

Factors Impacting *Ceceo* Production in Jerez de la Frontera

Author: Emily Weinschenk

Tutor: Francisco Javier Martín González



Universidad de Sevilla

Facultad de Filología

Máster en Estudios Lingüísticos, Literarios y Culturales (MELLC)

Trabajo Fin de Máster

2021-2022

19 November, 2022

Seville, Spain

ABSTRACT

Numerous research has focused on Andalusian *ceceo* as a topic of study. The majority of such studies have signaled the advancement of a fricative demerger which is splitting *ceceo* into the Peninsular standard *distinción*. Studies have also explored *ceceo* production between differing diaphasic contexts. Previous research on the relatively understudied speech community of Jerez de la Frontera has mainly investigated how demographic factors impact *ceceo* production. Through sociolinguistic interviews, the present study investigates the impact of emotional connection to Jerez on speakers' *ceceo* production. It also analyzes *ceceo* production within formal and informal diaphasic contexts. Results indicate that connection to Jerez has a greater weight on *ceceo* production than age, educational attainment and gender, especially in casual speech situations. In formal speech situations, such as reading aloud, educational attainment has the greatest impact on *ceceo* production. Results also indicate that in both formal and informal situations, *ceceo* increases when the topic of speech references the household sphere. *Ceceo* production is in the middle when speech references the public sphere, and reaches its lowest point when the topic pertains to the professional sphere.

Keywords: *ceceo*, fricative demerger, Jerez de la Frontera, sociolinguistics, nonstandard dialectal features

RESUMEN

Numerosas investigaciones se han centrado en el ceceo andaluz como tema de estudio. La mayoría de estos estudios han señalado el avance de una separación fricativa que está convirtiendo el ceceo en el estándar peninsular, distinción. Asimismo los estudios han explorado la producción de ceceo entre diferentes contextos diafásicos. Las investigaciones anteriores sobre la comunidad de habla de Jerez de la Frontera, relativamente poco estudiada, principalmente han investigado el impacto de los factores demográficos en la producción de ceceo. Mediante entrevistas sociolingüísticas, el estudio actual investiga el impacto de la conexión emocional con Jerez en la producción de ceceo de sus hablantes. También se analiza la producción de ceceo en contextos diafásicos formales e informales. Los resultados indican que la conexión con Jerez tiene más peso en la producción de ceceo que la edad, el nivel educativo y el género, especialmente en situaciones de habla casual. En situaciones de habla formal, como la lectura en voz alta, el nivel educativo es el factor que más influye en la producción de ceceo. Los resultados además indican que, tanto en situaciones formales como en las informales, el ceceo aumenta cuando el tema del discurso hace referencia al ámbito doméstico. La producción de ceceo se sitúa en un punto medio cuando el discurso hace referencia a la esfera pública, y alcanza su punto más bajo cuando el tema pertenece a la esfera profesional.

Palabras clave: ceceo, separación fricativa, Jerez de la Frontera, sociolingüística, rasgos dialectales no estándares

INDEX

1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	6
2.1. Background of <i>Ceceo</i>	6
2.1.1. Origins and Development of <i>Ceceo</i>	6
2.1.2. Attitudes Towards <i>Ceceo</i>	8
2.1.3. <i>Ceceo</i> in the Arts.	10
2.1.4. Movement Towards Reclaiming <i>Ceceo</i> and Other Andalusian Diatopic Traits	12
2.1.5. Section Summary.	13
2.2. Previous Field Studies on <i>Ceceo</i>	13
2.2.1. Urban vs. Rural.	14
2.2.2. Age	14
2.2.3. Socioeconomic Class and Education	15
2.2.4. Gender.	17
2.2.5. Diaphasic Variation	18
2.2.6. Section Summary	19
2.3. The Current State of <i>Ceceo</i> in Andalucía.	19
2.4. Jerez de la Frontera.	21
2.4.1. Current Statistics	22
2.4.2. Previous Field Studies on <i>Ceceo</i> in Jerez	23
2.5. Chapter Summary.	26
3. THE PRESENT STUDY	27
3.1. Objectives and Initial Hypotheses	27
3.2. Methodology.	28
3.2.1. Participants.	28
3.2.1.1. Age	30
3.2.1.2. Education	30
3.2.1.3. ‘Jerez Score’	30
3.2.2. Procedure of Data Collection	32
3.2.3. Procedure of Data Analysis	34
3.3. Results	35
3.3.1. Total <i>Ceceo</i>	35
3.3.2. Free Speech <i>Ceceo</i>	38
3.3.3. Controlled Speech <i>Ceceo</i>	41
3.4. Discussions.	42
3.4.1. General Findings.	43
3.4.2. Multivariate Regression Analysis: Significance of ‘Jerez Score’	44
3.4.3. Extralinguistic Variables and Comparison to Previous Studies.	46
3.4.3.1. Age.	46
3.4.3.2. Education.	48
3.4.3.3. Gender.	49
3.4.4. Significance of Topic in Free Speech.	50
3.4.5. Significance of Formality in Reading.	52
3.5. Closing Remarks	53
4. CONCLUSION	57

5. REFERENCES	59
6. APPENDICES	64
6.1. Appendix A. Participant Information Sheet: Pre-interview.	64
6.2. Appendix B. Conversation Questions: Interview Part 1.	65
6.3. Appendix C. Text 1: Interview Part 2a	65
6.4. Appendix D. Text 2: Interview Part 2b	66
6.5. Appendix E. Metalinguistic Questions: Interview Part 3	67
6.6. Appendix F. Announcement/ <i>Convocatoria</i>	67

INDEX OF IMAGES

Image 1: <i>Seseo</i> , <i>Ceceo</i> and <i>Distinción</i> Across Andalusia	3
Image 2: Evolution of Andalusian Merger.	7
Image 3: Rate of <i>Ceceo</i> in the High Socioeconomic Class vs. the General Population.	16
Image 4: <i>Ceceo</i> Demerger.	20
Image 5: Population of Jerez	22

INDEX OF TABLES

Table 1: Participants.	29
Table 2: <i>Ceceo</i> Production per Participant	36
Table 3: Overall <i>Ceceo</i> Production.	37
Table 4: Total <i>Ceceo</i> Production Broken Down into Groups	37
Table 5: Multiple Regression Analysis of Total <i>Ceceo</i>	38
Table 6: Free Speech <i>Ceceo</i> Production Broken Down into Groups	39
Table 7: Multiple Regression Analysis of Free Speech <i>Ceceo</i>	40
Table 8: Controlled Speech <i>Ceceo</i> Production Broken Down into Groups	41
Table 9: Multiple Regression Analysis of Controlled Speech <i>Ceceo</i>	42
Table 10: Ratings for Conversation Topics and % of <i>Ceceo</i> per Topic.	52
Table 11: Percentage of <i>Ceceo</i> Increase (+) or Decrease (-) from Part 2a to 2b	53

INDEX OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Education Groups Within Age Groups.	31
Figure 2: Age vs. ‘Jerez Score’	32
Figure 3: Average <i>Ceceo</i> Rate per Conversation Topic in Free Speech	40
Figure 4: <i>Ceceo</i> Rate vs. Age Groups	47
Figure 5: <i>Ceceo</i> Rate vs. Education Groups	48
Figure 6: <i>Ceceo</i> Rate vs. Gender Groups	49

1. INTRODUCTION

When philosopher Heraclitus stated that the only constant in life was change, surely he was not contemplating linguistics. Nevertheless, his assertion certainly applies to languages, as invariably present in languages is a lack of constancy, also known as variation. Variation is so ubiquitous because language does not exist independently of its heterogeneous users, whose diverse situations shape their speech. A single language is spoken differently, for example, depending on a speaker's geographical region, social class, gender and age (Rickford, 1996). Use of a single phoneme—or lack thereof—may identify one as being a teen from an urban center, or contrastingly, a middle-aged individual from a village just a few kilometers away.

In Spain, a country that spans 505,992 kilometers squared, there is extensive language variation amongst the 43 million Spanish speakers.^{1, 2} This is clearly illustrated through abundant diatopic varieties, such as differing diminutive forms throughout the peninsula (Callebout, 2011). It is also seen through many diastratic varieties, with certain deviations on standard use of the language, such as deletion of intervocalic /d/, being labeled as vulgar (Delgado et al., 1995; Alba, 2000; Fernández, 2019; Méndez-G^a de Paredes & Carla Amorós-Negre, 2019).³ One particular feature of Peninsular Spanish which is both diatopically and diastratically marked is *ceceo*. *Ceceo* is a non-standard merging phenomenon in which speakers associate voiceless interdental fricative [θ] with grapheme <s> in the syllable onset position.⁴ While users of the peninsular standard *distinción fonológica* employ voiceless alveolar sibilant [s] for grapheme <s> and [θ] for <z> and soft <c> in syllable initial positions,⁵ *ceceantes* do not possess the voiceless alveolar sibilant in their natural speech and utilize [θ] in cases of onset <s, z, ce, ci> (Dalbor, 1980; García-Amaya, 2008; Sanchez,

¹ Source: *Just a moment*. . . (n. d.). Retrieved 25 September 2022, from <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/spain.htm#:~:text=Spain%20shares%20maritime%20borders%20with,the%20US%20state%20of%20Oregon>

² Source: Statista. (2021, 10 November). *Number of native Spanish speakers worldwide 2021, by country*. Retrieved 25 September 2022, from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/991020/number-native-spanish-speakers-country-worldwide/>

³ What is mainly considered vulgar is deletion of intervocalic /d/ in non-participles (eg. ‘dedo’ said as [‘deo]). Its deletion is relatively accepted in participle endings <ado/a> / <ido/a>.

⁴ *Ceceo* is enunciated “either with the tip of the tongue against the back of the upper front teeth or with the tip down against the back of the lower front teeth and the blade or pre- dorsum curved against the back of the upper teeth” (Dalbor, 1980, p. 6).

⁵ Soft <c> is formed when combined with palatal vowels ‘e’ and ‘i’.

2017).⁶ *Casa* (house) consequently becomes a homonym of *caza* (hunt), and *goza* (enjoyment) becomes a minimal pair with *cosa* (thing), differing only in the onset plosives. *Ceceo* may also be transcribed as /s̺/, /s̺^h/, /θ^s/ or /θ̺/, to signify that *ceceo* is slightly less fronted than the interdental [θ] (Penny & Penny, 2002; Regan, 2021).⁷ *Ceceo* also contrasts with *seseo*, another non-standard peninsular linguistic phenomenon, in which onset <s, z, ce, ci> are all vocalized as voiceless alveolar [s]. Though relatively uncommon in the peninsula, *seseo* is considered standard in Latin American and Canarian Spanish. *Seseo* and *ceceo* may be referred to together as merging, *reducción*, *neutralización*, *desfonologización*, *igualación fonológica* or *confusión*, although this latter name has become outdated (Villena Ponsoda et al., 1995).

The use of *ceceo* is diatopically marked as a trait characteristic of Andalusians, the demonym of those native to the southernmost region of peninsular Spain, Andalusia. Although *ceceo* is most common in this part of Spain, it is not used uniformly throughout the region. While studies indicate use of *ceceo* in Occidental Andalusia, most notably in the southwest, there is significantly less evidence of it in Oriental Andalusia (Dalbor, 1980; Morillo-Velarde Pérez, 2001). On the following page, Image 1 displays a dialectal map from *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Andalucía* (Alvar et al., 1991). This shows that as of the 1990s, *ceceo* predominated throughout provinces Seville, Cadiz and Malaga with the exception of their capital cities, and occupied large portions of provinces Huelva and Granada. Andalusian Spanish speakers may also utilize *seseo* and the national standard *distinción*, largely depending on their location (García-Amaya, 2008).⁸ Méndez-G^a & Amorós-Negre (2019) explain that *ceceo*, *seseo* and *distinción* “are respectively distributed across clearly defined geographical areas within the region” (p. 182). However, according to the dialectal map in Image 1, *ceceo* is associated with more geographical space than *seseo* is.

