Grouping Spanish-speaking countries by dialect: An exploratory corpus dialectometric approach

David Ellingson Eddington Brigham Young University eddington@byu.edu



Received: 12-02-2022 Accepted: 28-05-2022 Published: 04-06-2022

How to cite: Eddington, David E. 2022. Grouping Spanish-speaking countries by dialect: An exploratory corpus dialectometric approach. *Isogloss. Open Journal of*

Romance Linguistics 8(1)/9, 1-30.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/isogloss.207

Abstract

The present study attempts to cluster Spanish-speaking countries into dialect regions by computational means. The frequencies of 592 lexical and grammatical features for 21 countries were obtained the from Corpus del Español-Web Dialects. Principal components analysis and hierarchical clustering analyses used the resulting data to group countries into dialect regions. A number of algorithms were used to rank features in terms of how much they aided in dialect classification, which allowed grouping based on a smaller set of features.

Six dialect zones were identified: European (Spain), Southern Cone (Uruguay, Argentina), Southern Central America (Costa Rica, Panama), Caribbean (Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic), Northern Central America (Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras), Andean South America (Bolivia, Paraguay, Chile, Peru). However, different subsets of features, and different clustering algorithms produced groupings that varied somewhat. The bulk of the variation dealt with where Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and the US fit into the dialect regions.

The difficulties of the computational approach to dialect classification are discussed. Allowing computer algorithms to determine dialect boundaries appears objective. However, interpreting a principal components analysis entails a degree of subjectivity. Furthermore, the plethora of different classification algorithms allows the researcher to choose the one that produces the desired outcome.

Keywords: dialectometry, Spanish dialects, corpus approach, statistical analysis.

1. Introduction

Ea

rly studies in the field of dialectology were carried out by interviewing speakers, extracting features from their speech, and then placing isoglosses on a map to delineate where the boundaries between features existed spatially. Since isoglosses for different features are notorious for not coinciding with each other, except where topographic features such as oceans and mountain ranges are found, determining the exact boundary between dialects was difficult. The use of isoglosses is also problematic in another way since linguistic features are rarely binary, as isoglosses suggest, but scalar in nature. What is more, sociolinguistic studies have uncovered the wealth of variation that exists within the bounds of what may be considered a single dialect.

Delineating dialect areas in the Spanish-speaking world has been the focus of many linguistic investigations (see Rodríguez Vázquez 2019 for a review). The early studies carried out by Armas y Céspedes (1882) and Wagner (1920) were followed by more substantial investigations that divide the Spanish-speaking world into different dialect areas in a number of different ways. Canfield (1962) makes a tripartite division, while Henríquez Ureña (1921) posits five regions. Zamora & Guitart's (1988) division includes nine and Rona (1964) suggests 16. The differences between the dialect boundaries that have been proposed is principally the result of different criteria employed by each researcher. For example, Resnick (1975) bases his on eight phonetic differences. On the one hand, we hope that precise boundaries will be found once enough features have been considered. On the other hand, reducing the complexities of language and language variation to a series of lines on a map can sometimes seem like a futile endeavor (Alba 1992).

In any event, the invention of the internet, the widespread availability of powerful computers, and the existence of large corpora have led to innovative approaches to dialect studies. The most notable characteristic of contemporary approaches is that they do not depend on small numbers of features, but follow the advice of researchers who argue that dialectology must aggregate large number of features to obtain maximally reliable results (e.g. Nerbonne 2009, Séguy 1971). Among these is the use of data from Twitter. Every second 6,000 short messages are broadcast to the world as tweets, and many of these contain geotags that allows their authors to be mapped in space. The sheer amount of language data produced in tweets makes many a linguist feel like a kid in a candy store. Some have taken advantage of the data to delineate dialect boundaries in the US (Huang et al 2016), while others have examined dialect boundaries within a single Spanish-speaking country such as Columbia (Rodríguez-Díaz et al. 2018) and Spain (Aliaga Jiménez 2003, Donoso & Sánchez 2017, García Mouton 1991, Moreno Fernández 1991). More germane to the

present paper are studies of tweets in the Spanish-speaking world (e.g. Brown 2016, Gonçalves & Sánchez 2014).

The copious amount of data produced by tweeters requires a systematic way to examine them. One approach is that of Tellez et al. (2021) who take an include-almost-everything approach to their analysis of 800 million tweets, in which they only exclude the 100 most frequent words, and very infrequent words, but retain everything else. Their give their results in terms of scalar similarities rather than setting firm dialect boundaries. Gonçalves & Sánchez (2016) take a more manageable sample of 331 words that represent 46 different concepts taken from the VARILEX project (Tinoco & Ueda 2007). For example, a 'merry-go-round' is known as a *caballitos*, *calesita*, *carrusel*, *tiovivo*, or *machina* in different regions. Their analysis combines countries into three groups: 1) Spain, 2) Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay, 3) all other countries (see also Moreno Fernández & Ueda 2018).

Another approach to determining dialect boundaries involves data from surveys. For example, Burridge et al. (2019) used the results of the Cambridge Online Survey of World Englishes to map dialect areas. That survey was principally based on vocabulary differences such as different words for traffic circle, tennis shoes, and pill bugs. In a similar vein, the VARILEX database (Tinoco & Ueda 2007) contains 2382 words representing 206 different concepts in Spanish. Among these are words for closet, ring, and suspenders. Speakers from 47 Spanish-speaking cities, principally capital cities, were asked to choose which word they use for each concept. Based on the results of the survey, Ueda (2009) suggests six major dialect areas: 1) Spain, 2) Caribbean: Puerto Rico, Cuba, Dominican Republic 3) Mexico, 4) Central America: Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panama, Honduras, Nicaragua, Colombia, Venezuela, 5) Andean countries: Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, 6) Southern Cone: Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina.

An innovative approach to grouping countries is that of Quesada Pacheco (2014), which involved asking speakers from each country which countries sounded most similar to their own. According to speakers' perceptions eight divisions exist: 1) Cuba, Puerto Rico, Panama, Northern Venezuela, Northern Colombia, 2) Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Southern Venezuela, Southern Colombia, 3) Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay, Argentina, 4) Mexico, 5) Guatemala, 6) Honduras, 7) Costa Rica, 8) El Salvador. What makes his findings unusual is the fine-grained differentiation between Central America countries, rather than their conglomeration.

All of these approaches fall into what has been called dialectometry which can be defined as using computational means to study dialectal differences (see Wieling & Nerbonne 2015 for an overview). One subdomain of dialectometry is corpus-based dialectometry, which involves computational analyses of corpora (Szmrecsanyi 2011). One example of using corpora to delineate dialect boundaries is Grieve's study (2012) of letters written to the editor in a number of major cities in the US. In those letters he examined variation in adverb placement (e.g. *often repeated* versus *repeated often*). In another corpus Grieve (2011) studied the variable use of contractions (e.g. *don't* versus *do not*, 2011) in American English. In both studies, and used the results to computationally determine dialect areas.

