

# Two explorations of hate speech against the Andalusian variety, from the bookish tradition to the digital press

## *Dos calas en el discurso del odio al andaluz, de la tradición libresca a la prensa digital*



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### Abstract:

The aim of this work is to trace a route on the perception of the variety of Spanish spoken in Andalusia, from its beginnings in the 16th century to its presence in current technological supports, such as those evidenced by the digital press. For this purpose, we will select a series of representative samples: book references from the 16th to 19th centuries, audiovisual extracts from television series, films and, finally, journalistic texts collected in the Spanish digital press. The corpus arises as a result of our experience as researchers

### Resumen:

*Este trabajo persigue como objetivo trazar un recorrido de la percepción de la variedad del español hablada en Andalucía, desde sus comienzos en el siglo XVI hasta su presencia en soportes tecnológicos actuales, como los que evidencia la prensa digital. Para ello, seleccionaremos una serie de muestras representativas: referencias librescas de los siglos XVI al XIX, extractos audiovisuales procedentes de series de televisión y películas y, finalmente, textos periodísticos recogidos en la prensa digital española. El corpus surge como*

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of the literary representation of Andalusian and of the linguistic ideologies reflected in the media. The latter are inventoried in a resource available to the entire academic community, such as the Virtual Linguistic Archive of the “Lengua y Prensa” project ([www.lenguayprensa.uma.es](http://www.lenguayprensa.uma.es)). The analysis of some crucial landmarks will serve to reinforce a fundamental conclusion: despite the disguise of innocence with which it is usually dressed (through its association with grace, humour or sympathy as an object of anthropological study), on other occasions the hate speech to Andalusian reveals the crudest intention of the person who issues it: personal disqualification, contempt for a society or position of superiority.

**Keywords:**

Spanish language; Andalusian variety; discourse analysis; linguistic ideologies; hate speech.

*resultado de nuestra experiencia como investigadores de la representación literaria del andaluz y las actitudes lingüísticas reflejadas en los medios de comunicación, inventariadas estas últimas en un recurso disponible para toda la comunidad académica, como es la Hemeroteca Lingüística Virtual del proyecto Lengua y Prensa ([www.lenguayprensa.uma.es](http://www.lenguayprensa.uma.es)). El análisis de algunos hitos cruciales servirá para reforzar una conclusión fundamental: pese al disfraz de inocencia con que suele arrojarse (mediante su asociación a la gracia, al humor o a la simpatía como objeto de estudio antropológico), en otras ocasiones el discurso del odio al andaluz se despoja de todo ropaje para revelarse la más cruda intención de quien lo emite: la descalificación personal, el desprecio a una sociedad o la posición de superioridad.*

**Palabras clave:**

*Lengua española; variedad andaluza; análisis del discurso; ideologías lingüísticas; discurso del odio.*

## 1. Theoretical and methodological remark

The so-called hate speech<sup>1</sup> is a very current issue and a sign about it is, for example, the choice of *aporophobia* reject the poor’ as the Word of the Year 2017 for the Fundación del Español Urgente (FundéuRAE); or, this time focused on the topic we are dealing with, the designation of this circumstance as *andalufobia*, which has begun to circulate on social networks. Under the umbrella of this communicative action, a *continuum* of discriminatory practices in all social spheres is sheltered, with extremes ranging from the most punishable actions (homophobia, xenophobia...) to the most tolerable ones, among which is contempt for everything that is Andalusian through its association with certain stereotyping features, which can be observed from the field of study of Sociology (economic conditions, cultural level, picturesque types...), Psychology (grace, attitude towards life, sympathy...) and Dialectology (the way of speaking). As for the latter, the numerous discursive samples are spread through literary tradition, and audiovisual and communication media. In this work, we will analyse a representative corpus extracted, on the one hand, from our experience as researchers of the dialectal variety that is the object of study, and the sociological and psychological traits that are usually associated with it; and on the other hand, in the case of the examples related to the media, obtained from the Virtual Linguistic Archive hosted on the website of the “Lengua y Prensa” project. The two sections of the corpus correspond to explorations in the analysis of hate speech against the Andalusian variety, represented by two different perspectives: philological and linguistic. Throughout the article, when it may be convenient, the rudimentary methodological tool will be specified.

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1 We use this phrase following the definition of Council of Europe (2015: 3-4), where it is stated that “el discurso de odio debe entenderse como fomento, promoción o instigación, en cualquiera de sus formas, del odio, la humillación o el menosprecio de una persona o grupo de personas, así como el acoso, descrédito, difusión de estereotipos negativos, estigmatización o amenaza con respecto a dicha persona o grupo de personas y la justificación de esas manifestaciones por razones de “raza”, color, ascendencia, origen nacional o étnico, edad, discapacidad, *lengua*, religión o creencias, sexo, género, identidad de género, orientación sexual y otras características o condición personales” (our italics). Furthermore, consult the work of Díaz Soto (2015), who reviews the concept in the international legal framework.