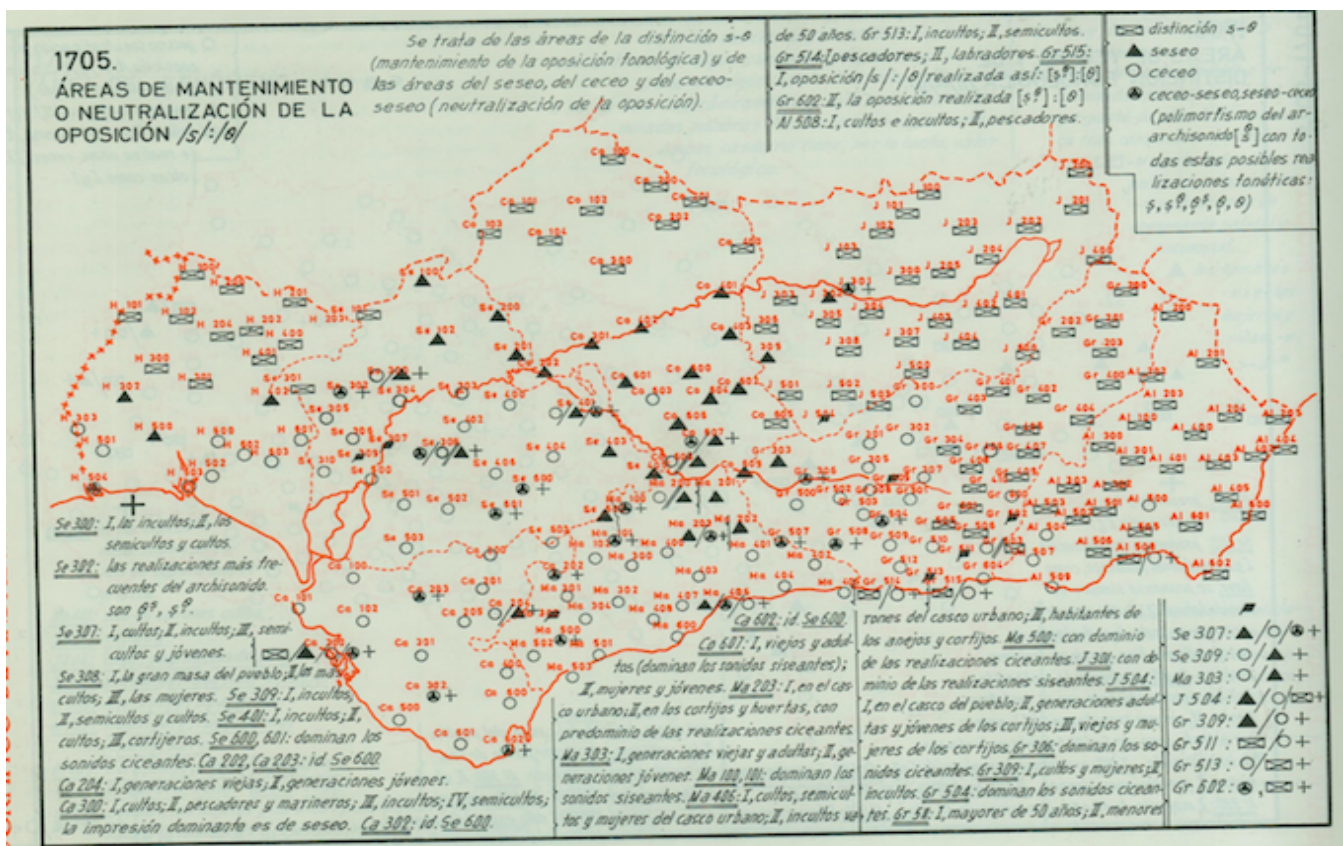
Just as it is diatopically southern, *ceceo* is also considered diastratically low. In 2004, the *Libro de Estilo* of the southern Spanish television channel *Canal Sur* named both *distinción* and *seseo* as two versions of a standard, the former being that of the Peninsula and

⁶ Only <s> in the syllable onset position is potential for a *ceceo* utterance. <s> in the coda syllable position is either pronounced as alveolar sibilant [s] in standard Spanish or aspirated in the case of southern Andalusian Spanish.

⁷ For the purpose of this study, I shall use /θ/ and [θ] when referring to *ceceo*.

⁸ *Distinción meridional* differs slightly from that of the north, as Andalusian /s/ is pronounced with the tongue in a flatter position than the Castilian apico-alveolar /s/, making the former more dental (Regan, 2017a; Universidad de Sevilla, 2021).

Image 1: Seseo, Ceceo and Distinción Across Andalusia



the latter being Latin American. *Ceceo* is ergo the most stigmatized, as non-standard registers tend to be, and considered to have low prestige juxtaposed with the national and international norms (Platero, 2011). Indeed, those who use *ceceo* tend to have higher rates of belonging to the working socioeconomic class and/or being from more rural areas when compared to their non-*ceceo* counterparts (Salvador, 1980; Regan, 2017a; Melguizo Moreno, 2009). *Ceceo* has been frowned upon by style guides (Mendieta, 1993; Canal Sur, 2004), unfavored in matched-guise tests (Regan, 2021; Moya Corral & García Wiedemann, 1995) and mocked in mass media (Dalbor, 1980; Marcos Marín, 1990; Harjus, 2018a). There have been, however, recent movements aiming to embrace *ceceo* and ameliorate its status in contemporary Andalusia.

Jerez de la Frontera is a small city located in northwestern Cadiz where *ceceo* is used often but not exclusively. It is home to a speech community of *ceceo* and *distinción* users living side-by-side, their speech behavior largely dependent upon individual factors (García-Amaya, 2008). Jerez is a particularly compelling location of study for sociolinguists due to a mixture of factors that make it one of a kind. With more than a thousand square kilometers and over 200,000 habitants, Jerez is the largest and most populous city of its province. It is also notable for being home to sherry wine, Carthusian horses and flamenco

singing, and thereby boasts national and international tourism. On paper, Jerez is undoubtedly a sizable urban center. Many members of the speech community, however, view it as a village. Martos & Tassile (2019) describe the sentiment shared by many *jerezanos* and *jerezanas*:

–¿Jerez es un pueblo..? Yo creía que era una ciudad.

–Sí, sí, es una ciudad... pero para mí es mi pueblo. (s.n.)

There consequently exists a dichotomy of identities in Jerez: that of a large city and a small village, essentially an urban and rural identity fused into one. Harjus (2018b) explains how this multifaceted identity is linked to the heightened value of Andalusian rural culture in Jerez:

La inclusión de lo rural dentro de lo urbano aparece como tema incluso dentro de la propia comunidad de habla jerezana: sorprendentemente, en diferentes foros se discute seriamente el estatus de Jerez como ciudad o como pueblo... La vinculación entre ciudad y pueblo se ha visto fortalecida gracias a una revaloración simbólica de lo rural andaluz (p. 80-1).

Jerez' rural, village-like feel despite its large size and population could be due to its low importance in the political sphere,⁹ the traditionally close relationship between neighbors or its local traditions which have remained fundamental to the *identidad jerezana* for centuries. It is hypothesized by Iglesias de Ussel (1999, as cited in Harjus, 2018b) that such ties to local celebrations strengthen rural identity and increase its prestige in a speech community. Perhaps stemming from this rural prestige, along with the omnipresence of economic hardship and relatively low levels of formal education attainment in Jerez, its speech community tends to see *ceceo* in a less negative light than the rest of the peninsula does. In his metalinguistic study on the speech community of Jerez, Harjus (2017) even concluded that, “within the local speech community *ceceo* enjoys a wide prestige” (p. 12). This sentiment is juxtaposed with growing evidence that a fricative demerger is slowly splitting *ceceo* into *distinción fonológica* in Jerez and greater Occidental Andalusia.

According to Harjus (2018b), the speech community of Jerez de la Frontera is relatively understudied compared with other urban Andalusian speech communities. Previous studies carried out on the Jerez speech community have chiefly identified and described how extralinguistic, quantitative factors (age, gender, education, socioeconomic class) impact

⁹ Jerez is eight times the size and has double the population of its region's historically significant capital, Cadiz.

ceceo use. However, according to researchers Barton & Lazarsfeld (1955), Denzin (1970) and Flick (1991) (as cited in Harjus, 2018b), in tandem with quantitative variables, qualitative variables are of utmost significance in analyzing a sociolinguistic phenomenon. Harjus' is the only study of its kind that quantifies qualitative factors regarding connection to Jerez and uses these values as independent variables in analyzing *ceceo* use. Although García-Amaya (2008) introduces a binary social network rating in his comprehensive study of Jerez, neither is it a quantified value nor does it concern participants' connection to the city itself, but rather their relationship with their neighbors.

Following its introductory chapter, the study is organized into Chapter 2: 'Literature Review', Chapter 3: 'The Present Study' and Chapter 4: 'Conclusions'. 'Literature Review' delves into the history and actuality of *ceceo*, including previous research performed on this linguistic feature and conclusions about its usage. It also shares research on *ceceo* performed in Jerez de la Frontera, allowing the readers a deeper understanding of the location of study. 'The Present Study' then presents the author's sociolinguistic investigation, carried out to contribute to research on *ceceo* in the speech community of Jerez, particularly impact of speakers' emotional connection to Jerez on their *ceceo* production and speakers' *ceceo* production within diaphasic contexts. This chapter details everything related to the current research project including its objectives and hypotheses, the participants, procedures, results and discussions. The validity of hypotheses are also determined in this chapter. Results indicate that a strong emotional connection to Jerez is the most significant factor impacting *ceceo* production, its weight trumping that of other factors such as level of formal education, age and gender. Findings also suggest that the topic of conversation and formality of a text within informal and formal contexts, respectively, do indeed impact *ceceo* production in the Jerez speech community. Finally, 'Conclusions' briefly restates the findings, discusses limitations of the present study and looks towards the future of *ceceo* production in Jerez. Conclusions are followed by Chapter 5: 'References' and Chapter 6: 'Appendices'.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The following chapter opens with the background of *ceceo*, including its development and the historical and contemporary attitudes towards it. Next, it delves into previous research on *ceceo* followed by discussion of the current state of *ceceo* in Andalusia. Finally the chapter hones in on Jerez de la Frontera as the location of the present study and presents its current demographics and previous research regarding *ceceo* performed in this city.

2.1. Background of *Ceceo*

This section opens with the relevant historical context and an overview of the phonological evolution which led to *ceceo* as we know it today. This is followed by a description and examples of the attitudes towards this dialectal feature, most of which have been unfavorable. Then the more positive modern-day attitudes towards *ceceo* are discussed, which can be tied to contemporary movements fighting against prescriptivism.

2.1.1. Origins and Development of *Ceceo*

The origins of *ceceo* can be traced back to the sibilants used in medieval Castilian Spanish, spoken from the 10th century. There is evidence of three sibilant pairings in use until the fifteenth or sixteenth century: the alveolar fricative pair (the voiceless [s] and voiced [z]), the dento-alveolar affricate pair (the voiceless [ts] and voiced [dz]) and the alveopalatal fricative pair (the voiceless [ʃ] and voiced [ʒ]).¹⁰ Eventually, this voicing distinction faded and [ts] and [dz] lost their affrication, and here Castilian and Andalusian Spanish entered distinct processes of merging— *distinción* in the former, and *desfonologización* in the latter (García-Amaya, 2008; Harjus, 2018a). In Castilian Spanish, sibilants [s], [z], [ts] and [dz] were reduced into [s] and [θ]. Conversely, in Andalusian Spanish the four were neutralized into a single sound: predorsal [s] in *seseo* regions and post-dental [θ] in *ceceo* regions.

In the majority of the Spanish Peninsula, when [ts] and [dz] lost their affrication they merged together into [ʃ] which later became [θ]. The [s] developed separately, as a merger of the alveolar fricative pair: [s] and [z]. Thus came about the two distinct sounds of *distinción*. This can be contrasted with the corresponding phonological readjustment process in meridional Spanish, where [ts] and [dz] each merged with one of the alveolar fricatives rather than each other. In Andalusia, [ts] merged with [s], forming [ʃ] and [dz] merged with [z], forming [z]. These resulting dental sounds [ʃ] and [z] were so similar, however, that they

¹⁰ The alveopalatal fricative pair [ʃ] and [ʒ] merged into the velar non-sibilant [x] of modern Spanish (Núñez-Méndez, 2016).

Image 2: Evolution of Andalusian Merger

examples	calça 'trousers'	fizo 'did (3rd person sing.)'	COSSA 'thing'	casa 'house'
graphemes	ç, ç^{e,j}	z	-ss-	-s-
sounds	[ts]	[dz]	[s]	[z]
14th cent.				
16th cent.		[ʃ]		[z]
17th cent.			[ʃ]	
present		[s] <i>seseo</i>		[ʃ] ≈ [θ] <i>ceceo</i>
		Andalusian Spanish <i>Seseo</i>		

naturally readjusted into [ʃ], currently pronounced as *ceceo* or *seseo* depending on the region. (García-Amaya, 2008; Núñez-Méndez, 2016; Harjus, 2018a). Above, Image 2 illustrates the diachronic process in graphic form (Núñez-Méndez, 2016, p.76). Alvar (1972) contrasts Castilian distinction of apical and predorsal <s> with Andalusian neutralization of the two: “*El castellano adelantó hasta /θ/ las ‘z’ y ‘s’ predorsales —con lo que vinieron a distinguirse de las ‘z’, ‘s’ apicales; mientras que el andaluz las atrajo al punto de articulación de las predorsales, neutralizándolas*” (p. 43). It is clear that Andalusian merging occurred parallel to that of Castilian Spanish, rather than after it, and thus was a unique and complex process of its own, rather than an incomplete version of the Castilian distinction process.