The first attempts at grouping Spanish-speaking countries according to their linguistic similarities relied on the author's personal experience, reports of dialect features reported by other researchers, and small dialect surveys. However, recent advances in technology have made it possible to expand on previous work by examining much more extensive data sets. For example, a number of large-scale

surveys have been carried out and linguistic features have been examined in large collections of tweets. One method that has yet to be applied to the task of associating Spanish-speaking countries into dialect groups is using extant corpora. In the present study, the Corpus del Español-Web Dialects (Davies 2017) is used to this end. In addition to establishing country clusterings another goal of the study is highlighting the features that are most helpful in making those clusterings. In the following sections, a number of statistical and computational methods are described which are applied to the task. The novel use of these methods to investigate the question at hand means that the results can be viewed as exploratory in nature. The challenges that this corpusbased dialectometry approach presents are discussed as well.

2. Data Set

One way subjectivity may creep into an analysis is in the choice of the features used. In order to address this issue a large number of features should be included computational algorithms should be used to choose the most important ones. The analysis described below is based on 592 features and their corpus frequencies (DOI 10.17605/OSF.IO/892MW). These features were chosen since they have been used in previous variationist studies. Of these, 45 come from Eddington (2021). These include six grammatical differences such as the frequency of the use of present perfect versus preterite (e.g. Esta mañana he comido huevos 'This morning I've eaten eggs'), the use of present subjunctive in embedded clauses with present tense matrix clauses (e.g. Le pedí que no lo haga/hiciera 'I asked him not to do it'), five nominal gender variations (el/la sarten 'the pan'), and 34 vocabulary differences (valija / maleta 'suitcase'). Also included were the items from VARILEX used by Gonçalves & Sánchez (2014). This consisted of 454 lexical items for 43 concepts (e.g. 'sidewalk' acera, andén, badén, calzada, contén, escarpa, vereda). The per million frequencies of these lexical items in each country was obtained from the Corpus de Español-Web Dialects corpus (Davies 2017, extracted data: DOI 10.17605/OSF.IO/892MW). This 2 billion word corpus comprises from 24 to 440 million words per country, 78% of which are from Latin American sources. Some of the lexical variants from VARILEX had a frequency of zero in the Corpus del Español. This meant that they were not helpful for the purposes of the present study and were not included the analysis. In addition to these words, a handful of other lexical items were added as well (e.g. zumo, coger, damasco, giz 'juice, to get, apricot, chalk') whose per million frequency also came from Davies (2017).

In many ways using the Corpus de Español-Web Dialects serves the purposes of the study well. It contains a sizable amount of data from each country. What is more, it was designed to represent less formal levels of language since 60% of it derives from blogs. There are, however, serious limitations. For example, information about the writers (e.g. age, gender, social class) is not available. The possibility also exists that a writer from one country may be included in the corpus from another country. These are issues that apply to the whole of corpus linguistics. More importantly, level of granularity is based on country boundaries. That means that different varieties in a single country are lumped together. It is hoped that the by country results reported herein may serve as a guide for future research that makes use of subtler geographic distinctions.

3.1. Evaluating different feature subsets

The idea behind agglomerating large numbers of features is to eliminate the influence that a handful of features may have, and also to keep the researcher from picking and choosing only those features that may align with his or her preconceived notions of what countries should be clustered together. However, an important aspect of clustering is determining how many features provide optimal results, which features those are, and and if systematically eliminating features helps the task of classification.

One method of reducing the number of variables to a more manageable size is principal components analysis (PCA). PCA is a commonly used procedure in dialect studies of the kind presented here (e.g. Huang et al. 2016, Manni et al. 2008, Moreno Fernández & Ueda 2018). For a discussion of how PCA compares to other methods see Leino et al. 2008. PCA is an exploratory procedure designed to reduce a large number of variables to a more manageable and easily interpretable format. Rather than eliminating variables altogether, PCA creates new variables from the original variables called principal components. These components retain as much of the original variation in the data as possible. The principal components are ordered so that the first one accounts for more of the variation than the second, and so on. In general, the first two components are the most important.

In order to compare analyses with different subsets of variables, there is a need for a standard of comparison. Geography itself was used in the initial analyses. This was done by calculating the distance in kilometers between each country's capital city as a point of reference. The Euclidean distance between the first two dimensions of each of the principal components analyses (PCA) described below was calculated, and a correlation between the distance between each capital city and the euclidean distance between the two PCA dimensions was performed. The resulting r^2 provides a point of comparison. Analyses with similar r^2 values place the dialects in a similar geographical position in contrast to analyses with different r^2 values.

The first question to be examined is how many features are needed to make good dialect groupings. To answer this, the 592 features were ordered randomly and divided into ten groups of about 59 features each. A PCA was run on each group and the resulting r^2 values appear in Figure 1. The wide discrepancies between subsets is a clear indicator that some groups of features situate countries differently with respect to each other. Perhaps this problem is the result of agglomerating too few features.

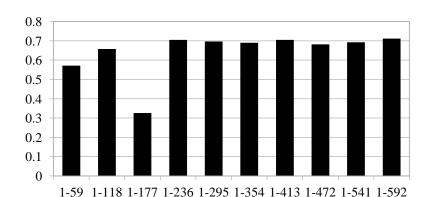
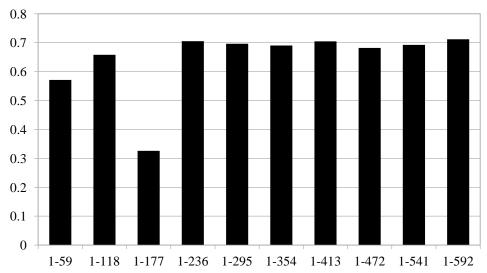


Figure 1. R² between PCA and capital city distances for each subset of 59 features

To address the issue of how many features are needed, the 10 subsets were recombined in the following manner. The first subset comprises the first 1-59 features, the second adds another 59 features and comprises features 1-118. Each subset grows in this manner until the last group includes all 592 features. The results of these analyses appear in Figure 2. What is clear is that once 236 features are included an overlap between the results of the PCA and the distance between capital cities reaches about 70%, a level no subset of 59 features alone reaches. However, increasing the number of features beyond that point does little to change the spatial grouping of the countries in relation to their dialectal features. The clear takeaway is that good predictions may be made with only a subset of the features considered.

Figure 2. R^2 Between PCA and capital city distances for subsets of increasing numbers of features

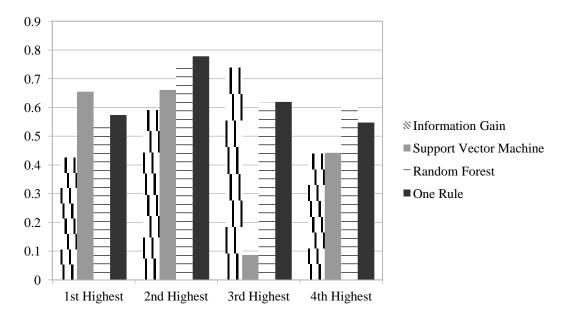


The question now is how to reduce the set of features used by finding the most relevant ones. Given the large numbers of algorithms that one may choose to eliminate variables, it could be tempting to sort through them until one is found that supports the researcher's hypothesis. In order to avoid this, four algorithms were applied to the data, all of which ranked the features in terms of how well they classify the countries. The first was a random forest analysis carried out in R (R Core Team 2020). The remaining three were carried out using WEKA (Frank et al. 2016). Holte's (1993) one rule attribute evaluator determines the worth of each feature in terms of how it much it contributes to classifying countries, and ranks the features accordingly. The information gain attribute evaluator calculates the value of each feature by measuring its information gain in respect to each country. The SVM classifier (Guyon et al. 2002) uses a support vector machine algorithm to determine the value of each feature in classifying countries. The resulting rankings from each algorithm were ordered from best to worst and divided into quartiles of 148 features. The rankings produced by each algorithm appear in the appendix.