## 2. Analysis

### 2.1. Sample saturation

There is a fundamental principle of Statistics according to which a sample is representative of the whole that reality assumes if the results we reach after its analysis do not change, regardless of the data that we continue to add. Something similar happens with the analysis of the perception of the variety of Spanish spoken in Andalusia. A great amount of empirical evidence can be provided –from the book tradition, from the cinema, from television, from the press...– but what is incontestable is that the conclusion does not vary. Andalusian is still undervalued, it has little prestige in the professional fields, it continues to be characterized as a way of speaking of uneducated people and as a mechanism for humour, etc.

Even researchers seem to have noticed the saturation of the data, as can be seen from the quotes in the texts by Antonio Narbona Jiménez: “Los estereotipos se repiten hasta el aburrimiento. Nada que no se sepa” (*ABC*, 04.03.2018);<sup>2</sup> or by Lola Pons Rodríguez, who alludes to the poor effectiveness of the arguments put forward by the specialists: “[N]o tiene sentido sacar más argumentos lingüísticos o históricos” (*El País*, 02.02.2017). That is why it is convenient to bring up this statistical principle: it is not worth insisting more, it does not make sense to draw the usual arguments, nor to provide more evidence, because the results will continue to be the same.

The effort of specialised critics, in order to optimise the results of the research, should focus, rather than on an expansion of the sample, already saturated, on the search for new perspectives that serve not only to corroborate the conclusions, if they need to be further corroborated, but also to broaden the spectrum of action. Ramón y Cajal said that “lo primero que se necesita para tratar de asuntos científicos, cuando no nos impulsa la misión de la enseñanza [and this is not the case], es tener alguna observación nueva o idea útil que comunicar a los demás” (1991 [1897]: [137]). The contribution of more samples only serves to endorse what is already known, thus there is no real progress in the research.

Consequently, if the study on the social perception of Andalusian progresses like a flood –that is to say, quantitatively, expanding the corpus of analysis more and more, but only serving to abound in the already known characterization– then it will be necessary to look for new ways of progress, but qualitative, rather than quantitative. It is then that the question arises: what could those perspectives be? In the current state of our inquiries, we have found two: one philological and the other one, linguistic. That is why the analysis of the sample will consist of the development of the following table, which works as a synthesis of our presentation of the results, which have been obtained taking into account the two perspectives indicated.

2 His words resonate as the echo of a previous statement: “Cualquiera que se lo proponga puede reunir en poco tiempo una amplia antología de columnas y colaboraciones periodísticas, cartas al Director, etc., en las que se vierten los juicios más dispares sobre cómo hablan o deberían hacerlo o no hacerlo los andaluces” (2001: 12).

**Table 1. New perspectives of qualitative progress**

PHILOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE			LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE	
Historical tracking			Critical Analysis of Discourse	
			Political instrumentalisation	Linguistic columnism
bookish sources	journalistic sources	audiovisual sources	journalistic sources	
HATE SPEECH				

The philological perspective pays attention to the historical tracking of this hate speech, therefore looking, fundamentally, at book sources, with the later incorporation, already in the nineteenth century, of journalistic ones, and in the twentieth, of modern audiovisual products. For its part, the linguistic perspective deals with the construction of the reality that we are analysing from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, insofar as it conceives any discursive practice of a social nature (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) that always pursues ideological objectives (van Dijk, 2015). Based in our experience, taking this perspective, we insist on issues such as political instrumentalisation or linguistic columnism practised by certain authors in the media, in order to mitigate the negative view of the Andalusian language variety.

## 2.2. *The philological perspective*

Alberto González Troyano's work (2018: 9-37) examines the image of what is related to what Andalusian is from the end of the 18th century to the present day. After the ephemeral passage of the Age of Enlightenment, a large part of the stereotypes that continue in the present were created from the descriptions of foreign romantic travellers. And, despite its noble original endeavour, Costumbrism did not help to neutralise the distortions perpetrated by them. Rather it served, especially in the case of the epigones of Serafín Estébanez Calderón, to amplify them. It insists, thus, on the topic without there being any way to contain its overwhelming momentum. Costumbrism evolves to become a perpetuated genre. To this fact, it must also be added the construction, in an interested way, by the Centre and North of Spain, of a series of prejudices around Andalusian, so that, as a dominant group, they maintain their position.