There is evidence these merging processes began towards the end of the 15th century, likely due to assimilation caused by natural phonetic weakening and economy of effort (Kiddle, 1977; Cano Aguilar, 2001; Penny & Penny, 2002). Although it remains undetermined why Andalusian and Castilian sibilants entered distinct merging processes, most theories consider the external factor of language contact to be significant. Contact with Basque may have promoted northern *distinción*, while the influence of Arabic or the Mozarabic language in the south may have encouraged Andalusian dephonologization. (Eddington, 1987; Penny & Penny, 2002). However, this latter claim has been refuted by researchers such as Rivaya (2010), claiming that there is not enough evidence to link Mozarabic and *ceceo/seseo* merging. The researcher hypothesizes that Andalusian linguistic

change could have been a result of contact with other meridional Iberian languages previously spoken in the region.

Although the factors leading up to the neutralization of [s] and [θ] are somewhat ambiguous, it is generally agreed upon that it became prevalent in Andalusia after it was incorporated in the speech of prestigious urban center Seville, and subsequently extended out to the surrounding communities. This could also explain why the merger is more common in western and central Andalusia and less common in the eastmost provinces. It was reported by Extremaduran scholar Benito Arias Montano that by the year 1560, even the most educated of people in Seville were incapable of distinguishing <s, z, ci, ce>. (Cano Aguilar, 2001). There is also more proof for *seseo* having predated *ceceo*, as it has been the traditionally dominant merging phenomenon in Seville (along with the first reconquered villages from the 15th century), and the closer of the two sounds to Medieval Spanish (Cano Aguilar, 2001). It is thought that the [s] later adjusted into [θ] in rural or coastal zones around Seville as *ceceo* became prevalent amongst homogeneous rural populations. After various subtle changes, it was not until the 18th century that *seseo* and *ceceo* came to describe the very phonological sounds that we know today (Kiddle, 1977; Cano Aguilar, 2001).

2.1.2. Attitudes Towards *Ceceo*

There is historical evidence indicating metalinguistic awareness of *ceceo* since its emergence. Texts from the early days of *ceceo* explicitly reference its use by public figures. For instance, Fernando del Pulgar's 15th century *Claros varones de Castilla* points out which of these men in question were *ceceosos*.¹¹ He states "*Don Alfonso de Santa María, Obispo de Burgos... fablava muy bien e con buena gracia, çeçeava un poco*" (del Pulgar, 1923, as cited in Alonso, 1951). Other quotes from the period inform that *ceceo* was regarded as a feminine speech feature. For example in 1626, Correas wrote, "*la suavidad del zezeo de las damas sevillanas ke hasta los onbres le imitan por dulce*" (Correas, 1630, as cited in Alonso, 1951). Salazar also reflects this, stating in 1614, "*cecear con gracia se permite a las damas*" (Salazar, 1614, as cited in Alonso, 1951). Pejorative attitudes towards *ceceo* were apparent as well from the outset. Andalusian humanist Antonio de Nebrija hypothesized in 1507 that *ceceosos* were physiologically unable to pronounce the <s> and replaced it with the pronunciation of the <c>, due to their irreversible speech defect (Alonso, 1951). In his 1635 '*Poema heroico de las necedades y locuras de Orlando el enamorado*', Francisco de Quevedo infamously

¹¹ The formerly employed term to describe users of *ceceo* (now *ceceantes*).

referred to Andalusians as, “*feos, cargados de patatas y ceceos*” (de Quevedo & Malfatti, 1964, as cited in Alonso, 1951). Several generations later, a similar attitude denigrating *ceceo* persisted. Navarro Tomás asserted in his 1926 Spanish pronunciation manual, “*Los vascos, catalanes y valencianos, no siendo sujetos de poca cultura, hablan normalmente el español distinguiendo la ‘z’ de la ‘s’*” (p. 91), and went on to recommend “*corregir y evitar esta forma de pronunciación*” (p.106). *Ceceo* and *seseo* eventually came to be known to linguists as *confusión*, both to contrast with *distinción* and to highlight orthographic mistakes that occurred between <s>, <z> and <c>, which were less common in regions that used *distinción* (Eddington, 1987). However, the term feels condescending, as equating a linguistic speech feature with confusion implies inferiority of the users and erroneous speech. The term is also misleading because it implies that speakers have spontaneously and arbitrarily combined [s] and [θ], whereas Andalusian Spanish developed to have one sound associated with onset <s, z, ce, ci>. Quesada (2019) describes this misleading term, stating, “*Los hablantes seseantes y ceceantes no «confunden» dos unidades, puesto que poseen solo una*” (p. 516). Although this term is used sparingly today, referring to Andalusian merging as *confusión* was still the norm in the late 20th century (Lapesa, 1956; Dalbor, 1980). In his “Observations on present-day *seseo* and *ceceo* in Southern Spain”, Dalbor (1980) documents that at this point in time: “...most Spanish linguists and philologists use[d] the word *confusión* to describe just the so-called absence of the /s/ or the /θ/ phoneme...” (p. 7). The author even observed the term *confusión* used in reference to coronal fricative neutralization in editions of works from as late as 2011 (Narbona Jiménez et al., 2011).

Despite this implication that the *ceceo* and *seseo* mergers were equally prejudiced against, a diastratic difference eventually developed between these two; over time, *seseo* became viewed as an accepted linguistic phenomenon, while *ceceo* was overlooked. In fact, only *seseo* was admitted as a legitimate Spanish pronunciation in the 1956 *Congreso de Academias de la Lengua Española* (Platero, 2011).¹² Quesada (2019) performed a diachronic investigation into descriptions of the two dephologization phenomena as seen in official linguistic sources and observed less mention of *ceceo* with much greater importance and acknowledgement over time given to *seseo*, despite the similar history of the two. She also notes *ceceo* as being described as vulgar, if mentioned at all. The traditionally low diastratic level of *ceceo* compared to *seseo* could also be observed through a greater lens, being applied to entire cities. Alvar (1972) highlighted the relationship between prestige of Andalusian

¹² However, it was not until the 1970s that *seseo* appeared in a printed edition.

cities and their residents' use of *ceceo* or *seseo* in the late 20th century: “...ciudades con mayor prestigio social (Sevilla y Córdoba) se haya seseado, mientras que en Huelva (de importancia muy limitada frente a Moguer o Palos), Cádiz, Málaga y, parcialmente, Granada, se cecee...” (p. 50). Publications of the recent past have been candid about their disdain for *ceceo* and preference towards prescriptive norms. *El Manual de Estilo de TVE*, for instance, describes *ceceo* as a “somewhat crude pronunciation” (Mendieta, 1993, p. 115).¹³ Although not explicitly mentioned, *ceceo* is also indirectly referenced and advised against in the *Libro de Estilo de Canal Sur* (2004) for Andalusian voice professionals:

Todos aquellos profesionales que se decidan a utilizar las hablas andaluzas en su labor ante el micrófono deben contribuir a que el andaluz no sea identificado con lo popular y lo coloquial, y mucho menos con lo vulgar. Aquellos rasgos del andaluz que utilicen en sus locuciones deben ser los que consideren de más alto nivel... aquellos que carezcan de cualquier matiz que impidan la comprensión. En otras palabras, deben emplear un andaluz culto y formal que abarque, amplíe y perfeccione el concepto de español estándar (p. 218-9).

This unfavorable attitude is inevitably reflected in opinions of the public. Matched-guise studies performed in Huelva and Granada conclude that speakers who used *ceceo* were thought to speak more poorly, be of a lower social status and have less prestigious jobs than speakers who used *distinción* and *seseo* (Regan, 2021; Moya Corral & García Wiedemann, 1995).

2.1.3. *Ceceo* in the Arts

Ceceo, *seseo* and other meridional dialectal features such as loss of final consonants, aspirated <j>, exchange of implosive <l> for [r] and voiceless prepalatal fricative [ʃ] for affricate /tʃ/ are naturally used to portray Andalusian film and television characters. However, these traits are oftentimes used in a pejorative way, exaggerated by characters who embody negative Andalusians stereotypes. Characters who possess these speech features may be portrayed as being uneducated, stingy, evasive of responsibility, manipulative and the object of ridicule. Popular television programs *Aquí no hay quien viva* (2003-2006), *Los Serrano* (2003-2008), *Mis adorables vecinos* (2004-2006), and *La que se avecina* (2007-) all contain characters who speak with Andalusian dialectal traits and are characterized by at least one of the previously mentioned negative stereotypes. This contrasts with the neutral portrayal of

¹³Author's translation. Original Spanish: “una pronunciación un tanto burda”.

characters who speak using the national standard (Pérez León, 2020).

While all of the Andalusian dialectal traits have been used to negatively portray characters, it can be argued that *ceceo* is the most deprecating of them all. Navarro Tomás (1926) explains, “*el teatro y la novela suelen utilizar el ceceo como recurso cómico, presentándole con el carácter de un rudo dialectalismo o como una chocante anormalidad*” (p. 106). *Ceceo* has traditionally been used in mass media and literature to distinguish the most rural and low-educated Andalusian characters from their more affluent Andalusian counterparts who do not use *ceceo* (Dalbor, 1980). For example, Andalusian dramatists known as the Quintero Brothers were also known for utilizing *ceceo* to establish social status of the various characters in the late 19th and early 20th century. Marcos Marín (1990) writes that of their works, “*en todos los sainetes y en las comedias principales: siempre sesea el personaje fino, urbano y/o simpático; el ceceo es rural, o está matizado peyorativamente*” (p. 55). In their 1907 book ‘*La Bella Lucerito*’, many of the protagonists are Andalusian, however Doña Felisa is the sole *ceceante*. They utilize *ceceo* to depict her as the most rural character with the lowest sociocultural level, contrasting her with more educated and non-rural Andalusian characters who use *seseo* (Ayora Esteban, 1997).

One contemporary example of *ceceo* being negatively portrayed in the media is seen in the television program ‘*La Peste*’ (2018-2019). The only character who speaks with *ceceo* is Arquímedes, a con-artist who teaches delinquency to orphans and gives them shelter in exchange (Gómez, 2019). It seems that the use of *ceceo* was deliberately exploited here, as actor Manuel Morón who portrays this character speaks with *distinción*. A similar case is seen in the series *Allí Abajo* (2015-2019). José (written sometimes as Jozé — which in and of itself implies that the pronunciation of ‘José’ with *ceceo* is invalid) is the only *ceceante* of the multiple Andalusian characters. José has the lowest level of education and is also characterized as speaking carelessly and in a vulgar manner. The pairing of his impetuous speech and use of *ceceo* strengthens the stereotype that people who have acquired *ceceo* in their linguistic system are lazy in their speech and foulmouthed. Furthermore, this character is from the capital of Malaga, where *ceceo* no longer forms part of the speech community (Harjus, 2018a). This falsely stereotypes Andalusians as a homogeneous speech community whose most ill-mannered and imprudent speakers partake in *ceceo*. Similarly to the previous case, actor Salva Reina who plays José does not speak with *ceceo*. This portrayal of *ceceo* in literature, films and television programs not only illustrates stereotypes of laziness, ignorance and cheapness that have come to be associated with this dialectal trait, but also aids in bolstering such preconceptions.

2.1.4. Movement Towards Reclaiming *Ceceo* and Other Andalusian Diatopic Traits

Amidst this prejudice, there has been a contemporary movement to destigmatize *ceceo* and reframe it as an intrinsic part of the Andalusian identity. Indeed, there has been a shift in the paradigm through which linguists view *ceceo* from an undesirable speech feature into a natural and even productive aspect of language reduction. Villena Ponsoda refers to Andalusian Spanish as being innovative (Villena Ponsoda, 2001) and recognizes how prescriptive norms have hindered the merger, “*La formación del estándar nacional sobre la base de las variedades conservadoras... ha creado una corriente de prestigio patente capaz de frenar las tendencias innovadoras en los dialectos meridionales*” (Villena Ponsoda, 2003, p. 88, as cited in Melguizo Moreno, 2009, p. 60). Researchers Moya Corral & García Wiedemann (1995) highlight the fact that meridional Spanish developed differently from Castilian Spanish stating, “*Seseo y ceceo no son más que los estados finales a los que han llegado en Andalucía las... sibilantes medievales... no son... resultado de la confusión-neutralización- de ese y zeta castellanas*” (p. 112). Quesada (2019) adds that the Andalusian dialect lacks nothing: “*No falta ningún fonema en el subsistema del seseo-ceceo, porque nunca ha estado*” (p. 516). Additionally, in her investigation of official linguistic sources, she points out that there has been more mention of *ceceo* since the 1990s and an effort within the linguistic community to focus on regional and stigmatized dialects through a more accepting lens.