As Figure 3 illustrates, the feature ranking algorithms produce different results. What is surprising is that the highest ranked 148 features chosen by three of the algorithms place the country's dialects farther from their capitals than do the second highest set of 148 features. However, this may merely suggest that the features that best group the countries do not correlate as highly with the geographical location of the country's capital cities, since the r^2 is not a measure of goodness of linguistic fit.

Nevertheless, we can now begin to use the data to determine dialect areas, as well as to hone in on the features that best define those dialect areas.

Figure 3. R^2 Between PCA and capital city distances for subsets of ranked features



An initial foray into dialect grouping was done with a hierarchical clustering dendogram (Seol 2020) using the Jamovi statistical package (Jamovi 2021) which is a graphical user interface for R (R Core Team 2020). Hierarchical clustering is a method commonly used in dialect studies (e.g. Leino, Antti, & Saara Hyvönen, Nagy et al. 2006, Moreno Fernández & Ueda 2018, Sato & Hefernan 2018). It clusters countries according to their similarities based on the features. Although we have seen that some features are more important than other in making dialectal groupings, as a point of comparison the dendogram in Figure 4 was built using all 592 features. The algorithm groups the southern cone countries of Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina together, and places Spain on its own branch, both of which seem intuitive. However, considering Cuba and Chile as isolated dialects, and combining countries in North, Central, and South America into a single dialect group runs counter to all previous classifications.

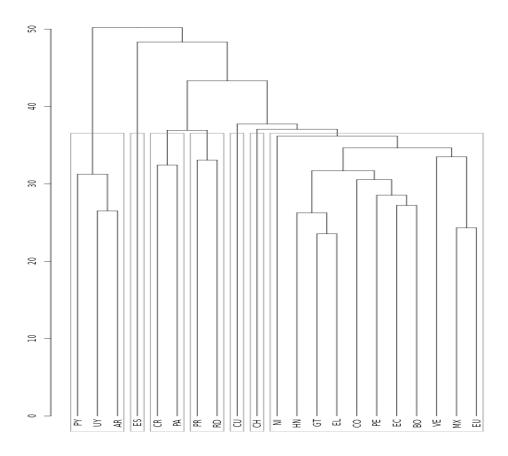
3.2. Evaluating the most highly ranked subset of features

Four algorithms were used to evaluate the worth of the features in terms of their ability to find similarities between countries. The 148 highest ranked features chosen by the support vector machine achieved the greatest overlap (66%) with the geographical location of the capital cities (Figure 3) and is used in this first analysis. When these features are considered a smaller, but tentative, grouping of countries into seven dialect areas emerges (Figure 5):

- 1. European (Spain)
- 2. Southern Cone (Uruguay, Argentina)
- 3. Southern Central America (Costa Rica, Panama)
- 4. Caribbean (Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic)
- 5. North America (Cuba, United States, Mexico)
- 6. Northern Central America (Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras)

7. Andean and Northern South America (Bolivia, Paraguay, Chile, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru)

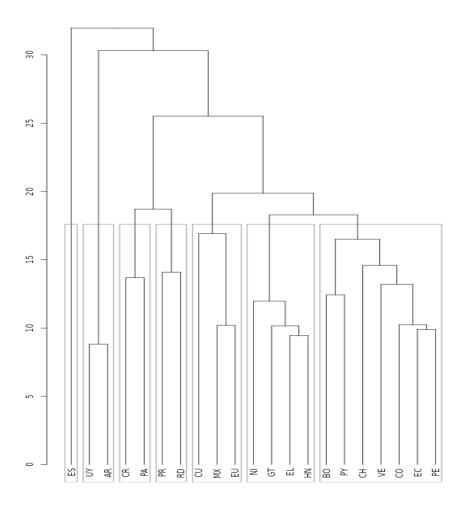
Figure 4. Hierarchical clustering dendogram using all 592 features



PY=Paraguay, UY=Uruguay, AR=Argentina, CR=Costa Rica, PA=Panama, PR=Puerto Rico, RD=Dominican Republic, CU=Cuba, NI=Nicaragua, GT=Guatemala, EL=El Salvador, CO=Colombia, PE=Peru, EC=Ecuador, BO=Bolivia, VE=Venezuela, MX=Mexico, EU=United States

Another way of visualizing these dialect groups is by plotting the first two dimensions of the PCA of the same 148 highest ranked support vector machine features (Figure 6). There are three reasons for using both PCAs and cluster dendograms to evaluate groupings. The first is that when different methods produce similar outcomes, the results are considered more robust, and less algorithm specific. Secondly, while dendograms cluster countries, they do not give a sense of distance between countries and clusters than the two dimensional representation in a PCA provides. Finally, presenting the results of both analyses reduces the chances that a specific method is chosen simply because it yields the expected outcome. In any event, Spain is an outlier falling far from the Latin American countries. For this reason it was excluded from Figure 6 so that the remaining countries would be better separated.

Figure 5. Hierarchical Clustering Dendogram Using the 148 Highest Ranked SVM Features



The dendogram clusterings are indicated in the two dimensional space in Figure 6 with ellipses. It should be apparent that there are significant differences between the dendogram and the PCA plot. For example, the dendogram places Cuba and El Salvador in different groups, while in the PCA plot the two countries nearly overlap. The dendogram's placement of Cuba along with Mexico and the United States, rather than with other Caribbean countries, is unusual. While the three countries are grouped in the hierarchical dendogram, the PCA plot places Cuba closer to other Latin American countries than to the US. Most dialectologists include Cuba alongside the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico (Canfield, 1962, Henríquez Ureña 1921, Rona 1964, Quesada Pacheo 2014, Zamora & Guitart 1988, Wagner 1920). On the other hand, the similarities between the countries capture the fact that the largest dialectal influences on the Spanish of the US are arguably Mexico and Cuba. The dialectal separation of Uruguay and Argentina from other South American nations has been noted since the 19th century (Armas Céspedes 1882). Paraguay falls closest to these countries, and some dialectologists include Paraguay, or parts of Paraguay, in southern cone varieties (Cahuzac 1980, Canfield, 1962, Henríquez Ureña 1921, Rona 1964, Quesada Pacheo 2014, Zamora & Guitart 1988).

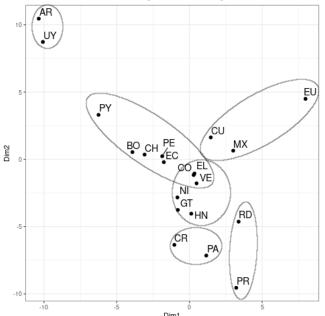


Figure 6. PCA Plot Using the 148 Highest Ranked SVM Features

The dialectal placement of Central American countries is debated. Some cluster them with Mexico (Cahuzac 1980, Henríquez Ureña 1921), while others consider Central America a separate, but united dialect area (Rona 1964, Zamora & Guitart 1988). Still others separate Central American countries into different dialects (Canfield 1962, Quesada Pacheo 2014). The data from the present study support the existence of two dialects in Central America.