In line with the design of this hierarchy in power relations, critical sociolinguistics speaks of the inferiorisation of Andalusian in relation to the remaining Spanish territory (Rodríguez-Iglesias 2015: 99-104 and 2018: 98-109). The conversion of that movement into a genre reaches modern audiovisual products, since the existence of certain characters, generally of low social status and funny, is identified with their Andalusian origin, manifested in their way of speaking. We are talking about dozens of television series and movies that have exploited Andalusian and its association with the already known stereotypes, their actants and their settings. The premiere of *Ocho apellidos vascos* (2014) has served to reactivate that association. The latest milestones, following the success of the film, are the series *Allí abajo* (2015) –whose title is an evidence of the similarity between the geographical and hierarchical position– and the film *El mundo es suyo* (2018).<sup>3</sup>

3 Other audiovisual products can be mentioned, arranged chronologically, such as *Pixie y Dixie* (1961), *La vuelta al mundo de Willy Fog* (1983), *El color púrpura* (1986), *Los Fruittis* (1989), *Médico de familia* (1995), *Siete vidas* (1999), *Cuéntame* (2001), *Ana y los 7* (2002), *Aquí no hay quien viva* (2003),

While the representations analysed by González Troyano (2018) are rather literary, without going into the language, those studied by Rafael Cano Aguilar (2009: 82-111) point to the assessment of the Andalusian way of speaking by scholars. In general terms, the strategy devised by that researcher consists in searching for such appreciations in the texts present in the *Corpus diacrónico del español* (CORDE), which leads him to discover the first negative comments in this regard in the 16th century, with some precedents in the 15th century. Within Philology, perhaps the best known example is the testimony of Juan de Valdés, referring to Elio A. de Nebrija, in his *Diálogo de la Lengua* (c. 1538). The allusions are branded by Cano Aguilar as “arbitrarias e infundadas” (2009: 87), based on scarce and erroneous data, which would prove the little knowledge of the Andalusian variety by Valdés:

¿Vos no veis que, aunque Librija era muy docto en la lengua latina, que esto nadie se lo puede quitar, al fin no se puede negar que era andaluz, y no castellano, y que escribí aquel su *Vocabulario* con tan poco cuidado que parece haberlo escrito por burla? [...] [É] era de Andalucía, donde la lengua no stá muy pura. [...] No me aleguéis otra vez para la lengua castellana el autoridad de Librija andaluz, que me haréis perder la paciencia. [...] Ya tornáis a vuestro Librija. ¿No os tengo dicho que, como aquel hombre no era castellano, sino andaluz, hablaba y escribía como en Andalucía, y no como en Castilla? (Valdés 1984 [c. 1538]: 46, 80 y 114).<sup>4</sup>

In his search, Cano Aguilar traces the course of time to the 20th century. Additionally, Carriscondo Esquivel (1999) analysed the texts belonging to the 19th century's costumbrist text collections, many of them unknown because they were not in the large corpus of Spanish data, derived from the pen of the epigones of a movement that derived in a genre, characterized by the forgetfulness of its original purposes (nothing is described any longer for fear of being lost nor do we want to preserve what is truly national). In this way, that contributes to this historical journey a series of representative samples of the relationship of the Andalusian grace with its way of speaking; of the picturesque types (bullfighters, singers and bandits) as actants; of the scenes (the *corrala*, the tavern) in which they move; and, finally, of the scenes full of *chascarrillos*, amorous compliments and compliments:

[El cantaor tiene que ser andaluz.] ¡Pero nunca de Jaén! Por lo tanto cecea y se sorbe una porción de letras, y hace muecas y gestos particulares al hablar, y al andar, y cuando está sentado, y yo creo que hasta mientras duerme (Ferrán 1872: 36).

[El matón nace] en Ronda o en Sevilla, ¿quién sabe?... pero si no es andaluz, lo parece. *Flamenco* por inclinación, dice *jigo* y *jiguera*, empleando constantemente la *z* en lugar de la *c* y la *s*, y adoptando un aire *macareno*... *que da el opio* (Ruigómez 1872: 229).

–¿Es usted la madre de este pimpollo? –preguntó el nazareno. –*Pa* servir a usted y a Dios. –Pues debía usted parir todos los días. –¿*Pa* darle a usted gusto, no es verdad? –No señora, para alumbrar la tierra. –¡Vaya que tiene el señor gana de bromas!