Movements within Andalusia from the end of the 20th century on have fought for *ceceo* and other Andalusian dialectal traits to have an improved status as official variations on the language. In the recent past, activists have even pushed for the Andalusian variety to be recognized as a language. Miguel Heredia argues for this in his book ‘*El idioma andaluz*’, arguing that Andalusian Spanish had a separate evolution from Latin than Castilian Spanish and could be represented with its own set of grammar and spelling rules. In his works he argues for the use of grapheme <ç>, long-gone from modern Spanish, to represent *ceceo* or *seseo* (Heredia Jiménez, 2018, as cited in Pérez León, 2020). However, it is counter-argued by other linguists that Andalusian Spanish does not diverge enough from the national standard to be considered a separate language, and that Andalusians’ speech in formal speaking situations gravitates towards the peninsular standard. (Méndez-G^a de Paredes & Carla Amorós-Negre, 2019). Although it is unlikely that Andalusian Spanish will be recognized as a language by the current linguistics establishment, linguists fighting for the

Andalusian language are aware of how significant standardization would be in decreasing stigmatization.

There has also been an increase in embracing *ceceo* through the arts from the early 20th century onwards. One example of this is by poet Juan Ramón Jiménez from Huelva, who wrote in Andalusian phonetics in 1938: “*Mare, me jeché arena zobre la quemáúra. / Te yamé, te yamé dejde er camino...*” Use of <zobre> reflects *ceceo*, as Ramón Jiménez replaces <s> with <z> to represent [θ] in the pronunciation of standard Spanish ‘sobre’ (on top of). In a more recent instance, we see praise of the meridional merger in the 2018 song ‘La Amalgama’ by Sevillian hip-hop group SFDK: ‘*Sea la S, la Z, o la C / como usted puede ve / Pa mí es la misma letra*’. The group proudly proclaims that they view <s>, <z> and <c> as the same letter, and spell words so that they match their Andalusian pronunciation (Pérez León, 2020). Successful Andalusian Flamenco fusion group Califato $\frac{3}{4}$ pen the name of their songs mirroring Andalusian pronunciation, in ‘*Estándar para el Andaluz*’ (*Êttandâ pal andalûh*). They heed Heredia Jiménez’ suggestion to represent *ceceo* with grapheme <ç>. Song titles include ‘*Çambra Der Huebê Çanto*’ (std. *Zambra del Jueves Santo*, 2021), ‘*Mençahe Der Profeta*’ (std. *Mensaje del Profeta*, 2019) and ‘*Tó Ba A çalih Bien Mamá*’ (std. *Todo va a salir bien mamá*, 2021). Additionally, an increasing number of well-known public figures such as television presenter Manu Sánchez Vázquez and singer Laura Gallego Cabezas have refused to conform to the standard Castilian norms and fill their speech with Andalusian dialectal traits, including *ceceo*, when speaking on public platforms (Pérez León 2020).

2.1.5. Section Summary

This section has provided a brief history on the *ceceo* merging phenomenon from its origins in the Middle Ages to the present. The phonological shifts that led to *ceceo* were detailed, as well as evidence of unfavorable historic and contemporary attitudes towards *ceceo*. The section concludes describing a present-day movement to not only accept but also reclaim *ceceo* as an Andalusian identity-marker. The following section gives a rundown of *ceceo* research performed on Andalusian speech communities.

2.2. Previous Field Studies on *Ceceo*

The emergence of *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Andalucía* (ALEA) by Alvar et al. in the 1960s piqued interest in Andalusian dialectal features such as *ceceo*, leading to multiple

sociolinguistic studies (García-Amaya et al., 2019). Research has since concluded that within Andalusia use of *ceceo* is dependent on diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic factors. More specifically, it is dependent on speakers' area-type (urban vs. rural), age, socioeconomic class, education, gender and situation formality. The following subsections detail the findings of some of the most prominent studies of *ceceo* in Andalusia.

2.2.1. Urban vs. Rural

There is evidence of *ceceo* as a rural trait, which can be clearly seen through linguistic maps: *distinción* and/or *seseo* are categorized as the norm within most Andalusian urban centers, which oftentimes shifts to *ceceo* immediately after passing the city limits (Harjus, 2018b). Research performed on urban dwellers and their rural counterparts back this as well. One such study involved urban and rural males from the province of Malaga, all with higher education and between the ages of 24-31. Despite these similarities, it was determined that urban participants consistently associated [s] with syllable onset <s> (100%), whereas rural participants had a much lower rate of this (57.9%). Syllable onset <s> was otherwise pronounced as [θ] or similarly by rural participants (Cervantes, 2010). Another telling study investigated natives of Pinos Puente, a village outside of Granada whose speakers use *ceceo*. Participants were divided into two groups: those who resided in the village at the time of the study and those who had moved to the capital city prior. It was concluded that Pinos Puente residents primarily used *ceceo* and clung to it as a way to express their local identity, while those residing in the capital favored *distinción*. This latter group quickly realized that *ceceo* was stigmatized in the city and attempted to adjust their phonological system accordingly (Melguizo Moreno, 2009). García Mouton (1992) puts it well, “*La ciudad enlaza con lo rural a través de sus hablantes más desfavorecidos culturalmente*” (p. 676).

2.2.2 Age

Research starting in the late 20th century has concluded that *ceceo* is more closely associated with older speakers and generally disfavored by the youth. In a 1980 study, speakers from 11 Granada neighborhoods were interviewed. Despite a wide range of differing factors amongst the participants, (gender, education level, socioeconomic class), a consistently strong tendency towards *distinción* in younger subjects was observed. It was also noted that that age group associated lower prestige with *ceceo* (Salvador, 1980, as cited in Villena Ponsoda et al., 1995). Similar were the results of a 1994 study on the capital of Malaga and surrounding

neighborhoods. Here, the oldest participants (55+ year olds) merged <s, z, ci, ce> at a rate of 40.4%, while the youngest participants (0-19 year olds) exhibited this merging at a mere rate of 2%. The younger group clearly favored *distinción* (onset <s> = [s] at a rate of 89.8%; onset <z, ce, ci> = [θ] at a rate of 94%) while the older group comparatively favored *ceceo* (onset <s> = [θ] at a rate of 48.8%) (Ávila Muñoz, 1994). More recent studies (Moya Corral & Sosinski, 2015; Regan, 2017a) have also found that younger speakers in Granada and Huelva, respectively, have moved towards *distinción* at high rates. Although more dated research concludes that younger speakers reject *ceceo* in favor of one of two prestigious norms, recent studies illustrate that the youth currently favors *distinción* over *seseo*. Harjus (2018b) affirms that *distinción* is currently the most utilized phenomenon amongst the youngest Andalusian speakers.

2.2.3. Socioeconomic Class and Education

Research has also determined that although *distinción*, *ceceo* and *seseo* may exist together in one speech community, their use is largely determined by socioeconomic class. Harjus (2018b) explains, “*se puede ver que los fenómenos del seseo y del ceceo comparten las zonas de hablas andaluzas con la distinción castellana, cada vez más presente entre las clases más formadas...*” (p. 143). However, Jiménez Fernández (1999) describes the difference in status between the two *neutralización* phenomena and its implications, “*El prestigio normativo de la variedad seseante es superior al de la variedad ceceante y por ello tiende a estar entre los hablantes de elevada condición sociocultural, aunque pertenezcan a una zona tradicionalmente ceceante...*” (p. 33). Hence, speakers of the working socioeconomic class generally favor *ceceo* in comparison with other social classes. Indeed, the previously mentioned studies by Salvador (1980) and Regan (2017a) both conclude that *ceceo* was observed more frequently in working class neighborhoods, while those living in wealthier neighborhoods in the same town or city favored the more prestigious norms. Image 3 on the following page demonstrates that across speech communities, the wealthier socioeconomic class has a lower tendency to use *ceceo* when compared to the general population (Melguizo Moreno, 2009, p.66).

Formal education is one of the factors that could explain this link, for it is due to access to educational institutions that well-off speakers are able to access tools that enforce standardization and prescriptive norms. On one hand, formal education is readily available to higher socioeconomic classes, and bolsters their use of prestigious speech. On the other hand, formal education may also encourage *distinción* in younger working class speakers who had

Image 3: Rate of *Ceceo* in the High Socioeconomic Class vs. the General Population

Provincia	CECEO	
	C	G
Huelva	.23	
Jerez	.12	.47
Sevilla	0	.06
Córdoba		0
Málaga		.27
Granada	0	.05

C = índices específicos de los niveles cultos

G = índices generales que no especifican nivel sociocultural

not been exposed to it previously and currently have greater access to education than previous generations.¹⁴ As Ávila Muñoz (1994) states,

La distinción /s/ y /θ/ es... [un rasgo] prestigioso de la ciudad (educación superior)... el hablante no aprende a hablar distinguiendo, sino que, al contrario, adopta la facultad de distinguir a su paso por los centros educativos, donde toma contacto con la norma y modifica su comportamiento lingüístico (p. 364).

Various studies illustrate the correlation between *ceceo* and formal education. In a comprehensive summary of studies performed in Malaga, it was revealed that education had the same significance as age in a speaker's likelihood to use *distinción* or *desfonologización*. Indeed, *ceceo* was collectively used at a total rate of 27% in the general population compared to 4% in university graduates (Villena Ponsoda et al., 2014). More contemporary studies from Malaga have similar implications. In a corpus created through videos from social media pages, speakers from *La Trinidad* neighborhood in Malaga were observed with lower rates of *ceceo* as level of education increased (from 70% in those with no formal studies to 24% in those with higher education). Furthermore, *distinción* increased from 13% to 75% as formal educational attainment of the subjects increased (Havu et al., 2010). All of this is not to say that Andalusians with formal education and of a higher socioeconomic status do not incorporate *ceceo* in their speech. In fact, speakers who acquired *distinción* after receiving higher education and shifting into a higher socioeconomic class develop multiple linguistic systems through which they may switch dialects depending on a situation's formality. Havu et al. (2010) adds that these speakers may incorporate more *ceceo* in their speech once they feel

¹⁴ In 1990, King Juan Carlos I signed "LEY ORGÁNICA 1/1990, de 3 de octubre, de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo", effectively mandating secondary education for all Spanish youth (Jefatura, 1990).

securely established, especially if they are surrounded by other *ceceo* users:

Es posible que el ceceo suela ser evitado por los jóvenes de alto grado educativo y de clase media, mientras que este reparo puede irse mitigando con el paso de los años si se está integrado en una red con gran tendencia al ceceo, obedeciendo al principio de lealtad (p. 1079).

2.2.4. Gender

In general, women have been known to drift towards less stigmatized standards compared to their male counterparts. Wolfram (1969) stated, “females show a greater sensitivity to socially evaluative linguistic features than do males” (p. 76, as cited in Chambers, 1992). There are multiple theories about why this occurs, including women’s awareness of their insecure social position in society and their desire to guarantee upwards social mobility for their children (Labov, 2001, as cited in García-Amaya, 2008). Según Moya Corral & García Wiedemann (1995), “*Las mujeres, porque puedan sentirse más observadas, más criticadas... no son dadas a <<romper las reglas>>, a iniciar procesos que modifiquen el orden instituido y aceptado...*” (p. 97). It has also been reported that women, especially of the middle class, tend towards prestigious speech traits in order to avoid the sexual stigma that society associates with diastratically low dialectal traits (Gordon, 1997).