What countries Venezuela and Colombia should be aligned with is debated as well. This is principally because both countries are divided between Caribbean and non-Caribbean dialect zones. The similarities between Colombia and the Andean countries (Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Bolivia) that fall out in the present study may be explained by the fact that the majority of Colombians do not live on the Caribbean. As a result, this may skew the data compiled in the Corpus del Español toward non-Caribbean Colombian speech. The same argument, however, does not hold up for Venezuela, where the bulk of the population is concentrated on the Caribbean coast. In Figure 6, Venezuela and Colombia appear in overlapping area of the ellipses representing Northern Central American and Andean and Caribbean South American dialects, falling particularly close to El Salvador. In contrast, the dendogram does not capture the similarity between Venezuela and Colombia and Central American Countries.

The 148 highest ranked features chosen by the support vector machine provides an analyses that more closely corresponds to extant divisions than does the outcome using all 592 features. The question now is exactly how these features are related to the dialect areas, and if it is possible to further eliminate some. To do this, the seven dialect regions proposed were correlated with the 148 features (Table 1).

Table 1. Features Correlated With Dialect Regions

		Northern Central	Southern Central		Andean and Northern South	Southern
European	North Am.	Am.	Am.	Caribbean	Am.	Cone
-ase past	1,010111111	1222	1222		arañazo (-	3323
subj.	afiche (-)	auto (-)	acera	acera)	alpargata
aero	ascensor (-)	autopista (-)	bar	anuncio	ascensor	atar
afiche (-)	bolígrafo	barca	bluyín	aro	bar (-)	auriculares
alubia	capaz	bocadillo	brassiere	autopista	barca (-)	auto
arañazo	colegio (-)	cantina	bus	brasiere	cartelón (-) chancleta	cabeza dura
armario	elevador	cartel (-)	cachetes	caldero	(-)	calesita
	habían with					
ático	plural (-)	finca	cantina	cartelón	colegio	chance
				cristal	elevador	
auriculares	magnetófono		carro	delantero	(-)	colchón
balacera (-		habían with				estación de
)	refrigerador	plural	caterpillar	entretenimiento	escuela (-)	servicio
		magnetófono				
barca	tú	(-)	chancleta	escuela		frigorífico
bolígrafo		mico	escurridor	escurridor	gasolinera (-) ocasión (-	grabadora
cacahuete		quizás (-)	estola	estola)	guardarropas
				goma de		habían with
camarero		tablero	finca	mascar	vitrina	plural (-)
capaz			frigorífico	guineo		heladera
cazo			grasoso	ocasión		lavadora (-)
celular (-)			jeans	papel encerado		lavarropa
			lámina de			
coger			queso	puerco		maleta (-)
constipado			lancha	salón		ocasión
escuela (-)			lavadora	sarten		parlante
				ser consciente		pasatiempo
estadía (-)			pasatiempo	(-)		(-)
farola			poste de luz	sortija		perchero
gafas				tiroteo		pizarrón
			rebanada			present
grasiento			de queso			perfect (-)
guapa			sartén			reposera
lavadora			tiesto			ropero
						ser
lois			tirantes			consciente
mechero						sos
melocotón						sponsor
mofletes						valija
ordenador						veliz

palomitas			vidriera
pantalón			
vaquero			
papel de			
plata			
póster			
present			
perfect			
quizá			
sandalia			
se los/las			
decir (-)			
sois			
sujetador			
tiovivo			
tirantes			
vistazo			

(-) = negatively correlated

Of the 148 features, 25¹ were not significantly correlated with any dialect grouping which results in a smaller set of 123 whose features were correlated with at least one dialect zone. Features that are negatively correlated appear in the table with (-). A hierarchical dendogram based on these 123 features makes the same dialect groupings as it did with the 148 features (Figure 5). However, the PCA plot differs somewhat from that in Figure 6. The principal difference in Figure 7 is that Venezuela and Colombia are situated farther from the Central American countries. The analysis to this point has been based on the most highly ranked features determined by the support vector algorithm. The highest overlap between a group of features and geography was obtained by the features in the one rule algorithm's second quartile (Figure 3) so these 148 features were considered. As in the previous analysis, features were removed that did not correlate with any region, which reduced the number of features to 88. The hierarchical dendogram of these features (Figure 8) differs from the previous analysis in a number of different ways. First, the US forms a dialect group of its own rather than clustering with Cuba and Mexico. These two countries now fall into the Caribbean dialect area. In the previous analysis Colombia and Venezuela were placed with the Andean countries, while here they belong to the Caribbean dialect area. The inclusion of Ecuador with Caribbean countries is surprising in this clustering. The PCA plot of the same data appears in Figure 9 where the ellipses are placed according to the groupings made by the dendogram in Figure 8. The large amount of overlap between the clusters exemplifies how differently the PCA and hierarchical dendogram algorithms group the countries even when using exactly the same 88 features.

Amarrar, audífonos, autopista, calzón, cassette, celofán, closet, computadora, distracciones, el sarten, encendedor, engrasado, ensalada de fruta, entrevistar, eres, extrañar, grabador, la calor, mantecoso, mejillas, miradita, nube de polvo, pómulo, seguidor, sostén

Figure 7. PCA Plot Using the 123 Highest Ranked SVM Features that Correlated with the 7 Proposed Dialect Areas

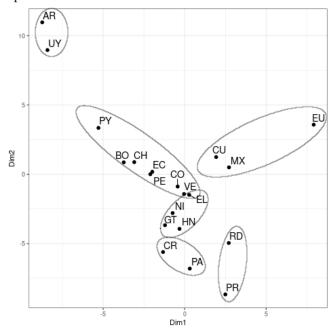
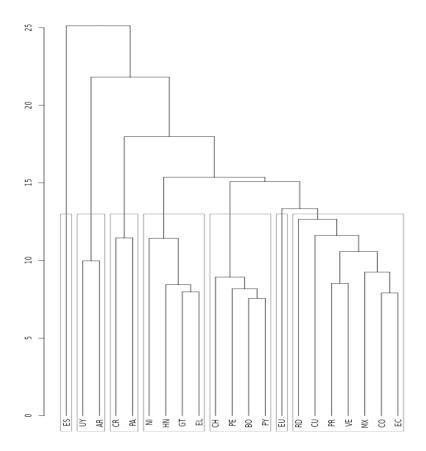


Figure 8. Hierarchical Clustering Dendogram Using the Features from the One Rule Algorithm



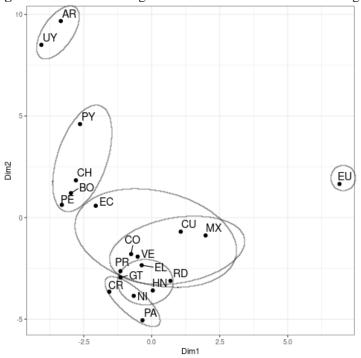


Figure 9. PCA Plot Using the Features from the One Rule Algorithm

4. Conclusions

The present study demonstrates how statistical and data mining methods can be applied to corpus data in order to group Spanish-speaking countries into dialect areas. In early attempts at delineating dialect areas researchers hand-picked features that formed the basis for their groupings. The variety of resulting clusterings may be due to the selection of features chosen. On the surface, using computational means to choose which features, and how many features to include in an analysis, seems to be a more objective method. In reality, it merely shifts the issue from cherry picking features to cherry picking the algorithm used to select the features.