*Acacias 38* (2015) y *Anclados* (2015). From all these samples, we would like to draw our attention to the speech of the slaves in the Spanish dubbing of *El color púrpura* (1986), which is impregnated of Andalusisms to highlight their low socio-educational level. We have not included in this profusion of examples the cinema of regional exaltation, produced during Franco's regime, as well as what appears to be its continuity in the programmes of “Canal Sur”, the regional television and radio stations. We have also ruled out presenters of Andalusian origin who are hired precisely because their way of speaking is linked to what we could call vivacity and friendliness.

4 The analysis of these observations by Ígor Rodríguez-Iglesias shows how it is possible to combine the philological perspective (the origins of the linguistic ideology underlying this vision of Andalusian) with current critical perspectives, related to the aforementioned concept of inferiorisation (2018: 98-109) and the now introduced decolonialism (95-98).

Bien podría usted emplear el tiempo en otra cosa. –¿En qué mejor que en contemplar esa cara de azucena? (Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea ¿1881?: 113).

The plan of action of costumbrists falls progressively into what it previously reported, that is to say, in *majismo*, *tipismo* and picturesqueness (*vid.* González Troyano 2018: 39-46). And all this to conclude that, as far as the Andalusian variety is concerned, their representations, present in these texts, concern only the working class (for the desire to confer humour, sparkle, panache on their characters...); they do not respond to a faithful desire to reproduce the Andalusian variety, since it is above all a stereotype; and, finally, they constitute one more resource of the costumbrist genre in order to give the plot greater humour. In short, a tradition that has transcended outside literature and that has come true not because of its linguistic existence as a variety (since it is not spoken by anyone), but because of its recurrence in imitating Andalusian, similar to what happened with *sayagués* or *gauchesco* of the Golden Literature and from the region of Río de la Plata, respectively (*vid.* Coseriu 1981 [1973]: 312-313).

### 2.3. The linguistic route

#### 2.3.1. Continuity of hate speech

As one of the manifestations of the Andalusian hate speech, the inferiorisation process contemplated in the philological perspective is also transmitted through Linguistics. The sources are not entertainment products—archaic or contemporary—now, but the Spanish media, especially opinion content. Both in the 19th century's tradition and in modern audiovisual speeches, the stereotype about Andalusian is surrounded by a halo of innocence. Despite disguise (through its association with grace, vivacity, humour or friendliness as an object of anthropological study), the value is negative because it serves to insist on the topic, to increase it and, therefore, maintain it. The absence of conflicts is added to the hierarchisation that has been discussed before in series such as *Allí abajo* (2015) (*vid.* 2.2.): the person who is above looks at the person who is below (at their low knowledge and social level) with condescension, an even with tenderness, in a very similar way to which the western person (belonging to the developed world) looks, from an ethnocentric perspective, at the noble savage. Thus, for example, that can be observed in the following sample, taken from *Barbijaputa* on his blog *Zona Crítica*:

No sé cuántas veces he oído desde que vivo fuera de Andalucía frases como “tienes un acento bonito para ser andaluza”, “no eres nada bruta para ser andaluza”, “no eres la típica andaluza...” y en el aire queda flotando un “la típica andaluza... cateta”. Sé que no hay ánimo de ofender y que, es más, me lo dicen como un halago, sin darse cuenta de que hay implícito un claro sentimiento de superioridad (*Eldiario.es*, 03.05.2015).<sup>5</sup>

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5 In this area, through the statements made in the article “La cuestión del acento neutro”, Ígor Rodríguez-Iglesias also gives account of what he has described academically: “Los actores de cine, teatro y doblaje. Los locutores de radio, los presentadores de televisión... todos estos profesionales dejan a un lado su manera de hablar que le es propia e imitan la inherente a los madrileños o burgaleses. Eso da cuenta de cómo, en el campo simbólico mediático, se manifiesta explícitamente esa ideología imperial de *inferiorización* de los otros a partir de un punto cero” (*El País*, 02.26.2016). Recently, Pablo Motos, in his television programme, asked his colleague Roberto Leal, who is Andalusian, if he will “smooth” his accent when he presents the quiz programme *Pasapalabra* (*Público*, 05.05.2020). Over the last few days, we are also witnessing a barrage of opinions, in the media and on social networks, about the Andalusian accent of the Government Spokeswoman Minister, María J. Montero, still in the development phase, so it will have to be analysed in the near future.