Whatever the reason may be, urban women, even of low socioeconomic class, have been known to break off from the standard *ceceo* and emulate the more prestigious speech of the higher socioeconomic class (García Mouton, 1992). In Ávila Muñoz’ 1994 study on a Malaga neighborhood, it was determined that men and women participated in *neutralización* at a somewhat even rate, with women slightly more likely to use *distinción* (55.6% vs. men’s 41.7%). However, there was a clear difference in which type of *neutralización* was favored: *ceceo* by men and *seseo* by women. Men associated [θ] with grapheme syllable initial <s> 44.4% of the time, while women did this only 10.8% of the time (Ávila Muñoz, 1994). In a later multivariate analysis, Villena Ponsoda (2007, as cited in Moya Corral & Sosinski, 2015) concluded that *ceceo* in Malaga is a male linguistic feature. While men continue to favor *ceceo* over women, more contemporary studies highlight women’s shift from *seseo* to national norm *distinción* (García Mouton, 2006). A study on Huelva concluded that female participants of all socioeconomic groups favored [s] for orthographic <s>, and were more likely to partake in *distinción* than *seseo*. Males, however, still favored [θ] over females (Regan, 2017b). Havu et al. (2010) also reaches these conclusions, stating that in all of the networks studied, though there was some tendency of women for *seseo*, there was

overwhelming evidence of *distinción* being favored by women and *ceceo* more prevalent in males.

2.2.5. Diaphasic Variation

Formality is a situational factor which also impacts the degree to which *ceceo* is used within a speech community. Formal speech events are more likely to occur as communicative distance between speaker and listener increases. Four universal aspects of situational formality are:

- (1) increased structuring of speech; (2) consistency in terms of the social significance of variants chosen at different levels of communicative expression; (3) invoking of positional identities of participants; and (4) emergence of a focus in speech interactions (Irvine, 1978, p. 1).

Situations of high formality tend to occur in settings that are educational or professional in nature, and may involve activities such as giving or observing a presentation, conducting or receiving an interview or reading aloud. There has been extensive cross-linguistic research on diaphasic situation and speakers' prosodic register, concluding that formality of a situation impacts language processing (Patarroyo et al., 2022; Koppen et al., 2019; Sherr-Ziarko, 2019).

As *ceceo* is diastatically low, increased situational formality has been linked to its abandonment. Studies conclude that users of *ceceo* have internalized it as a non-prestigious linguistic trait best to be concealed in high diaphasic situations. In 1933, Navarro et al. found that *ceceo* users in Huelva changed to *seseo* when speaking to researchers, only to later return to their *ceceo* when leaving the interview context (as cited in Dalbor, 1980).^{15, 16} Villena Ponsoda (2007) observed that urban participants had lower rates of *ceceo* when they read aloud and were asked structured questions, compared to higher rates of *ceceo* when asked more informal and unstructured questions. Additionally, Cervantes (2010) observed that rural males used [s] for orthographic <s> in formal reading situations at a much greater rate than in casual conversational situations. As Narbona Jiménez (1998) explains, “*son bastantes los*

¹⁵ However, there has been recent proof of *ceceo* users switching to *distinción* rather than *seseo* when speaking in high diaphasic situations (Harjus, 2018b). This could be to match the national standard heard on mass media that has become readily accessible in contemporary society (Platero, 2011; Harjus, 2018a).

¹⁶ Even a study's lowest formality interview situation presents a relatively high diaphasic situation for participants, labeled as “careful speech” by Labov (1973, p. 79). Participants are aware that their answers are being recorded and used for professional purposes. This results in an inevitable ‘observer's paradox’ or ‘experimenter effect’, which, however, may be greatly reduced by using certain interview techniques with the aim of “becom[ing] witnesses to the everyday speech which the informant will use as soon as the door is closed behind us...” (Labov, 1973, p. 85).

ceceantes... que acaban –siempre o en ciertas situaciones– distinguiendo o seseando... porque adquiere conciencia del menor prestigio sociocultural... del ceceo, y consideran conveniente, útil, preferible... abandonarlo” (p. 2). This capacity to “camouflage” is more accessible for speakers who have been exposed to the standard norm through formal educational attainment, mass media, internet and/or travel. Therefore, formally educated and younger speakers are more likely than formally uneducated and older speakers to have developed the ability to drop *ceceo* when situation formality is high.

2.2.6. Section Summary

Section 2.2 has described previous field research on the *ceceo* merger in Andalusia. Such research commenced with the *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Andalucía* (ALEA) in the mid-twentieth century and continues to this day. Studies referenced conclude that speakers from rural settings tend to have much greater *ceceo* production than those from urban settings. Male speakers, older speakers, those from a working socioeconomic class and those with less formal education consistently displayed greater *ceceo* production than female speakers, younger speakers, those from a higher socioeconomic class and those with more formal education, respectively. Studies also demonstrated that *ceceo* production alters based on the formality of a situation in which an individual finds themselves. Amidst this great variation, use of *ceceo* has been shifting over the past decades and continues to do so. The following section discusses the present-day situation of *ceceo*.

2.3. The Current State of *Ceceo* in Andalucía

According to research (Villena Ponsoda et al., 1995; Villena Ponsoda 2001, 2007; García-Amaya, 2008; Melguizo Moreno, 2009; Regan 2017a, b) the increase of *distinción* in Andalusia signals a fricative demerger in progress. A demerger occurs when a phoneme is resplit after having previously merged from distinct phonemes. According to Regan (2017b), there are two generally accepted hypotheses of how demergers may come about:

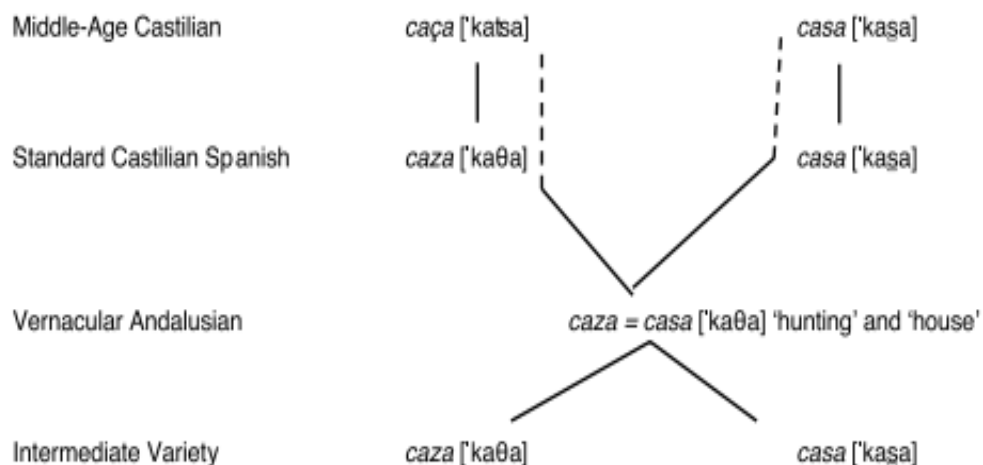
- (i) a reported merger was in fact only an apparent or near-merger, which allowed for the separation of phonemes as they were never fully merged... or (ii) that dialect contact of speakers with the distinction among those with the merger allowed for a split of a full merger (p. 9).

In the case of coronal fricative dephonologization, the most credible is the latter option. This is because *distinción* has increased in Andalusia only over the past decades, at a time that

southern exposure to national standard Castilian is at an all time high through greater access to travel, mass media which emits the standard and greater education for the general population (Dalbor, 1980; Salvador, 1980). Villena Ponsoda (2001) gives proof for hypothesis (ii), stating that *distinción fonológica* in southern Spain is, “*uno de esos raros ejemplos de recuperación de una distinción a partir de una fusión completa*” (p. 126). The first hypothesis seems less plausible, as Andalusia’s brief 16th century version of “*distinción*” involved extremely similar dental sounds [ʃ] and [z,] which were likely to have merged fully and naturally due to assimilation (García-Amaya, 2008; Núñez-Méndez, 2016; Harjus, 2018a).

In any case, the sibilants that merged in meridional Spanish are now breaking apart again. It is hypothesized that the demerger surfaced in the 1950s, before which point *ceceo* and *seseo* were used almost exclusively in Andalusia (Villena Ponsoda, 2001, as cited in Regan, 2017a). From that point on, the shift to *distinción* became more and more apparent. Dalbor (1980) informs of the demerger’s prominence in Andalusia just a few decades after it began. Image 4 (Villena Ponsoda, 2019) below displays a visual flowchart of the demerger.¹⁷ Despite the demerger’s pervasiveness, the change has not occurred in a uniform manner across Andalusia. While there is evidence of growing *distinción* in Oriental Andalusia in the

Image 4: Ceceo Demerger



¹⁷ Although the flow chart is a helpful visual description of a demerger, attention must be drawn to one misleading detail: the graphic gives the flawed impression that Andalusian neutralization formed by merging modern Castilian Spanish sibilants. In reality, the Andalusian variety emerged from its own merging process of Medieval sibilants. See section 2.1.1 for more information.

1980s, *reducción* was maintained in Occidental Andalusia until relatively recently (Melguizo Moreno, 2009; Moya Corral & Sosinski, 2015; Ávila Muñoz, 1994; Dalbor, 1980; Carbonero Cano et al., 1992; Regan, 2020). However, contemporary studies (Regan 2017a, Regan 2017b, García-Amaya, 2008; Villena Ponsoda et al., 2014) indicate that Occidental Andalusia is currently experiencing a similar phenomenon to 1980s Oriental Andalusia and that the demerger is gaining foothold there. Regan (2017a) concluded that even rural villages, typically the last to hold on to disappearing dialectal traits, are heading towards *distinción* in the southwest. The advancement of *distinción* in southwestern Andalusia can be ascribed to its increased contact with northern territories and greater national standardized education (Narbona et al, 1998; Regan, 2021).

The demerger in question is a “change from above”, pushed by the higher socioeconomic classes, slowly trickling down and affecting everyone (Moya Corral & Sosinski, 2015). Studies on various cities have also found that the demerger of *ceceo* (and *seseo*) is led by women, younger speakers, the highly educated, those from urban centers, as they are the groups that favor *distinción* (see section 2.2). Regan (2017b) added that along with females from all types of neighborhoods and levels of educational attainment, the demerger is also led by males from middle class neighborhoods or those with more formal education. Conversely, male speakers from lower educational backgrounds and working class neighborhoods may cling to *ceceo* as an identity-marker (Villena Ponsoda, 2007). Thus, they will likely be the last to maintain the *igualación fonológica* merger.

2.4. Jerez de la Frontera

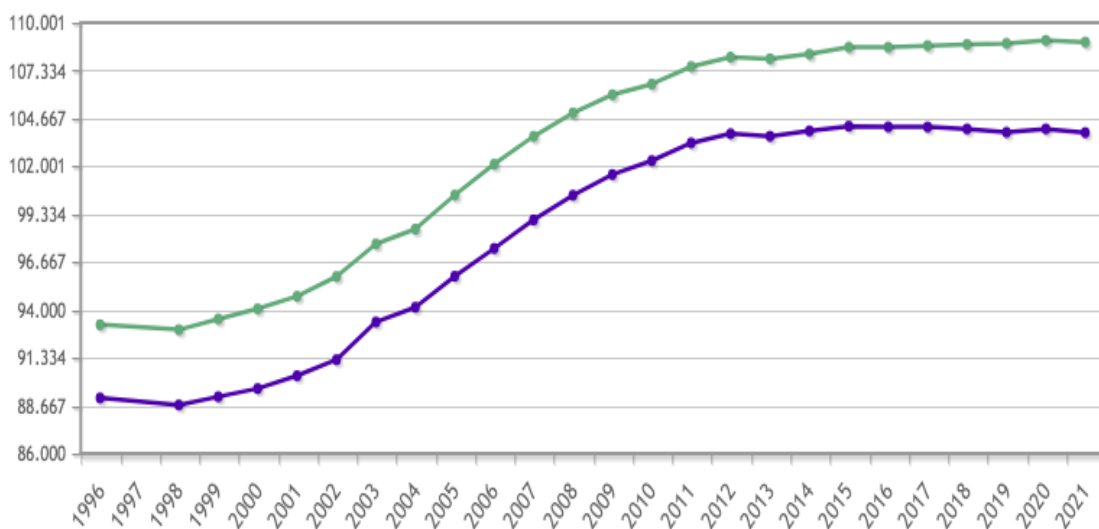
The present literature review has started with a broad overview of the Andalusian interdental fricative merger *ceceo* detailing its origins and evolution, continuing with a breakdown of some of the most key research on *ceceo* and finally describing the current language shift which indicates a demerger in progress. The remainder of the literature review hones in on Jerez de la Frontera. The city’s statistics are presented, followed by significant studies of *ceceo* on Jerez’ speech community, the most recent of which was performed four years before the present study. This section provides readers with a greater understanding of Jerez as the location of study and its speech community’s patterns of behavior regarding *ceceo*.