As we saw in the final analysis, the hierarchical clustering dendogram groups countries differently than the PCA plot does even when they both use the same data. An additional problem with PCA plots is that they allow varying interpretations. While some countries form clear clusters situated at a distance from other countries, when the countries are plotted closer together, clustering them into groups with ellipses by hand can become an extremely subjective task.

In this analyses described above, only two clustering algorithms were used to determine dialect boundaries. There are, however, myriads of different methods for clustering features and many algorithms for measuring the distance between entities such as countries, the combination of which can result in widely varying outcomes. As a result, the temptation to search through all of the combinatorial possibilities until one stumbles upon an analytical method that supports one's hypothesis becomes real.

The solution to this dilemma is to not rely on a single analysis. When many feature sets are evaluated using a number of different computational means, a consensus should begin to emerge, and it is that consensus, not the results of a single study that should be the focus of attention. With the limited number of analyses presented above, 15 of the countries consistently cluster into six dialect areas:

- 1. European (Spain)
- 2. Southern Cone (Uruguay, Argentina)
- 3. Southern Central America (Costa Rica, Panama)
- 4. Caribbean (Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic)
- 5. Northern Central America (Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras)
- 6. Andean South America (Bolivia, Paraguay, Chile, Peru)

What the present analyses do not firmly establish is which dialect regions Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and the US belong to, nor whether there may be additional dialect zones not considered. Another limitation of the present study is that it relies solely on political boundaries. Dialects do not necessarily align with such boundaries. Studies that make use of geotagged tweets are in a good position to find dialect zones that transcend the limits of individual countries. In sum, using computational methods and large numbers of features to delineate dialect boundaries is an improvement over earlier methods, the use of these methods opens up another set of issues that must be dealt with.

Acknowledgments

I appreciate the input by the reviewers as well as the suggestions provided by Earl Brown.

References

Alba, Orlando. 1992. Zonificación del español de America. In C. Hernández Alonso (ed.), *Historia y presente del español en America*, 63-84. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León.

Aliaga Jiménez, José Luis. Dialectometría y léxico en las hablas de Teruel. 2003. *ELUA. Estudios de Lingüística* 17: 5-55.

Brown, Earl. K. 2015. On the utility of combining production data and perceptual data to investigate regional linguistic variation: The case of Spanish experiential gustar 'to like, to please' on Twitter and in an online survey." *Journal of Linguistic Geography* 3(2): 47-59. https://doi.org/10.1017/jlg.2016.1

Burridge, J., Vaux, B., Gnacik, M., & Grudeva, Y. 2019. Statistical physics of language maps in the USA. *Physical Review E*, 99(3): 032305. https://doi.org/10.1103/PhysRevE.99.032305

Armas y Céspedes, Juan Ignacio. 1882. *Oríjenes del lenguaje criollo*. La Habana: Imprenta de la Viuda de Soler.

Cahuzac, Philippe. 1980. La división del español de América en zonas dialectales. Situación etnolingüística o semántico-dialectal. *Lingüística Española Actual* 2: 385-461.

Canfield, D. Lincoln. 1962. *La pronunciación del español en América*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

Davies, Mark. 2017. Corpus del Español, Web/Dialects. https://www.corpusdelespanol.org/web-dial/

Donoso, G., & Sánchez, D. 2017. Dialectometric analysis of language variation in Twitter. *Proceedings of the Fourth Workshop on NLP for Similar Languages, Varieties and Dialects*, 16-25 Valencia, Spain: Association for Computational Linguistics. 10.18653/v1/W17-1202

Eddington, David Ellingson. 2021. A corpus analysis of some usage differences among Spanish-speaking countries" *Dialectologia* 27: 71-95.

Frank, Eibe, Mark A. Hall, and Ian H. Witten. 2016. *Data Mining: Practical Machine Learning Tools and Techniques*, 4th Ed. San Francisco, CA: Morgan Kaufmann.

Embleton, Sheila, Dorin Uritescu, & Eric S. Wheeler. 2013. Defining dialect regions with interpretations: Advancing the multidimensional scaling approach. Literary and Linguistic Computing 28: 13-22. https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqs048

Henríquez-Ureña, Pedro. 1921. Observaciones sobre el español en América. *Revista de Filología Española* 8: 357-390.

Holte, Robert C. 1993. Very Simple Classification Rules Perform Well on Most Commonly Used Datasets. *Machine Learning* 11.(1): 63-90.

García Mouton, Pilar. 1991. *Dialectometría y léxico en Huesca*. Mardid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Gonçalves, Bruno & David Sánchez. 2014. Crowdsourcing dialect characterization through Twitter. *PloS One*, 9(11): e112074. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0112074; Data: http://www.bgoncalves.com/languages/spanish.html

Gonçalves, Bruno and David Sánchez. 2016. Learning about Spanish dialects through Twitter. *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana* 14: 65-75.

Grieve, Jack. 2011. A regional analysis of contraction rate in written Standard American English. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 16(4): 514-546. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.16.4.04gri

Grieve, Jack. 2012. A statistical analysis of regional variation in adverb position in a corpus of written Standard American English. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 8(1): 39-72. https://doi.org/10.1515/cllt-2012-0003

Grieve, Jack. 2014. A comparison of statistical methods for the aggregation of regional linguistic variation. In P. Auer, G. von Essen & W. Frick (eds.), *Aggregating dialectology, typology, and register analysis*, 53-88. Berlin: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110317558.53

Guyon, Isabel, Jason Weston, Stephen Barnhill, & Vladimir Vapnik. 2002. Gene selection for cancer classification using support vector machines. *Machine Learning*, 46(1): 389-422.

Henríquez-Ureña, P. H. 1921. Observaciones sobre el español en América. *Revista de Filología Española* 8: 357-390.

Holte, Robert C. 1993. Very Simple Classification Rules Perform Well on Most Commonly Used Datasets. *Machine Learning* 11(1): 63-90.

Huang, Yuan, Diansheng Guo, Alcie Kasakoff, & Jack Grieve. 2016. Understanding US regional linguistic variation with Twitter data analysis. *Computers, Environment*

and Urban Systems 59: 244-255. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compenvurbsys.2015.12.003

The jamovi project. 2021. jamovi. (Version 1.6) [Computer Software.] Retrieved from https://www.jamovi.org)

Leino, Antti, & Saara Hyvönen. 2008. Comparison of component models in analysing the distribution of dialectal features. *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 2: 73-187. DOI: 10.3366/edinburgh/9780748640300.001.0001

Manni, Franz, Wilbert Heeringa, Bruno Toupance, & John Nerbonne. 2008. Do surname differences mirror dialect variation. *Human Biology* 80: 41-64.