We can then become aware of two fundamental facts: the association of the linguistic with the social and, furthermore, condescension as a hidden form of contempt and, therefore, of implicit hatred of Andalusian, in the low status to which it is normally associated and, consequently, to its way of speaking. However, these are not the only issues detected in the media's discourse. Others are also discussed, such as the political instrumentalisation of variety and its choice as a vehicle for informal expression. The arsenal of data that serves to verify these facts can be extracted from a resource such as the Virtual Linguistic Archive of the "Lengua y Prensa" project, with numerous samples of the new aspect that this hate speech towards Andalusian is developing. Nevertheless, we prefer to opt not for quantity but for quality, in order to avoid saturation of the material supplied (*vid.* 2.1.). It is above all that of political instrumentalisation, as a weapon of confrontation, the new front that opens up around the hate speech towards Andalusian. Such instrumentalisation is enhanced by the association of the dialect and its speakers with a low socio-educational level.

### 2.3.2. Political instrumentalisation

We have already commented that we depart from the consideration that any discursive practice is a social practice with determined ideological purposes. In the matter we are dealing with, we have detected that there are numerous occasions in which discourses of devaluation of the way of speaking Spanish in Andalusia are used for political purposes. Thus, for example, in 2009, the Catalan deputy Montserrat Nebrera, from the PP (People's Party), described the accent of the Minister of Public Works, Magdalena Álvarez, who is Andalusian and socialist, as a "joke". She did that when she assessed the Minister's management of the heavy snowfall that fell in Madrid in January that year, which collapsed the region. Furthermore, trying to justify her description, Nebrera added fuel to the fire, saying that the Andalusian accent is not understood (*ABC*, 01.11.2009). For his part, in August 2011, Juan Soler, Deputy Spokesperson for the PP in the Madrid Assembly, wrote on his blog that the manner of speaking of Trinidad Jiménez, Minister of Health and Andalusian during the socialist government, "la hace más apta para Dos Hermanas [a Sevillian town] o Vélez-Málaga" and, therefore, is not qualified to lead the list of the PSOE to the Presidency of the Community of Madrid (*ABC*, 08.19.2011). In addition, the use of the language must be recorded to justify nationalist arguments of superiority. In the case we are dealing with, Artur Mas, former President of the Catalan government, went so far as to say in September 2011 that "en Sevilla, Málaga o La Coruña hablan el castellano, [...] pero a veces no se les entiende. A veces no se les acaba de entender del todo" (*El Mundo*, 09.29.2011). In addition, Ramón Silva, socialist Councillor in the Madrid City Council and supporter of Pedro Sánchez, mocked the accent of his co-religionist Susana Díaz during the PSOE primaries, in early March 2017, when he said that they wanted "un PZOE ganó" (*La Vanguardia*, 03.05.2017). As a matter of fact, the accent of Susana Díaz was also mocked in an absurd transcription written on a Facebook post by the Spanish Consul in Washington, in August 2017, using the coincidence in the Andalusian President's and the Queen of Spain's dress colour as an excuse, when both met at an official act in the capital of the United States (*El Español*, 08.01.2017).<sup>6</sup>

6 As a result of this event, Lola Pons Rodríguez wrote her column "El cónsul y los vendimiadores". In this text, the author clearly puts her finger on the problem, placing the linguistic problem in the socio-economic sphere: "No es de la lengua de lo que estamos hablando. De nuevo hay que citar la divisa de la campaña de Clinton: *es la economía, estúpido*. Y ni siquiera es solo la economía. Se está hablando de supremacías que se quieren defender" (*El País*, 02.08.2017).

The analysis of the samples helps to reinforce a fundamental conclusion. Apologies always come after the barrage of criticism. But the damage is already done. The hate speech to Andalusian as a linguistic variety reveals the crudest intention of the person who issues it, which is no longer social disdain, but personal (in the news that bring Magdalena Álvarez or Trinidad Jiménez into focus); and contempt for a society that votes for a certain party, the socialist, or for a certain faction of that party, those who support Susana Díaz; without forgetting, of course, the linguistic obstacle that supposes the access from the outskirts to the metropolis. Scorn and contempt as a form of hatred. It is not strange, thus, that this hate speech to Andalusian has been dealt with in areas such as politics, to serve as a tool with which to confront the adversary and question their ability to lead a certain institution (no matter if it is a party, a ministry, an autonomous region...); or take government action. With a sympathy that is still derogatory (and therefore hateful), the foreigner smiles at the Andalusian for their way of speaking and associates them with a way of being, not precisely prestigious from the point of view of social tradition. Politicians, aware of this component of the collective imaginary, exploit it in order to collect revenues. As a result, as a weapon of confrontation, the non-Andalusian politicians attack those who are, to despise their way of speaking and, at the same time, their political skills. The national parties, which usually have members from any Spanish region among their ranks, must work hard to, on the one hand, exonerate the member who emits the outburst and, at the same time, reprimand them for the snub. Simultaneously, the provincial offices of the parties react in different ways depending on who attacks.