2.4.1. Current Statistics

As of January 2021, the population of Jerez stood at 212,801 (103,879 men and 108,922 women).¹⁸ In a 2011 census, about 16% of the Jerez speech community were from other places in Andalusia (Harjus 2018b). Since 2012, the population has remained more or less constant, with women always slightly outnumbering men (see Image 5 below).¹⁹ In 2021 the average age in Jerez was 42.2 years old. While 19.2% of the population was under 18 years of age, 65% of the population was between 18 and 65 years of age, and 15.8% of the population was over 65 years of age. According to Harjus (2018b), 53.8% of the population in Jerez had completed high school or vocational training as their highest degree, 28.5% had left school at or before 16 years of age and 17.4% had completed a university degree. As of 2021, Jerez was also the fourth city with the most unemployment (26%) and the city with the fifth lowest average annual income (9,961 euros).²⁰

Image 5: Population of Jerez

Women: Green; Men: Purple



¹⁸ Source: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estadística. (s. f.). Retrieved 25 September 2022, from <https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=2864>

¹⁹ Source: *Habitantes Jerez de la Frontera 1900-2021*. (n.d.). Retrieved 25 September 2022, from <https://www.foro-ciudad.com/cadiz/jerez-de-la-frontera/habitantes.html#MapaEdadMedia>

²⁰ Source: Delgado, R. (2022, 24 May). *Jerez ocupa la cuarta posición de la lista de ciudades de España con una mayor tasa de paro*. cadena SER. Retrieved 25 September 2022, from <https://cadenaser.com/andalucia/2022/05/23/jerez-ocupa-la-cuarta-posicion-de-la-lista-de-ciudades-de-espana-con-una-mayor-tasa-de-paro-radio-jerez/#:%7E:text=Jerez%20vuelve%20a%20estar%20en,del%20pa%C3%ADs%20con%20mayor%20desempleo.>

2.4.2. Previous Field Studies on *Ceceo* in Jerez

Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Andalucía (ALEA) by Alvar et al. (1991) contains the first formal study on the speech community in Jerez de la Frontera, performed in 1973. The study defined Jerez de la Frontera as a region that partakes in *ceceo*, as they describe [θ] as being consistently used for onset <s, z, ce, ci>. There was little evidence of other phenomena such as *seseo* and *distinción* noted (Alvar et al., 1991; Harjus, 2018b). Two decades later, a sociolinguistic study by Carbonero Cano et al. (1992) revisited the Jerez speech community and came to remarkably different conclusions. This study of 54 participants determined that while the majority of speakers took part in *ceceo* (47%), an almost equal number used *seseo* (44%) and there was some evidence of *distinción* (9%). It found that *jerezanos* from a high and middle educational backgrounds mostly partook in *seseo* (at rates of 76% and 46%, respectively), with comparatively lower levels of *ceceo* and *distinción*. The least formally educated participants partook mostly in *ceceo* (89%) with some evidence of *seseo* (11%) but no evidence of *distinción* was noted. In terms of age and gender group, *seseo* rates consistently surpassed those of *distinción*. *Seseo* rates additionally exceeded *ceceo* rates in the middle aged and female participant groups (Carbonero Cano et al., 1992, p. 25). This led Villena Ponsoda et al. (1995) to postulate that the national standard *distinción* lacked prestige in Jerez de la Frontera in comparison with *seseo*, due to the influence of the nearby Andalusian capital Seville. This hypothesis would later be extended to all Occidental Andalusia by Villena Ponsoda (2008) who states, “The urban variety of Seville (*norma sevillana*) is accepted as a model of pronunciation for western varieties...” (p. 144).

Nearly two more decades passed before an updated sociolinguistic study of the Jerez speech community was conducted. García-Amaya (2008) performed a comprehensive study of intra- and extralinguistic factors that could impact pronunciation of coronal fricatives in a group of *jerezano* neighbors. The researcher was careful to take sociopolitical factors into account, noting the military dictatorship, which impeded women’s access to higher education until its collapse in 1975.²¹ The study observed [θ] for syllable-initial <s, z, ce, ci> in more than 2/3 of participants’ utterances (73.1%) and [s] in less than 1/3 of utterances (26.8%). To test for evidence of *seseo*, García-Amaya delved into the [s] utterances, which were used for grapheme <s> at a rate of 32.9% and for orthographic <z, ce, ci> at a rate of 6% and 6.5%, respectively. These percentages demonstrate both an insignificant use of *seseo* and a growing

²¹ Spanish dictator Francisco Franco died in 1975 after 39 years of fascist rule, at which point Spain transitioned to a democratic state.

tendency towards *distinción* in the Jerez speech community. García-Amaya's findings are quite contradictory to those of Carbonero Cano et al. (1992), who observed *seseo* as one of the main linguistic phenomena in Jerez. In the multivariate analysis, García-Amaya was careful to use the variable of social network as an independent variable, distinguishing between those who had and did not have contact with social networks outside of the study's participants. This turned out to be the most significant factor in *ceceo* production: participants involved with outer social networks were much more likely to use *distinción*, favoring [s] for orthographic <s> at a rate of 62%, compared to those who mainly associated with the social network in question, who favored [θ] for orthographic <s> at a rate of 12.7%. Formal education was considered to be of particular importance as well, as participants with less formal education favored [θ] regardless of their gender and age. Additional outcomes of the study were that male participants with a less formal education and from a lower socioeconomic class favored [θ] for orthographic <s>. When age alone did not perform as expected, García-Amaya coded gender, education and age together as one element. He found that groups who disfavored [s] (higher *ceceo*) were younger females with 7-10 years of education and older females with 0-6 years of formal education (both used [s] for onset <s> at a rate of 5%). Interestingly, older females with 7-10 years of formal education had a much higher rate of [s] for onset <s> (30.7%). Younger males with 7-10 years of education and older males with 0-6 years of education had lower rates of [s] for onset <s> (8% and 14.6%, respectively). However, young females and males with a university education had the highest rates of this. He also noted an indirect relationship between age and education:

The correlation between S and education level seems to be the result of the high increase of education standards implemented by Spaniards in the last 30 years... illiteracy numbers have changed drastically, and while most of the older participants in my sample had very little formal education, all the younger participants had at least 10 years of formal education" (p. 67).

One decade later, Harjus (2018b) added to the research, publishing a book about the speech community of Jerez. Through three corpuses he created, he determined that *ceceo* and *distinción* were the main linguistic phenomena in Jerez. In an empirical study of his Corpus A, he discovered 68% of [θ] for syllable-initial <s, z, ce, ci>, slightly lower than García-Amaya's 73.1% but much higher than Carbonero Cano et al.'s 47%. Like García-Amaya, Harjus found more evidence of *distinción* in those with a higher socioeconomic status. Harjus also found that the middle-aged participants were the most likely to use *ceceo* (82%), followed by the oldest participants (74%) and then the younger

participants (48%). Another significant factor was education, as participants with less formal education used [θ] for onset <s> at a rate of 90% while those with more formal education did so at a rate of 38%, higher than the 12% who did so in Carbonero Cano et al.'s study. When the highly educated did not partake in *ceceo*, they tended towards *distinción* rather than *seseo*, as only 2% of <z, ce, ci> were vocalized as [s]. Harjus found little difference between male and female participants, although female participants used *ceceo* slightly more than their male counterparts. All in all, the high *ceceo* production amongst the participants despite varying demographic factors highlights the pitfalls of a purely quantitative analysis when studying the speech community of Jerez: “*Con un enfoque meramente cuantitativo, basado únicamente en las variables clásicas de las investigaciones sociolingüísticas —edad, sexo y nivel educativo—, no se hubiera encontrado la conexión entre la pronunciación y la identificación con aspectos locales...*” (Harjus, 2018b, p.441). It was concluded that an accurate analysis of coronal fricative production must consider qualitative factors as well. His Corpus B goes on to perform a qualitative analysis of participants’ connection to Jerez and their speech features. He determined that those who enjoyed living in Jerez and identified with the cultural stereotypes were more likely to participate in *ceceo*, regardless of gender, educational instruction and age. Contrastingly, those who did not identify with the city and their cultural stereotypes tended to shy away from *ceceo*. He states,

“el análisis cualitativo del corpus B subraya la idea de que esta variable extralingüística ejerce una enorme influencia en la (no)realización de rasgos salientes del habla de Jerez: cuanto más se identifican los encuestados con la mayoría de los estereotipos culturales mencionados en la encuesta, tanto más probable es que realicen la desfonologización a favor del ceceo...” (p. 440).

All in all, the findings of García-Amaya (2008) and Harjus (2018b) fit together to support the continuing existence of *ceceo* in the speech community of Jerez and a trend of higher education youth towards *distinción*. Both also dismiss Carbonero Cano et al.'s (1992) claims of *seseo* as a prestigious norm in the Jerez speech community, citing its triviality in their studies. Furthermore, both studies honed in on *jerezanos’* and *jerezanas’* metalinguistic knowledge of their own speech, and the fact that they themselves did not recognize *seseo* to be part of their speech community. Harjus (2017) puts it clearly, “For the *jerezano* speakers themselves, *seseo* is not a part of the linguistic features of the *jerezano* speech community...” (p. 12). Therefore, in Jerez there is little evidence of *seseo* as an Andalusian standard based on the Sevillian norm, as previously claimed by Villena Ponsoda (2008).

2.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter has given a comprehensive overview of previous research on *ceceo* in Andalusia and Jerez de la Frontera. It has outlined the history of sibilants in Andalusia from the middle ages on and described the origins of the Andalusian merging phenomena. It has also highlighted pejorative attitudes towards *ceceo* in the past and present however juxtaposed with modern-day movements taking place to embrace this dialectal feature. Studies on *ceceo* and diastratic, diatopic and diaphasic factors were also presented, generally concluding that *ceceo* production is generally higher amongst males, older folks, the rural, those with lower formal education and of a working socioeconomic class and in low formality situations. Discussion on the current state of *ceceo* suggested that a demerger is occurring, splitting *neutralización* into national standard *distinción* in Andalusia. Lastly, Jerez de la Frontera as a location of study was discussed and previous research on *ceceo* in Jerez from Carbonero Cano et al. (1992), García-Amaya (2008) and Harjus (2018b) was analyzed. Although Carbonero et al. found that *jerezanos/os* partook in *ceceo* and *seseo* at an almost even rate, García-Amaya and Harjus refuted this, concluding that *seseo* production was insignificant in the speech community of Jerez at the time of their studies. The two latter researchers found significant evidence of *ceceo* in the speech community of Jerez, with a trend in the youth and the highly educated towards *distinción*. Harjus additionally stated that *jerezanos/as* who are passionate about Jerez and identify with its cultural stereotypes were the most likely to use *ceceo*, regardless of their demographic factors.

The following chapter details the author's investigation on the speech community of Jerez de la Frontera and their use of *ceceo*. It commences with an overview of the study's participants and procedures, and later presents the data the author has acquired through sociolinguistic interviews and possible interpretations of the data.

3. THE PRESENT STUDY

Present study analyzes the use of *ceceo* in Jerez de la Frontera amidst a region-wide diachronic fricative demerger. The author builds on the research of García-Amaya (2008) and Harjus (2018b), taking both qualitative and quantitative factors into account to analyze *ceceo* use in Jerez de la Frontera's speech community. She also aspires to fill gaps in *ceceo* research with regards to diaphasic contexts. This chapter details the present study from start to finish.

The present study is divided into the following five main sections: 'Objectives and Initial Hypotheses', 'Methodology', 'Results', 'Discussions' and 'Closing Remarks'. Objectives highlight the goals of the present study, which mainly focus on studying and filling gaps in existing research on Jerez' *ceceo*. Each is followed by a corresponding hypothesis, which displays the author's projected outcome as per the objective that proceeds it. 'Methodology' details participants and their division into groups, explains the experiment's procedure, justifies all parts of the sociolinguistic interview and explains how data was collected and analyzed. 'Results' display all of the data gathered throughout the experiment. This data includes *ceceo* rates per individuals, demographic groups and conversation topics, and results of multiple regression analyses. Total data is further broken down into conversational (free speech) and reading (controlled speech) data in this section in order to distinguish *ceceo* production in different diaphasic contexts. 'Discussions' focuses upon analyzing the data from the results section, discovering trends and revealing findings. This final section summarizes general findings, interprets the multivariate regression analyses, compares results to previous studies, and analyzes *ceceo* production via topic of conversation and text type. Finally, 'Closing Remarks' discusses the hypotheses' validity.

3.1. Objectives and Initial Hypotheses

After analyzing relevant research and providing a detailed theoretical framework in Chapter 2, here the author determines how she believes the present study will transpire. The four-fold aims of the study are listed below, followed by the author's respective hypothesis:

1. To introduce a quantified connection score to Jerez as an additional independent variable and determine its weight in *ceceo* production compared to other extralinguistic factors.