Moreno Fernández, Francisco. 1991. Morfología en el ALEANR: aproximación dialectométrica. In *I curso de geografía lingüística de Aragón*, 289-309. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico.

Moreno Fernández, Francisco, and Hiroto Ueda. 2018. Cohesion and particularity in the Spanish dialect continuum. *Open Linguistics* 4: 722-742. https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2018-0035

Nagy, Naomi, Xiaoli Zhang, George Nagy, and Edgar W. Schneider. 2006. Clustering dialects automatically: A mutual information approach. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 12: 12.

Nerbonne, John. 2009. Data-driven dialectology. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 3(1): 175-198. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-818X.2008.00114.x

Quesada Pacheco, Miguel Ángel. 2014. División dialectal del español de América según sus hablantes Análisis dialectológico perceptual. *Boletín de Filología* 49(2): 257-309.

R Core Team 2020. R: A Language and environment for statistical computing. (Version 4.0) [Computer software]. Retrieved from https://cran.r-project.org. (R packages retrieved from MRAN snapshot 2020-08-24).

Resnick, Melvyn C. 1975. Phonological Variants and Dialect Identification in Latin American Spanish. Mouton: The Hague.

Rodriguez-Diaz, Carlos A., Sergio Jimenez, George Dueñas, Johnatan Estivan Bonilla, & Alexander F. Gelbukh. 2018. Dialectones: Finding statistically significant dialectal boundaries using twitter data. *Computación y Sistemas* 22(4): 1213-1222.

Rodríguez Vázquez, Paloma. 2019. La zonificación dialectal del español de América: propuestas clásicas y propuestas actuales. Document, Universidade de Dantiago de Compostela. http://hdl.handle.net/10347/23567

Rona, José Pedro. 1964. El problema de la división del español americano en zonas dialectales. In F. Moreno Fernández (ed.), *Presente y futuro de la lengua española*, vol. I, 215-226. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica

Sato, Yo, and Kevin Heffernan. 2018. Creating Dialect Sub-corpora by Clustering: a case in Japanese for an adaptive method. In *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation*, 3612-3616. Luxemburg: European Language Resources Association.

Sayce, David. n.d.. The Number of tweets per day in 2020. Accessed Feb. 2, 2022. https://www.dsayce.com/social-media/tweets-day/

Séguy Jean. 1971. La relation entre la distance spatiale et la distance lexicale. *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 35: 335–57.

Seol, Hyunsoo. 2020. *SnowCluster: Cluster Analysis*. [jamovi module]. https://github.com.hyunsooseol/snowCluster

Shackleton Jr, R.obert G. 2005. English-American speech relationships: A quantitative approach. *Journal of English Linguistics* 33(2): 99-160. https://doi.org/10.1177/0075424205279017

Szmrecsanyi, Benedikt. 2011. Corpus-based dialectometry: a methodological sketch. *Corpora* 6(1): 45-76.

Tellez, Eric. S., Daniela Moctezuma, Sabino Miranda, & Mario Graff. 2021. A large scale lexical and semantic analysis of Spanish language variations in Twitter. *arXiv* preprint arXiv:2110.06128.

Tinoco, Antonio. R., & Hiroto Ueda. 2007. The VARILEX Project-Spanish Lexical Variation. *Linguistica Atlantica* 27: 117-121.

Ueda, Hiroto. 2009. Resultados y proyectos en las investigaciones sobre variación léxica del español. *Dialectologia* 2: 51-80.

Wagner, Max Leopold. 1920. Amerikanisch-Spanisch und Vulgärlatein. Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 40: 286-312; 385-404.

Wieling, Martijn & John Nerbonne. 2015. Advances in dialectometry. *Annual Review of Linguistics* 1(1): 243-264. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-linguist-030514-124930

Zamora, Juan y Jorge Guitart. 1988. *Dialectología hispanoamericana*. *Teoría, descripción, historia*. Salamanca: Almer.

Appendix

Rankings of features by importance according to four algorithms

Random	Information	One	Support Vector	
Forest	Gain	Attribute	Machine	Feature
79	293	175	1	bolígrafo
40	355	346	2	present perfect
370	342	234	3	capaz.
191	254	468	4	mofletes
139	251	207	5	arañazo
453	390	375	6	tú
194	341	165	7	auto
153	441	192	8	-ase subjunctive
2	298	115	9	estadía
94	465	210	10	armario
304	188	23	11	entretenimiento
311	173	155	12	ático
4	397	389	13	valija

1	1	i i	
335	461	462	14 maleta
190	400	405	15 vistazo
359	323	224	16 chance
344	445	490	17 lavadora
248	324	69	18 coger
418	264	321	19 sois
565	49	503	20 lois
201	306	251	21 celular
178	185	191	22 alpargata
218	360	206	23 amarrar
234	231	545	24 pómulo
372	127	564	25 pantalón vaquero
252	137	361	26 reposera
81	294	173	27 bocata
369	241	301	28 sandalia
289	31	83	29 grasiento
518	75	127	30 escurridor
73	402	199	31 acera
69	388	308	32 salón
297	165	403	33 vidriera
161	422	423	34 sujetador
309	297	122	35 estación de servicio
182	327	225	36 cartel
155	417	198	37 afiche
3	52	347	38 poste de luz
206	157	535	39 pasatiempo
399	118	280	40 cabeza dura
371	108	349	41 póster
402	460	147	42 finca
430	418	370	43 <i>sos</i>
267	329	18	44 el sarten
7	414	302	45 sartén
54	463	107	46 guapa
320	381	221	47 anuncio
129	73	242	48 cassette
390	94	96	49 guineo
483	361	352	50 quizá
179	412	316	51 se los las decir
89	440	212	52 ascensor
530	379	577	53 papel de plata
245	93	303	54 ropero
293	362	353	55 quizás
86	450	118	56 gafas
510	432	102	57 <i>habían</i> with singular
253	32	478	58 melocotón
432	291	162	59 auriculares
138	98	477	60 mejillas
227	257	284	61 <i>caldero</i>
200	300	171	62 bocadillo
285 277 8	38 20 284	105 455 26	63 guardarropas 64 mantecoso 65 eres

1 1	ı	ı		
316	398	391		veliz
405	344	235		cantina
323	33	432	68	tiovivo
12	312	65	69	computadora
364	376	568	70	ocasión
72	289	159	71	autopista
76	263	408		tiroteo
25	76	114		estola
53	332	6		elevador
70	141	145		farola
535	99	460		magnetófono
172	295	113	77	escuela
440	195	550		pizarrón
492	216	61		constipado
305	431	101		heladera
187	61	252		caterpillar
168	81	366		rebanada de queso
450	196	335		sostén
419	117	579		papel encerado
14	317			closet
		46		
215	276	268		bus
195	189	295		cacahuete
273	346	10		distracciones
522	410	330		ser consciente
125	154	431		tiesto
473	459	186		atar
90	279	180		barca
11	153	533		parlante
34	521	29	94	engrasado
156	12	465		mechero
472	348	229		camarero
62	190	71		colchón
407	229	572		nube de polvo
193	444	211	99	aro
88	240	160	100	automóvil
415	452	93	101	grasoso
96	442	484	102	lámina de queso
424	128	256	103	cazo
127	210	131	104	falencia
365	406	201	105	aero
549	486	176	106	bluyín
247	411	328		seguidor
114	419	417		tablero
23	149	285		calesita
395	303	21		entrevistar
528	495	90		gancho de ropa
517	504	336		queso americano
223	187	496		jeans
213	133	288		cachetes
160	53	205		alubia
348	282	120		extrañar
181	255	185		audífonos
101	233	100	11/	иницопоѕ