All the examples go in the same line. Keeping also in mind that, taking advantage of the circumstances, the defence of Andalusian is used to air the dirty linen of the adversary in public and thus try to embarrass the opposition with issues related to economic development, social rights, etc. We can see this exemplified precisely in the news on the management of the snowfall by Magdalena Álvarez, which includes other actants who decided to participate in the controversy, such as Gaspar Zarrías, a prominent Andalusian socialist, to accuse the conservatives in general of contempt to Andalusia; and in particular Javier Arenas, at that time President of the Andalusian conservatives, to whom, Zarrías rebuked for lacking authority in his party (*ABC*, 01.11.2019); or Antonio Sanz, who at that time was Secretary-General of the PP in Andalusia, and while rejecting the statements of his party colleague, Montserrat Nebrera, he criticized the management of the opposition, which was represented by Magdalena Álvarez, the management that was the one that really discredited the Andalusians –but not because she is Andalusian, but because she is a socialist– just as he criticized her vain and arrogant character, to finally lash out at Gaspar Zarrías, accusing him of throwing up a smokescreen to hide the unemployment data in Andalusia (*ibidem*). As it can be seen, these topics have no relation to the way of speaking, if it were not for the execution of an orchestrated plan to relate them from politics, the same thing that happens with other aspects, such as the economic ones (we have seen it in the column by Lola Pons Rodríguez, *vid.* n.5) or the educational ones, of which unfortunately we also have numerous representative samples.<sup>7</sup>

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7 On this point, news such as those published about certain questions made to the Andalusian singer Melody in an interview in a television programme can be classified: “¿Cómo es que siendo de Dos Hermanas hablas tan fina? ¿Has estudiado?” (*ABC*, 08.27.2014). Also, those that allude to the literacy level of Andalusia: “Ana Mato llama analfabetos a los niños andaluces” (*El País*, 03.01.2008); “Tejerina: En Andalucía lo que sabe un niño de 10 años es lo que sabe uno de ocho en Castilla y León” (*El País*, 04.18.2018). These statements are repeated cyclically, in the midst of the successive elections to the Andalusian Parliament by members of the People’s Party. Consequently, they become a weapon of political confrontation, in order to wear down the work carried out by the PSOE, which has been the party in power in the Autonomous Community since its inception until recently. In contrast, it



### 2.3.3. From the layperson to the specialist

The experiences known to the media work, according to the terminology of Patrick Charaudeau (2003 [1997]: 187-223) as “acontecimientos referidos”, which can be commented (“acontecimientos comentados”) and confronted (“acontecimientos provocados”). While in the commentary, facilitated thanks to the new technologies present in the media, laymen and connoisseurs of the aforementioned events mingle, in the confrontation, however, they appeal to the knowledge of the latter. Accordingly, the level of specialization in reaction to events is a *continuum* that goes from less, in the case of readers’ opinions, to more, in the case of popularisers and the cultivation of a journalistic sub-genre such as the opinion column.

#### 2.3.3.1. The irruption of the readers

The comments section in the news published in digital newspapers are an obvious example of the democratization of public opinion. The comments of the readers, who inhabit the digital ecosystems in which they are mostly immersed, occupying scenarios that until now had only a visible manifestation in the Letters to the Editor section, where there was a stricter screening of the participation of readers compared to today’s screening. In any case, this inconvenience does not detract from the speeches that citizens offer, not always from anonymity, which would take a lot of effort to try to achieve them by researchers. We are thinking, for example, about the linguistic questionnaires, whose use does not always report the same spontaneity and absence of pressure that the digital media provided (anonymity, inductions in the responses, etc.). However, these texts constitute a rather complicated object of study because researchers lack data, not provided by the participants, which would undoubtedly yield information of special relevance for the later analysis.

From a small corpus of comments that will be studied in deeply in another work,<sup>8</sup> we have selected a group of comments that allows us to briefly contribute conclusions related to linguistic ideologies about Andalusian, the result of a long and arbitrary process of scorn and devaluing not only as a dialectal variety, but also to its speakers. In the comments analysed we observe three circumstances that we want to highlight: on the one hand, the terminological confusion showed by the citizens about the definition of what Andalusian is (language, dialect, accent...); on the other hand, an absolute disregard for this language variant and the discrimination against its speakers; and, finally, the contempt for speakers of some varieties of Spanish –different from Castilian– for their linguistic idiosyncrasy.