Quantified connection score to Jerez will have a greater weight than other extralinguistic factors in impacting *ceceo* production. This hypothesis is in line with Harjus' (2018b) observation that those who identified most with Jerez and its culture had the highest *ceceo* rates despite their demographic factors. It is also in line with García-Amaya's (2008) finding

that participants' social network was the most significant factor in impacting *ceceo* production over factors such as age, education and gender. See section 2.4.2 for reference.

2. To determine if age, gender and education impact *ceceo* production similarly to trends found in previous field studies.

Participants' age, gender and education will impact *ceceo* production following trends found in previous Andalusian field studies. There will be higher *ceceo* production amongst older participants (Ávila Muñoz, 1994; Moya Corral & Sosinski, 2015; Regan, 2017a), male participants (as in Ávila Muñoz, 1994; Villena Ponsoda, 2007, as cited in Moya Corral & Sosinski, 2015; García Mouton, 2006; Regan, 2017b) and participants with less formal education (as in Ávila Muñoz, 1994; Villena Ponsoda et al., 2014; Havu et al., 2010). See sections 2.2.2, 2.2.4, and 2.2.3, respectively, for reference.

3. To determine if and how conversation topic impacts *ceceo* production in low diaphasic casual speech situations.

Conversation topic will impact *ceceo* in low diaphasic casual speech situations: participants will produce the most *ceceo* when speaking about more emotional topics. This hypothesis is based upon data that *ceceo* is most limited in careful speech situations (Navarro et al., 1933, as cited in Dalbor, 1980; Villena Ponsoda, 2007; Cervantes, 2010; Narbona Jiménez, 1998). Emotional topics are hypothesized to provoke the least careful speech, thereby leading to participants' highest *ceceo* rates. See section 2.2.5 for reference.

4. To determine if and how text formality impacts *ceceo* production in high diaphasic reading situations.

Text formality will impact *ceceo* production in high diaphasic reading situations: participants will produce more *ceceo* when reading the more informal text, the interview with José Mercé. Although both reading situations present formal diaphasic contexts which will give rise to careful speech and less *ceceo*, the José Mercé text consists of a spoken conversation in the first person. It is hypothesized that participants will perceive this first person text as a more informal diaphasic context and use less careful speech when reading it, compared to the more abstract article 'Fun Facts' article, which reads in the third person. See section 2.2.5 for reference.

3.2. Methodology

3.2.1. Participants

The participants (n=18) were made up of an equal number of males (n=9) and females (n=9) who ranged in age from 20-74 years of age (avg=44.2). While most were friends and family

of the author's friends (n=14), two were recruited in their local community center and two were waiters, previously acquainted with the author, recruited at their bar. All of the participants were from Jerez, had spent the vast majority or all of their life living there and currently lived there at the time of the study. They were from three of the six districts of Jerez: Central Jerez, Northeast Jerez and East Jerez. Many of the 18 participants were friends or family with other participants. They were categorized into male and female gender groups and three groups of age, education and connection to Jerez (see Table 1).²²

Table 1: Participants

Participant	Gender	Age	Education	'Jerez Score'
M1	Male	20 (Group I)	Vocational degree (Group II)	21 (Group II)
F1	Female	20 (Group I)	Vocational degree (Group II)	24 (Group II)
F2	Female	20 (Group I)	Vocational degree (Group II)	17 (Group I)
M2	Male	23 (Group I)	University degree (Group III)	25 (Group III)
M3	Male	29 (Group I)	Secondary -45 (Group I)	26 (Group III)
F3	Female	34 (Group II)	Secondary -45 (Group I)	24 (Group II)
F4	Female	34 (Group II)	Vocational degree (Group II)	27 (Group III)
M4	Male	38 (Group II)	Secondary -45 (Group I)	24 (Group II)
F5	Female	43 (Group II)	Vocational degree (Group II)	16 (Group I)
M5	Male	45 (Group II)	Vocational degree (Group II)	19 (Group I)
F6	Female	55 (Group III)	Secondary 45+ (Group II)	21 (Group II)
M6	Male	56 (Group III)	Vocational degree (Group II)	24 (Group II)
M7	Male	56 (Group III)	Vocational degree (Group II)	17 (Group I)
F7	Female	58 (Group III)	Secondary 45+ (Group II)	25 (Group III)
M8	Male	60 (Group III)	Vocational degree (Group II)	21 (Group II)
M9	Male	61 (Group III)	Primary (Group I)	30 (Group III)
F8	Female	69 (Group III)	Primary (Group I)	28 (Group III)
F9	Female	74 (Group III)	Primary (Group I)	30 (Group III)

²² The term gender was preferred over sex because the former is a social construct, which is more relevant to the sociolinguistic nature of the study. In dividing participants into binary gender groups, the author does not mean to claim nor imply that there are only two genders in existence. However, all participants in the study identified as either male or female, which happened to align with their assigned sex at birth.

3.2.1.1. Age

Age groups were formed based upon criteria from Harjus in his 2018 study on Jerez. Age Group I (n= 5) is the youngest group, from 20 to 29 years of age. Harjus explains that this is the age at which participants are currently studying or have recently entered the job market, and have lived their entire lives during Spain's democracy and within broader European unity. Age Group II (n=5) is made up of participants from 34 to 45 years of age. Harjus explains that this group tends to be in the midst of their career and family life, and has developed strong ties with the speech community of Jerez. They were also born not long after dictator Franco's death and grew up in the early stages of Spain's democracy. Age Group III (n=8) is made of the oldest participants from 55 to 74 years of age, who according to Harjus, are heading towards, or have reached, retirement and partially or fully received an education during Franco's dictatorship (Harjus, 2018b, p. 104).

3.2.1.2. Education

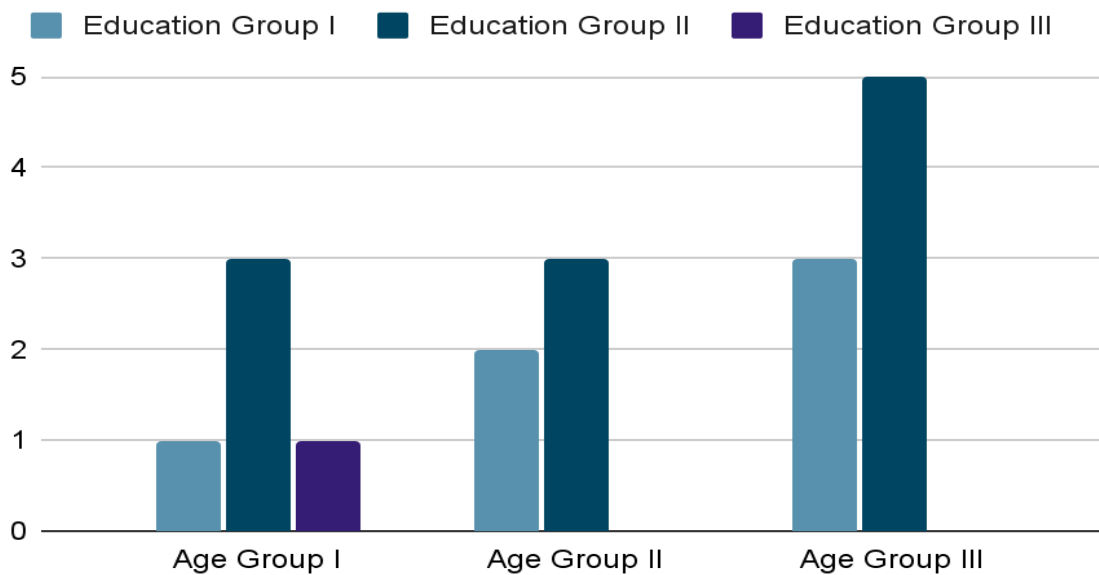
Participants were also divided into education groups based on Harjus' 2018 publication. Education Group I (n= 6) has the most rudimentary formal schooling. This includes participants above the age of 45 with a primary education and those under the age of 45 with a secondary education. This discrepancy is due to the 1990 educational reform mandating secondary education, before which only a primary education was required.²³ Education Group II (n=11) includes those over the age of 45 with secondary education, non obligatory at the time of their schooling, *bachillerato* (equivalent to a U.S. high school degree or U.K. A levels) and vocational training such as *grado superior*, *grado medio* and *técnico administrativo*. Education Group III (n=1) includes participants with a university degree (Harjus, 2018b, p. 105). Only one participant fell into this latter category, as most of the university educated *jerezanos* and *jerezanas* whom the author encountered were living outside of Jerez at the time of the study and/or had spent many years living outside of Jerez. See Figure 1 on the next page for a breakdown of education groups within each age group.

3.2.1.3. 'Jerez Score'

According to Harjus (2018b), diastatic factors alone do not suffice in categorizing production of *ceceo*. Instead, these factors must be interpreted in tandem with qualitative

²³ See note 14.

Figure 1: Education Groups Within Age Groups



factors such as a speaker's connection to *jerezano* stereotypes, ties to their neighborhood and enthusiasm about *jerezano* cultural events in order to arrive at accurate conclusions about their *ceceo* usage. Denzin (1970, as cited in Harjus, 2018b) recommends a combination of qualitative and quantitative foci in studying social phenomena. The author accordingly took such qualitative factors into account in her study, measuring participants' connection to Jerez by means of a questionnaire. The answers to the questionnaire would later be codified as quantitative data, which the author combined into a single 'Jerez Score', per participant. This is only the second time qualitative data has been codified into a quantity and considered as an independent variable in a study on *ceceo* in Jerez de la Frontera (the first was Harjus' [2018b] Corpus B).

In the present study, participants were given six written statements regarding attachment to Jerez and one's neighborhood, and decided to which extent these applied to them on a scale of 1-5 (See Appendix A). From these results each person was given their score, with 30 as the highest possible proximity to *jerezana* culture. A relatively low connection score of 16-19 landed participants in Jerez Score Group I (n=4) while a medium score of 20-24 put participants in Jerez Score Group II (n=7), and those with a higher connection score of 25-30 were in Jerez Score Group III (n=7). Connection with Jerez had a somewhat direct relationship with age: Age Group I (youngest participants) had an average

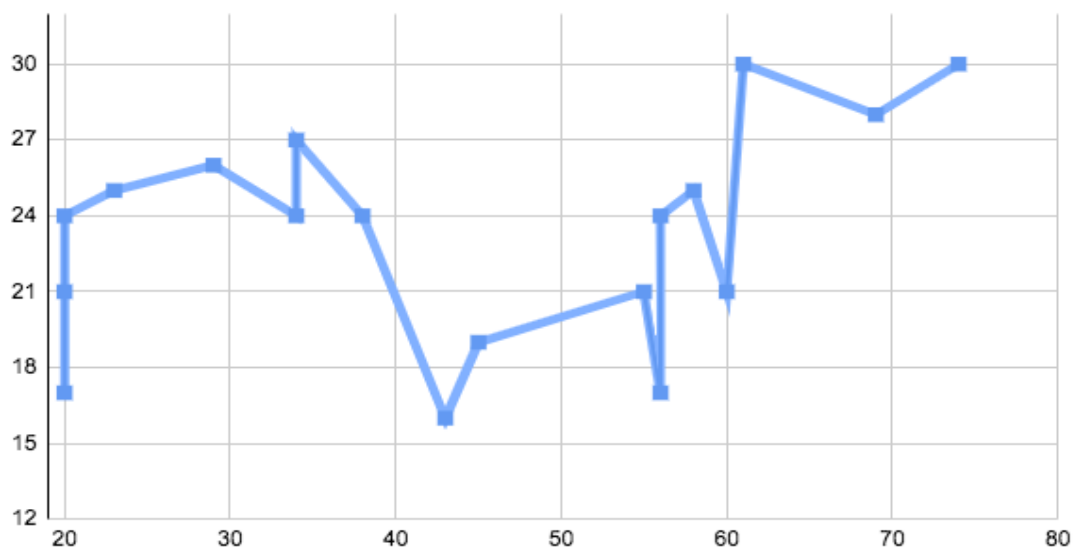
‘Jerez Score’ of 22.6, Age group II had an average ‘Jerez Score’ of 22 and Age Group III had the highest average ‘Jerez Score’ of 24.5 (see Figure 2 below).