100	117	70	110	,
126	115	78		goma de mascar
425	484	13		cristal delantero
343	177	266		calzón
224	455	475		mico
9	84	228		cartelón
254	15	511		lavarropa
319	449	137		frigorifico
445	163	434	125	tirantes
481	162	51	126	chancleta
174	123	253	127	celofán
19	244	491		la calor
422	443	487		lancha
130	328	226		carro
374	236	28		ensalada de fruta
346	1	563		palomitas
159	260	86		gasolinera
120	239	157		balacera
396	68	521		perchero
246	277	178		bar
366	259	77		grabadora
386	19	269		brassiere
124	378	560		ordenador
157	60	409		sponsor
100	405	406		vitrina
77	308	73		colegio
117	171	79		grabador
51	176	337		puerco
52	416	323	145	sortija
165	29	472	146	miradita
431	368	368	147	refrigerador
326	337	32	148	encendedor
459	67	435	149	tetera
177	357	314	150	sala de estar
290	314	72		colectivo
340	319	58		cochino
387	464	457		maní
189	122	262		buhardilla
489	491	112		gafotas
93	436	515		lentes
464	131	357		resfrío
103	424	570		mozo
87	371	548		pizarra
91	167	567		
				ojeada
39	104	522		penthouse
578	503	376		tutifruti
140	234	152		azafata o
147	426	469		mono
417	34	7		edredón
146	92	260		calzoncillo
361	338	2		echar de menos
400	206	273	168	bombacho
375	343	237	169	camioneta

151	4	177	170	bidón
204	492	541		polvero
347	64	276		bonita
154	334	166		autobús
436	235	195		agarrar
119	70	74	174	escaparate
501	304	290	175	cacerola
29	485	427		tartera
18	82	272		botella grande
345	385	143		fanáticos
57	435	99		hamaca
169	156	558		paila
203	44	373		tumbona
286	140	259		camastro
258	219	351		preciosa
202	261	573		obstinado
580	569	261		bomba de nafta
104	96	540		polvareda
149	215	364		remezón
216	50	377	180	tiza
166	377	571		nevera
406	415	324		simio
60	309	257		cazuela
410	347	11		descongelar
291	14	204		altoparlante
373	287	277		bote
452	250	82		grapadora
82	27	557		movimiento sísmico
48	126	363		rasguño
487	479	154		backpack
570	582	80		gramola
456	437	495		hostess
394	222	111		gallinita ciega
13	364	334		ropa interior
205	227	243		catarro
272	25	507		тасасо
334	373	559		oportunidad
141	321	53		chicle
339	386	220		anteojos
217	380	305		scotch
435	23	384		tocadiscos
242	174	442		terco
268	273	506		luneta
563	474	322		soquetes
180	213	543		polvorín
520	470	320		sobrecama
15	396	436		terremoto
404	194	289		cabezón
312	446	494		jugo
460	59	291		zabezota
105	350	1		zumo
512	175	585		zumo pantufla
312	1/3	363	221	ринији

17	325	149	222	chancho
266	253	33		encerado
		44		
420	524			cosedora
465	89	348		poste eléctrico
488	146	100		headphones
341	129	223		bomba de gasolina
508	518	587		papel albal
383	74	325		silla plegable
555	526	542		polvoreda
112	63	158		autovía
67	322	132		fallo
116	290	174		boliche
148	313	59		computador
337	243	367		recibidor
107	83	148	236	chancla
92	182	36	237	endulzante
444	203	241	238	casquitos
101	363	354	239	rancho
136	36	338	240	pulpería
162	370	552	241	plátano
46	214	215	242	amplificador
495	510	380		tranchete
232	403	392	244	vosotros
447	228	443		terral
376	191	526		pileta
240	62	388		tozudo
238	8	387		topadora
551	467	317		seboso
429	262	569	250	movimiento telúrico
398	88	345	251	present for past subjunctive
131	286	119		expendio
128	394	299		sandwich
360	209	109		guardafango
476	274	586		papel de estaño
546	106	67		cóctel de fruta
439	409	319		sismo
208	301	279		caballitos
457	404	399	259	
427	221	246		cerilla
324	383	528	261	
513	489	190		albal
158	457	139		fósforo
325	448	485		la margen
28	152	456		mansarda
433	382	218		anillo
377	428	446		hinchas
467	476	20		zippo
106	265	428		tasca
188	292	116		estancia
329	380	538		piscina
382	100	590		papel de aluminio
579	481	108		guardabarro
319	401	108	213	ξιιατααυαττυ

1 1	1	ı	
330	204	271	274 bóxers
338	202	396	275 zancudo
494	299	123	276 estacionar
251	256	505	277 luminaria
133	408	415	278 tal vez
503	224	146	279 farolillo
545	580	126	280 escurridero
211	30	476	281 megáfono
118	72	532	282 parabrisa
184	367	369	283 refrigeradora
263	186	523	284 percha
308	179	502	285 lavaplatos
239	296	172	286 bocadito
			287 buldócer
26	145	265	
438	352	141	288 fanaticada
287	453	209	289 armador
455	237	414	290 tirita
442	482	151	291 azulón
540	525	574	292 pantalones tejanos
31	531	419	293 tabanco
75	494	8	294 edulcorante
207	369	553	295 platicar
448	155	95	296 gripe
560	515	371	297 soutien
235	57	68	298 colgador
219	393	383	299 tragamonedas
496	184	240	300 canoa
143	208	24	301 equivocación
264	584	556	302 papel sanitario
468			
	501	555	303 paquete postal
363	21	97	304 habichuela
262	5	451	305 machina
303	425	531	306 patrocinador
261	164	471	307 mosco
45	192	181	308 barman
350	468	315	309 scuela
66	58	294	310 cacahuate
37	87	429	311 testarudo
1	69	514	312 lavavajillas
47	22	64	313 corpiño
408	339	3	314 diversión
336	389	518	315 mosquito
480	462	106	316 guagua
562	497	424	317 surtidor de gasolina
294	519	398	318 wurlitzer
58	399	402	319 vereda
328	318	43	320 cintillo
362	349	12	321 damasco
257	336	34	322 encomienda
186	178	286	323 calzada
5	375	566	324 olla
237	211	150	325 chancha

