir a q
6	mandostransparente.com.ar	eliminación de los topes para el cobro de las asignaciones familiares, y	marcó la cancha	de cara a la negociación salarial de 2012. "Si los empresarios tienen la

Screenshot I. PU *marcar (alguien) la cancha (a alguien)* - Sketch Engine

The tool also found that 43% of the phraseological units in the corpus, that is, 43 PUs with components of indigenous languages, are frequently used in Argentinian journalistic texts, whereas 23% of the PUs, a total of 23, are infrequently used. The following screenshot shows an example of the PU *pisar(le) (alguien) el poncho*. It can be observed that it is very infrequent, as it has been found only in 63 Argentinian websites and, therefore, has a frequency of 0.01 per million.

The screenshot shows a search interface for the phrase "pisar el poncho". The search bar at the top contains the query "simple pisar el poncho, doc.lid.com.ar,edu.ar,gov.ar.org.ar 63 (0.01 per million)". Below the search bar, there are navigation icons and a "KWIC" dropdown menu. The main area displays a table of search results with columns for "Details", "Left context", "KWIC", and "Right context".

Details	Left context	KWIC	Right context
1 rollingstone.com...	/s><s> a_candombero niaos, entre paisanos no nos	pisemos el poncho	ll </s><s> Que forma policial que tienen ustedes de c
2 arbia.org.ar	correspondiente escarnio social, pero no están para	pisar el poncho	a nadie. </s><s> MARTIN GARCIA / NAC&POP </s>
3 fmtangorosario...	"Pero hay una melena", en la revista "A ver quién nos	pisa el poncho	". </s><s> En 1925 su nombre figurará en los catálogos
4 tomasbuenosair...	is que cobran entre tres y diez euros, París pretende	pisarle al poncho	a Buenos Aires para erigirse como "nueva ciudad del
5 terra.com.ar	as popes de esta asociación (afa) en la que nadie se	pisa el poncho	ni escupe para arriba que dejen de lamentar con mag
6 lahistoriaparalel...	Milagro Salas, hace milagros, y no es chiste nadie le	pisa el poncho	y parece que hasta Kirchner no sabe como sacársela
7 aimdigital.com.ar	ar donde les viene en gana, total... ¿quien les puede	pisar el poncho	? </s><s> Hasta donde se sabe 'los bichos' desarrolli
8 folkloretradiccion...	oilo : dijo todo lo que sabia. </s><s> No hay quien le	pise el poncho	: equivale a un hombre vivo que no se deja ganar. </s>
9 discepolintang...	<s> Que lo sepan, si no saben, que a mi ninguno me	pisa el poncho	; yo soy el milonguero más mentado que en los salón
10 rallysports.com.ar	lo de nuestros vecinos tucumanos, a Gussy nadie le	piso el poncho	, tanto que se llevo el triunfo a su tierra, con la asister
11 almargen.com.ar	do especializando en estos temas y no resulta fácil "	pisarles el poncho	". </s><s> Esa es una buena senda académica y den

Screenshot 2. PU *pisar(le) (alguien) el poncho (a alguien)* - Sketch Engine

13% of the phraseological units have not been retrieved in the journalistic corpus consulted. Thus, phraseological units such as *caerse (alguien) ant- arca*, *hacerse (alguien) cuvicas*, *hacerse (alguien) el suri*, *estar (alguien) con el ocote afuera* or *colgar (alguien) los guayos* may be said to be in disuse according to the journalistic corpus.

It should be noted that there is a coincidence between the information provided by the corpus of Argentinian journalistic texts and the data supplied by the informants, since the latter already indicated the same 5 phraseological units as being in disuse in the recognition survey.

Regarding the total frequency of Argentinian phraseological units with components of indigenous languages, it can be stated that there is a direct relationship between the number of PUs contributed by each language and their frequency of use in journalistic texts. For example, Quechua has contributed 67 PUs to the total corpus and has the highest number of very frequent PUs, followed by Guaraní and Mapuche, which have contributed a total of 14 PUs and 13 PUs respectively and have a lower number of frequent PUs than Quechua. Among the less frequent PUs, there is a predominance of those with Tehuelche terms among their components. However, among the less frequent PUs, there is also a predominance of PUs with components contributed by Quechua.

The following table shows the PUs with terms of the different indigenous languages in order of decreasing numerical importance, as well as the relative lexical contribution of each of them and the most frequent PU.

Indigenous Language	Terms	Most Frequent PU	Total Number of PUs
Quechua	34	<i>marcar (alguien) la cancha (a alguien)</i>	67
Guaraní	5	<i>hacerse (alguien) un metete</i>	14
Mapuche	7	<i>pisarle (alguien) el poncho (a alguien)</i>	13
Tehuelche	1	<i>hacerle un gualicho a alguien</i>	7

Table 2. Number of terms and contributed PUs, most frequent PU by language

6.2. Detected variation

The import of elements or the imitation of patterns (Heine and Kuteva 2005) of indigenous languages can result in contact-induced changes (indirect changes) that modify usage patterns and structures already existing in the language; remove or expand the linguistic restrictions of a phenomenon; or expand the frequency of use of a known phenomenon in the language (Palacios 2010). The reason for these changes is usually the communicative strategies that allow the speaker to communicate more satisfactorily by taking advantage of the resources of both languages. This variation can also have an impact on the phraseological level, as it has already been observed, although it should be taken into account that these phraseological units with phraseological variation do not differ in meaning, as they are partially identical in their structure and components. Regarding this type of variation, this paper focuses on variants that are produced by substituting a part of the phraseological unit, which must always include in its structure a term from an indigenous language, and that are not included in the lexicographic sources used to compile the corpus.