There is no consensus on how Andalusian should be characterised (language, dialect, speech, modality or linguistic variety). There is not even an agreement to recognise it as a unit, beyond the linguistic studies that divide Andalusia into an eastern and a western region. The terminological variety, which Elena Méndez García de Paredes defines as “lastre teórico y conceptual” (2003: 216), is transmitted to the population through education and, therefore, school textbooks, which use terminology that it does not contribute to eradicating inequalities and discrimination based on language. In

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can also be observed, with a much lower frequency, though, a use of Andalusian, which can be classified as *endogenous*, in order to generate empathy or synergies between the candidates and the electorate. *Vid.* in this regard the column by Lola Pons Rodríguez entitled “Con acento andaluz” (*El País*, 30.11.2018). This endogenous use can also be seen in other areas, such as advertising, as Elena Leal Abad (2019) has shown in her study.

8 We have compiled a corpus that contains two thousand comments from ten news in the digital press where Andalusian appears either as the protagonist or as a secondary character, but which lead to the majority of opinions revolving around linguistic ideologies related to the devaluation of Andalusian (and, sometimes, other varieties of Spanish). The comments we handle here have not undergone any orthographic adaptation.

the collected comments, we have been able to demonstrate this indeterminacy. When it is asked what Andalusian is, most of the people describe it as an “accent”; and, to a lesser extent, as a “dialect”; and even less as a “speech”.

The concepts of language, dialect and speech hide an ideological background commonly used for discriminatory purposes. This idealistic and fictitious concept of standard language contributes to this discrimination, to which Andalusian and the rest of the varieties are subject. The fact that the Castilian variety is the one that has historically been widely disseminated and imposed for different ideological reasons, has led many of the Spaniards, including Andalusians, to listen with displeasure to other varieties of the same language. Moreover, profane citizens in linguistic matters try to establish themselves, with their opinions, as experts who judge those who deviate from the standard, but not identified with the Castilian variety. Hence there are pejorative opinions such as the following:

Ahora resulta que el Andaluz es un dialecto... en vez de un castellano mal hablado (*El Mundo*, 08.01.2017).

El andaluz es una deformacion del castellano. No es un dialecto (*El Español*, 08.01.2017).

Ni el andaluz ni el canario son el idioma español, sino aberraciones del mismo (*Voz Libre*, 08.28.2014).

[N]o hay forma de entender a un andaluz hablando (*El Mundo*, 08.01.2017).

Similarly –without the intention of insulting, but with an obvious feeling of superiority– there are other users who define the “Andalusian accent” as “funny”, “peculiar” or “curious”. It is essential to make clear that the mockery is not directed at Andalusian as a linguistic variety, but at people, so that its speakers are the despised and undervalued. The problem is polyhedral and, therefore, its analysis is approached by linguists, but also by sociologists, anthropologists, philosophers...; in short, all those cultivators of the human sciences who pursue social interactions in relation to certain variables as an object of study. Undoubtedly, after the loss of prestige of the Andalusian, there are no linguistic reasons, but rather socio-political ones, since we must bear in mind that “language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group” (Kroskrity 2004: 501).

These ideologies, once created, are perpetuated, spread and very difficult to eradicate, even more so when the group suffering from oppression collaborates as an involved party. In fact, about this reality we have also found numerous testimonies of people who define themselves as Andalusians and are ashamed of the way they speak in Andalusia. It seems to be complicit victims, necessary collaborators in the perpetuation of the idea that there is a bad way to speak in the region. For all these reasons, we agree with Pierre Bourdieu (2000: 29) when he states that “[c]ualquier dominación simbólica implica, por parte de los que la sufren, una cierta complicidad”. Martín Rojo (1997: 24) warned that linguistic prejudices lead to a delegitimization of discourses based on excluding “lo que se dice y a quien lo dice, sobre la base de cómo lo dices”. And this is how we detect some comments from Andalusian speakers who agree with the topic that in Andalusia people speak a bad Spanish:

[L]os andaluces tenemos acentos graciosos (*Libertad Digital*, 11.29.2011).

[L]os andaluces hablamos mal pero tampoco hay que vanagloriarse de ello (*El Mundo*, 08.01.2017).

El andaluz es un dialecto, un dialecto oral (escribir escribimos como el resto de hispanohablantes). Por supuesto que al ser un dialecto se puede transcribir, pero se transcribe al castellano (*El Mundo*, 08.01.2017).

En Andalucía de siempre hemos hablado mal el castellano pero bien el “español” (*El Mundo*, 08.01.2017).