22	310	66	326	comedor
471	351	516		letrero
167	430	512		linda
588	591	449		máquina de música
582	533	103		guardilla
135	218	463		matera
292	218	372		porfiado
282	101	48		chongo
497	530	501		lavaloza
446	469	410		tajador
212	283	130		falda
16	80	329		seísmo
434	77	75		escarpa
505	144	170		blue jean
416	205	133		fosforera
461	577	270		brasiel
516	79	440		tejanos
544	201	264		brik
271	438	467		mochila
111	421	197		afición
411	148	247		cerillo
576	550	341		queso en lonchas
493	527	459		magnetofón
349	107	549		pochoclo
183	487	393		yesquero
6	447	488	350	maceta
276	65	482		macetero
332	439	486		la puente
20	161	168		banano
21	55	365		rayón
367	28	275		bombona
10	395	433		tiradores
121	281	278		butaca
44	483	591		papel de baño
55	11	466		microcomputador
99	387	310		rótulo
536	553	546		polvazal
525	549	342		queso en rebanadas
280	311	231		casete
389	132	200		acolchado
491	168	54		chimpancé
502	520	91		gandula
554	575	40		cinta scotch
171	466	194		altillo
307	230	182		barrero
548	517	430		tierral
358	170	52		chango
318	134	519		movi
225	330	283		caldera
123	413	304		saya
256	103	576		pantaloncillo
479				
479	247	454	377	máquina de lavar

ll				ı
249	238	255		ауисо
553	490	309		alita de estar
317	454	138	380 fr	
176	407	202		veromoza o
43	139	313		acarina
56	180	450	383 m	narrano
63	112	169		panqueta
265	366	356	385 re	esfriado
506	124	161	386 a	utocar
113	10	312	387 se	acapuntas
403	42	401	388 v	itrola
152	433	98		acienda
385	169	483	390 m	nostrador
515	587	447	391 m	náquina excavadora
228	340	233	392 c	earretera
577	252	30		ngrapadora
220	233	179	394 <i>b</i>	
97	150	470		norral
504	120	63	396 c	
260	456	474		nedias
302	151	390		raqueros
198	401	390	390 V	apatilla
352	114			
		588		papel aluminio
331	480	385		olvanera
484	475	500		avadora de platos
284	458	479		nesero
210	54	216		parador
32	199	282		alcetín
401	105	14		ruarto de estar
583	564	422		tewardess
122	326	230	408 c	
380	508	124		spónsor
498	560	426		apabarros
355	111	374	411 tr	
298	429	296		vermosa
466	496	539	413 p	
279	271	50		hispero
412	267	481		nacuto
50	280	153	416 a	
547	477	497	417 <i>ja</i>	,
490	26	292		rabezudo
24	270	318		illa reclinable
475	555	300	420 sa	alveque
241	423	421		stes for -ste preterite
327	198	81		rallina ciega
214	166	208		urgolla
80	46	381		rancazo
175	102	87		arrafón
30	493	509		oncha de queso
392	391	379		ustedes
270	45	110		ruardapolvo
65	85	464		natero
0.5	0.5	10 1	127 11	

441	269	222	430	bolso de viaje
574	472	41		cinta adhesiva
281	511	213		arañón
71	353	520		poncho
173	56	128		esparadrapo
185	159	70		colcha
313	41	340		rollo de papel
278	499	62		contén
59	24	395		yola
275	434	492		la azúcar
98	331	19		emparedado
384	471	412		tajada de queso
150	356	217		andén
391	285	167		banana
315	223	15		cubrecama
33	512	498		jorongo
573	590	489		lasca de queso
463	372	214		aparcar
109	245	187		bolsón
110	288	183		bella
229	121	343		ргорісіador
27	90	250		cercha
378	138	238		canchita
95	138	452		mascar
36	568	583		papel de váter
299	51	94		gripa
393	158	530		patrocinante
300	160	219		añorar
342	500	56		cocaleca
295	335	163		auspiciador
145	358	547		pollera
83	384	529		pava
209	40	524		pianola
164	359	554		pluma
104	278	27		error
428	71	534		parquear
192	135	188		alberca
314	392	378		usted
283	320	57		coche
486	592	592		abrochadora
409	345	17		curita
353	507	444		pororó
379	116	355		reportear
507	589	493		juke box
142	181	254		catre
356	200	164		auspiciante
49	183	227		carrusel
38	585	581		papel higiénico
310	220	129		espejuelos
397	17	156		badén
134	136	332		silla de playa
557	509	382		traganíquel
551	309	302	701	nazaniquei

11	1			
351	193	144		farol
414	217	439		tecle
566	566	411		tablón de anuncio
243	47	510		livin
274	225	416		tallador
322	48	575		pantalón de mezclilla
575	523	136		friegaplatos
244	6	5		echar en falta
584	581	89		gallo ciego
469	572	31		engrampadora
333	498	407		tocacintas
199	37	22		entretención
132	78	350		pota
137	43	49		chola
231	266	135		fréjol
539	571	16		cubrelecho
581	570	525	498	papel toalet
85	110	362	499	repo
585	586	582	500	papel para cocinar
538	532	400	501	vellonera
144	316	248	502	cervecería
388	86	386	503	tombo
454	522	458	504	magnavoz
569	232	360		rodaja de queso
41	354	344	506	propaganda
354	212	287	507	calcetas
269	514	307	508	salpicadera
42	109	189	509	ajustador
381	35	536		patera
163	113	551	511	placard
226	374	565	512	ómnibus
541	567	580	513	papel estañado
534	506	425		suspensores
306	535	88		gallito ciego
221	226	453		masticar
470	557	331		silla de extensión
521	528	37	518	crispeto
64	7	480		mesonero
357	207	267		buldózer
250	39	441		temblor de tierra
421	91	461		mahón
368	95	117		excavadora
170	16	232		carrillos
564	545	578		papel de water
426	451	84	526	
301	197	121		estada
550	268	404		vidrio delantero
532	534	9		diurex
519	540	281		cacillo
196	365	193		altavoz
462	576	47		cínife
561	573	125		escurreplatos
501	313	123	233	csemiepiuios

482	559	394	53/	yins
529	544	274		bomba de bencina
74	305	258		celo
571	505	561		pala excavadora
511	427	298		hinchada
542	562	413		tajalápiz
485	249	236		cambur
572	548	333		rositas de maíz
233	142	60		concho
443	246	517		lighter
115	18	104		grúa
514	513	504		lonja de queso
556	272	55		chinela
451	125	142	547	
78	307	244		centro escolar
500	119	249		chalana
533	558	438		terregal
236	172	76		escondidas
288	9	306		salpicadero
478	478	263		breteles
259	302	4		durazno
437	541	45		clericó
413	539	184		bencinera
524	583	562		papel platina
84	66	92		garrafa
35	546	358		rocola
458	143	311		ruana
230	473	39		cotufa
586	561	437		taxibús
523	537	42		cinta pegante
559	488	35		endulzador
102	315	245		cerdo
61	333	25		enagua
477	547	359		roconola
296	258	508		macedonia
68	420	418		taberna
568	529	513		lavatrastos
449	516	85		gasolinería
587	588	499		judía verde
197	147	140		forofos
591	556	326		secaplatos
527	565	420		sutién
592	551	339		queso de sandwich
589	242	589		papel confor
567	502	448		máquina de lavar platos
526	552	527		pipocas
222	579	239		canguil
531	574	38		crispeta
552	578	293		cabrita de maíz
543	554	544		pomo plástico
423	275	203		aficcionados
537	97	584		papel de inodoro
331	91	304	303	paper de modoro

255	248	537	586	piquera
590	563	327	587	silla de sol
509	543	297	588	hielera
499	538	134	589	freidero
321	130	473	590	microbús
474	536	445	591	poporopo
558	542	196	592	afilaminas