In order to systematize the cases of variations detected through the use of the *EsTenTen11* corpus and the *Sketch Engine* tool, Montoro del Arco's variational scheme (2004) has been taken as a basis once adapted to Argentinian Spanish. Using this scheme, internal lexical variants, internal

morpholexical variants, structural variants, as well as internal morphological inflections have been detected.

Within the internal lexical variants, two types of phraseological units have been found: On the one hand, phraseological units that substitute one lexeme for another (*marcarle/dibujarle (a alguien) la cancha, dar/hacer (a alguien) gualicho*); and, on the other hand, phraseological units that substitute a lexeme for a syntagm that fills the functional gap within the internal syntax of the PU (*clavar (alguien) las guampas/el guampo/la guampada/la guampada/de la guampa y los guampos*). In this last variant, *guampa* and *guampos* are considered as a single lexical unit within the phraseological unit.

In the case of the phraseological variants created by the alteration of a multiple verbal nucleus, the speaker has several options to substitute the main verb of the PU. For example, there are five options for the following phraseological unit: *echarse/estrellarse/caerse/seirse/mandarse (someone) a los yuyos*.

On the contrary, in the case of phraseological variants created by alteration of a single verbal nucleus, there is only one possible alternative, as in the PU *marcarle* or *dibujarle (to someone) la cancha*.

As for the phraseological variants due to alterations in the nucleus of the noun phrase, the following variants were detected: *ser (alguien) de caucho/ de goma* or *ser (alguien) del tiempo/de la época del ñaupa*

Internal morpholexical variants can be described as the lexical modification of some of the components of the phraseological unit. The internal morpholexical variants that have been identified in the journalistic corpus are consistent with García-Page's contentions (1999), since most of these changes correspond, not to derivational morphology, but to the so-called appreciative affixation (augmentatives, diminutives, superlatives, etc.), as is the case of *ser (alguien) gaucho/gauchito* or *hacerse (someone) nana/nanita*.

Structural variations can be the result of lexical-quantitative modification or extension. They are comparable to the "*abreviaturas fraseológicas* (phraseological abbreviations)", which are defined by García-Page (1999) as expressions that admit either grammatical or lexical incrementation or reduction. The following phraseological units have been detected to have this type of variation: *ser (alguien) (un) (negro) catanga, ser (alguien) (un)*

pichi, ser (alguien) (un)/(una) laucha, ser (alguien) (un)/(una) maraca, tener (alguien)(un) quincho.

On the other hand, structural variants can also be the result of internal morphological or syntactic inflections. Examples of structural variants with internal morphological inflections are those that involve a change of gender or number, such as the following: *ser (alguien) gauchito/gauchita, pisarse (alguien) la(s) guasca(s).*

Although *vesre*, the inversion of the order of syllables in some words, is very typical of Argentinian speech and is a clear case of variation due to syllable transposition, no variation of this type has been identified in the corpus of phraseological units with components of indigenous languages. This absence may be related to what Gobello & Olivieri (2005) affirm, since, according to these authors, it is a particular way of speaking from Buenos Aires, which means that they consider this linguistic mechanism to have a local use restricted to the capital.

7. Conclusion

Given the examples selected and the methodology used in this study, it can be concluded that (1) the phraseology and the phraseography of the Spanish spoken in Argentina are disciplines with an incipient development and new contributions are still needed to update and describe in more detail its phraseological heritage. In addition, differential and contrastive studies are needed to identify points of convergence between the different variants of Spanish and other languages. (2) Despite the lack of exact data on the number of speakers of each language, the contextualization of the current situation has enabled the identification of twelve indigenous languages belonging to five different linguistic families, and also the identification of the regions of contact, especially in urban centers. (3) Regarding the phraseological units with components of indigenous languages of the corpora belonging to the conceptual field character-manner-attitude-conduct, and not included in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (DLE) of the Royal Spanish Academy, a total of 101 phraseological units have been identified, which amount to 5% of the initial total of phraseological units. As for the terms used, 47 terms have been identified, whose distribution

by indigenous languages is as follows: Quechua (67), Guaraní (14), Mapuche (13) and Tehuelche (7). No records of phraseological units containing terms belonging to the languages of the Guaycurú or the Mataco-Mataguayan family have been found.

When establishing the frequency of use of the corpus of phraseological units in journalistic texts, it has been concluded that there is a direct relationship between the number of PUs contributed by each of the languages and their frequency of use in journalistic texts. Quechua has the highest number of most frequent PUs, followed by Guaraní and Mapuche. Both languages also have a lower number of frequent PUs than Quechua. Among the less frequent phraseological units, those with Tehuelche terms among their components are predominant. However, Quechua also has the highest number of phraseological units in disuse. The latter were coincidentally identified by the information provided by the corpus of Argentinian journalistic texts and the data supplied by the informants.

The *EsTenTen11* corpus and the *Sketch Engine* tool have been used (4) to identify the types of variation of the corpus of phraseological units in the journalistic corpus. These phraseological variants have not been included in the dictionaries consulted. Regarding variation, internal lexical variants, internal morpholexical variants, structural variants, as well as internal morphological inflections have been detected.

Finally, among the most outstanding results, it can be underscored, at a methodological level, that the combination of lexicographic sources representing the Argentinian variety, the surveys answered by informants, the use of the extensive corpus *EsTenTen11* and the *Sketch Engine* tool, have enabled the extraction of data related to the frequency of use of the phraseological units with terms from Argentinian indigenous languages and also the addition of new knowledge to the available information on phraseological variation.

Although this paper focuses exclusively on the phraseology of the Spanish spoken in Argentina and on a single semantic field, this methodology could also be applied to other diatopic variants, in order to determine the extent of the influence of indigenous languages in the current phraseology of Spanish.

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