Finally, we have noticed the presence of comments that, in addition to reprimanding Andalusian, despise speakers of other varieties who also suffer harassment, in this case for being from autonomous communities where a second official language is spoken (Galician, Basque and Catalan). Specialists have pointed out the existing asymmetry in Spain regarding the socio-political treatment of co-official languages. In monolingual communities there seems to be no appreciation for the languages of Spain and, as Ángel López García-Molins (2012: 173) has commented, regional languages are considered foreign there. And in this group the Andalusians are included. This is an example of how victims often become executioners and search for new subjects to continue carrying out oppression (J. Tusón 1996: 56). In this way, comments such as the following ones can be read:

[Q]ue me diga como tiene que hablar una andaluz, nos lo diga un catalán... jajajajaja. Si no se les entienden, siempre con la papa en la boca (*El Mundo*, 08.01.2017).

A mí también me hacen gracia (sana) oír a un vasco, catalán, madrileño, gallego o murciano (*Libertad Digital*, 11.29.2011).

[E]l gallego [...] suena como castellano ‘mal hablado’ (*El País*, 08.01.2017).

En España nos hemos descojonado de los gallegos, de los vascos, de los catalanes, de los de Madrid, de los extremeños por sus acentos (*El País*, 08.01.2017).

En Andalucía se habla andalù... ya puedes empezar por decirle a los gallegos, asturianos, catalanes etc., etc. que hable castellano (*El País*, 08.01.2017).

### 2.3.3.2. *The authorized opinion of specialists*

Only from a linguistic intuition can certain beliefs, positive or negative, emanate about a language or one of its varieties. In a recent work Carriscondo Esquivel (2019: 210-213) has exposed the counter-arguments with which the columnists try to minimize the effects of those beliefs and attitudes that, in relation to Andalusian, constitute a negative linguistic imaginary (*vid.* Houdebine 2002). For that reason, he consulted the previous works of Luis Cortés Rodríguez, Emeritus Professor of Spanish Language at the University of Almería, since (1) he has a wide repertoire of specialized academic publications on the topics that he tries to disclose in his journalistic texts; (2) in this production, the defining features of the journalistic sub-genre called *columnas sobre la lengua* are verified (*vid.* Marimón Llorca, 2016: 72-74, 2018: 174-176); and (3) he possesses a consolidated corpus of textual samples, in such a way that, after the publication of his columns in the regional press (*La Voz de Almería*), he decides to gather them all under the same title (*vid.* Cortés Rodríguez, 2011, 2013 and 2019).

The counterarguments with which he tries to minimise the negative linguistic imaginary that hangs around Andalusian –trying to reproduce them literally and establishing a hierarchical order, from general to particular– are the following: (1) There are no better or worse accents (02.03.2009); (2) Speaking well does not depend on the variety (02.01.2010,

11.29.2010); (3) Speaking well depends on wealth and lexical adequacy, on how to connect discursive acts, on how to handle breaks, etc. (02.01.2010); (4) Andalusian is not an attempt against the correct Spanish (02.01.2010); (5) In Andalusia there is no single speech (02.01.2010); (6) As in any other variety, there is a good and a bad Andalusian (02.01.2010); and (7) There is a clear international vocation for Southern languages (08.15.1993 and 01.02.2010). Counterarguments such as the third would form part of the so-called *communicative* ones, although some of them come close to impressionistic appreciations, for example, when describing the Southern morphosyntax as purer, more regulated and more correct (12.13.2010) or that Andalusian, “cuando es un buen andaluz, suena maravillosamente” (02.01.2010).<sup>9</sup>

### 3. Conclusions

In this two explorations (from the bookish tradition to the digital press) and in our classification of the hate speech to Andalusian in all the detected manifestations and their instrumental uses (from disguised innocence to the disqualification of the political adversary), we believe we have contributed something more than a simple accumulation of data, within the saturation symptoms that are already beginning to be perceived, both in the subjects and in the samples that serve as empirical evidence. Let us express now, at the end of the work, our pessimism in overcoming this well-known stereotyping, bordering on stigma. If the experts have not even been able to mitigate it in their informative journalistic work, much less, we think, we will be able to do it by means of specialised discourse in an academic context. Comments from readers of the digital media attest to the validity of the hate speech to Andalusian. We end our article just as at the beginning, with the mention of another fundamental principle of statistics: if the sample is representative, the behaviour of the data that may arise in the future can be predicted. Despite all the aforementioned, we will not tire of appealing to the social justification of the research carried out by those who approach these issues, hoping that the disclosure, awareness or scientific explanation of reality will one day serve to counteract the negative effects, gradually scratching the ground to the domains of the topic.

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9 The use of these arguments would go beyond the purpose of giving prestige to the dialect and convincing speakers of the identical status in which the vernacular variety is situated compared to other more prestigious ones (*vid.* Marimón Llorca [in press]: 18). The question of accents refers directly to the phonic level; an exemplary pronunciation is not imposed but, as it is known, Castilian has a greater prestige.

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