3.2.2. Procedure of Data Collection

Data was collected by the author over three separate days in June of 2022. Participants met with the author in a location of their choice for sociolinguistic interviews. The meetings took about 25-30 minutes overall, and were carried out in three flats, three local bars, at one community center and on one city bench. Before each interview, the author and the interviewee chatted informally, at which point the author was sure to mention her fondness for Jerez, as well as the fact that she had previously spent time living there. If applicable, the author also engaged the participant in conversation about the person who had forged the connection between the two. Although seemingly trivial, this rapport building was significant in encouraging participants to feel at ease, leading to a more accurate representation of their

Figure 2: Age vs. ‘Jerez Score’

X-axis: Age; Y-axis: ‘Jerez Score’



true speech and a lessened observer’s paradox. As Labov (1973) writes, “the interviewer is not a passive agent... by his participation in... developing informality, he can help casual speech to emerge...” (p. 88). Harjus (2018b) highlights the significance of creating an atmosphere of informality and building rapport between himself and his study’s *jerezana* and *jerezano* participants: “*Siempre hay un tratamiento de cercanía entre todos los encuestados y el investigador... esta relativa cercanía sirve para la creación de un corpus de cercanía diafásica*” (p. 102). When it came time, participants filled out an informative sheet asking for

background information such as age, gender, neighborhood(s) lived in, years of formal study and family information (see Appendix A). This was loosely based on the participant information sheet used in Regan (2017). At this point participants also filled out the questionnaire to determine their ‘Jerez Score’, which was on the same sheet of paper. The sociolinguistic interview began once participants completed the sheet. These were one-to-one with the participant and the author, and recorded on the author’s mobile phone (2019 Huawei Y5) for later analysis. The interview itself took about 15 minutes and consisted of four parts.

In part 1, participants discussed informal questions about themselves, Jerez de la Frontera and their opinion on typical conversational topics, some slightly contentious (see Appendix B). This part of the interview took between four and five minutes. The objectives were to lower participants’ guard, encourage comfort with the author, to provoke emotional responses that would hopefully lead to levels of *ceceo* reflective of speech outside of an interview context and to measure if there was a pattern of *ceceo* through different topics of conversation. In part 2a, which took about two minutes, participants read an impersonal text on fun facts about Spain aloud (see Appendix C). The aims were to observe *ceceo* in a high formality situation in which participants read a non-emotional text in the third person, to pique participants’ interest with entertaining content and to plant onset <s> of all types to assure a variety of opportunities to use *ceceo*.²⁴ Part 2b was the second reading part of the interview, which also took about two minutes. Here, participants read an interview with *jerezano* Flamenco singer José Mercé aloud (see Appendix D). The intentions were to observe if and how *ceceo* changes in a high formality situation when (1) reading in the first person as someone from Jerez, (2) participants may have a stronger connection to the content and (3) content is more emotional. Additionally, planted onset <s> of all types were present to assure variety of opportunities to use *ceceo*.²⁵ Finally in part 3, participants discussed metalinguistic questions about how they speak in different situations, how their speech has changed over time and how people generally speak in Jerez (see Appendix E). This part took between three and four minutes. The objectives were to measure rates of *ceceo* in an informal discussion after 4-5 minutes of formal reading and to observe if and how *ceceo* changes when

²⁴ In his orthographic analysis, García-Amaya (2008) discovered that preceding and following phonetic factors of onset <s> were the most significant predictors in likelihood to produce [s] or [θ]. Onset <s> in the post-vowel position was most likely to produce [θ]. Onset <s> followed by vowels, especially <i> and <u>, also favored [θ]. The author therefore altered texts accordingly, making sure that onset <s> in all positions, especially those followed and preceded by different vowels, were included in the two readings to encourage participants’ use of *ceceo*. She also made sure multi-token words with more than one syllable onset <s> were included.

²⁵ See note 24.

attention is brought to participants' own speech and the dialect of Jerez.²⁶

3.2.3. Procedure of Data Analysis

The author listened to each interview twice, collecting data by means of impressionistic analysis. The first listening was analyzed through a quantitative framework, with the primary purpose of calculating *ceceo* rate. Whenever a segment containing syllable initial <s> was uttered (opportunity to partake in *ceceo*), the author drew a tally mark. An additional tally mark was drawn in a separate column if *ceceo* was indeed used here, that is if the participant pronounced onset <s> as [θ] rather than [s]. Later, total syllable onset <s> pronounced as [θ] (numerator) vs. total syllable onset <s> (denominator) was calculated, resulting in a *ceceo* percentage for each individual part 1, 2a, 2b and 3 per participant. Since *seseo* is not the focus of the present study, as it has been concluded (García-Amaya, 2008; Harjus, 2017; Harjus, 2018b) that *seseo* no longer forms part of the speech community of Jerez, attention was not given to the pronunciation of onset <z> and <c> (+ <e, i>). It was assumed that the Jerez speech community would generally voice these as [θ], which they ultimately did, as *seseo* production in the present study was negligible. *Ceceo* rates in parts 1 and 3 were then calculated together per person and labeled 'free speech *ceceo*', as these onset <s> tokens were produced by the participants in casual conversation. *Ceceo* rates in parts 2a and 2b were combined and calculated per person as well, and labeled as 'controlled speech *ceceo*', as these onset <s> tokens were deliberately placed in the texts to be read aloud. Finally, the four parts were then combined, and each participant was given a 'total *ceceo*' percentage. The results, along with participants' age, education, gender and 'Jerez Score' groups, were then run through multivariate analysis software 'SPSS' to determine the weight of each extralinguistic variable in participants' likelihood to use *ceceo*. This had the purpose of determining if the 'Jerez Score' had a more significant weight than age, education and gender in impacting *ceceo* production.

The second listening had a more qualitative focus, along with verifying the results of the first listening. This time, the author focused on parts 1 and 3, observing whether speaking about certain subject matters resulted in increased rate of *ceceo* amongst participants. The author relistened to these two parts, categorizing participants' speech into topics discussed and using tally marks to determine rate of [θ] for syllable onset <s> per topic. Then percent of

²⁶ *Ceceo* as such was never brought up by the author. This is because it would have likely caused participants to become hyper aware of this trait, impacting its presence in their speech.

ceceo per topic per individual was calculated using the same procedure as in the first listening: total syllable onset <s> pronounced as [θ] (numerator) vs. total syllable onset <s> (denominator). Finally, the average percentage of *ceceo* per topic was calculated, by adding all participants' percentages of *ceceo* per topic and dividing that value by the number of participants who spoke about that topic.

3.3. Results

This section details *ceceo* production throughout the present study. Results range from specific to comprehensive and consider *ceceo* production per individuals, *ceceo* production per demographic groups and global *ceceo* production. Results of multivariate regression analyses are also presented in this section. In subsection 3.3.1, results for total *ceceo* are reported, delineating values obtained in the sociolinguistic interviews. Subsections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 specify results from the free speech and controlled speech portions of the interviews, respectively.

Table 2 on page 36 presents results as per individual participants, who are listed in the far-left column.²⁷ The *ceceo* rates throughout their interviews are reported in the 'Total *Ceceo*' column as percentages, followed by the numbers used to calculate these percentages: (instances in which the participant used [θ] for syllable onset <s> / all syllable onset <s> occurrences). Total *ceceo* was broken down into *ceceo* produced during the free speech and controlled speech sections in the following columns. Finally, results are further divided into the individual interview sections in the four far-right columns. The following Table 3 is a combination of all 18 participants' results. The overall percentage of *ceceo* is once again followed by the numbers used for its calculation: (instances in which all participants [θ] used for syllable onset <s> / all syllable onset <s> occurrences). This overall total was further divided into overall free speech and controlled speech *ceceo* rates.

3.3.1. Total *Ceceo*

A total of 3880 tokens of syllable onset <s> were analyzed. These were the opportunities in which all 18 participants could have produced *ceceo* throughout all four sections of their sociolinguistic interviews. Of this total number of onset <s> tokens, 34.59% (1342) were

²⁷ See section 3.2.1 for more information about participants.

Table 2: Ceceo Production per Participant

Participant	Total Ceceo (pts 1, 2a, 2b & 3)	Free Speech Ceceo (pts 1 & 3)	Controlled Speech Ceceo (pts 2a & 2b)	pt 1	pt 2a	pt 2b	pt 3
M1	7.6% (17/224)	16.8% (17/101)	0% (0/123)	3.8% (2/53)	0% (0/61)	0% (0/62)	31.3% (15/48)
F1	10.1% (25/248)	20% (25/125)	0% (0/123)	23.1% (22/95)	0% (0/61)	0% (0/62)	10% (3/30)
F2	3.6% (8/222)	6.1% (6/99)	1.6% (2/123)	5.3% (3/56)	0 (0/61%)	3.2% (2/62)	7.0% (3/43)
M2	45.8% (121/264)	81.6% (115/141)	4.9% (6/123)	84.2% (80/95)	3.3% (2/61)	6.5% (4/62)	76.1% (35/46)
M3	85.9% (170/198)	94.7% (71/75)	80.5% (99/123)	94.2% (49/52)	85.2% (52/61)	75.8% (47/62)	95.7% (22/23)
F3	42.2% (79/187)	96.9% (62/64)	13.8% (17/123)	97.7% (43/44)	16.4% (10/61)	11.3% (7/62)	95% (19/20)
F4	41.3% (88/213)	93.3% (84/90)	3.3% (4/123)	90.6% (58/64)	4.9% (3/61)	1.6% (1/62)	100% (26/26)
M4	10.9% (23/210)	18.4% (16/87)	5.7% (7/123)	22% (10/45)	3.3% (2/61)	8.1% (5/62)	14.3% (6/42)
F5	49.7% (102/205)	91.5% (75/82)	21.9% (27/123)	94.6% (53/56)	26.2% (16/61)	17.7% (11/62)	84.6% (22/26)
M5	10.9% (21/193)	22.9% (16/70)	4.1% (5/123)	26.4% (14/53)	8.2% (5/61)	0% (0/62)	11.8% (2/17)
F6	17.1% (35/204)	40.7% (33/81)	1.6% (2/123)	37.3% (22/59)	3.2% (2/61)	0% (0/62)	50% (11/22)
M6	23.8% (57/240)	34.2% (40/117)	13.8% (17/123)	30.9% (26/84)	13.1% (8/61)	14.5% (9/62)	42.4% (14/33)
M7	5.2% (11/210)	10.3% (9/87)	1.6% (2/123)	4.1% (2/49)	1.6% (1/61)	1.6% (1/62)	18.4% (7/38)
F7	48.7% (128/263)	84.3% (118/140)	8.1% (10/123)	86.9% (106/122)	13.1% (8/61)	3.2% (2/62)	66.7% (12/18)
M8	10.1% (20/198)	12% (9/75)	8.9% (11/123)	14.6% (7/48)	6.5% (4/61)	11.3% (7/62)	7.4% (2/22)
M9	55% (110/200)	81.8% (63/77)	38% (47/123)	77.3% (34/44)	47.5% (29/61)	29% (18/62)	87.9% (29/33)
F8	96.2% (179/186)	98.5% (66/67)	94.9% (113/119)	100% (48/48)	93.4% (57/61)	96.6% (56/58)	94.7% (18/19)
F9	68.8% (148/215)	93.5% (86/92)	50.4% (62/123)	96.3% (52/54)	45.9% (28/61)	54.8% (34/62)	89% (34/38)

Table 3: Overall *Ceceo* Production

Total <i>Ceceo</i>	Free Speech <i>Ceceo</i>	Controlled Speech <i>Ceceo</i>
34.59% (1342/3880)	54.55% (911/1670)	19.5% (431/2210)

vocalized as interdental fricative [θ] (*ceceo*) (see Table 3, above). Below, Table 4 offers a breakdown of each demographic group's total *ceceo* rate – that is, *ceceo* produced throughout the entire study, in both free and controlled parts of the interviews. The highest total *ceceo* rate was amongst Jerez Score Group III (those with the strongest connection to Jerez), with a rate of 61.34% (944/1539) [θ] for onset <s>. Jerez Score Groups I and II had similarly low *ceceo* rates of this at 17.11% (142/830) and 16.94% (256/1511), respectively. These were in fact the lowest rates of *ceceo* compared with any age, gender or education group. The second highest *ceceo* rate was amongst Education Group I (those with the lowest formal education) at 59.28% (709/1196). The one member of Education Group III followed,²⁸ with a *ceceo* rate of 45.8% (121/264), trailed by Education Group II with a *ceceo* rate of 21.16% (512/2420). In terms of age, Group III (the eldest participants) had the highest *ceceo* rate of 40.09% (688/1716), followed by Age Group II at 31.05% (313/1008) and then Age Group I at 29.50% (341/1156). Regarding gender, men had a *ceceo* rate of 28.39% (550/1937) whilst women had a rate of 40.76% (792/1943).

Table 4: Total *Ceceo* Production Broken Down into Groups

	<i>Group I</i>	<i>Group II</i>	<i>Group III</i>
<i>'Jerez Score'</i>	17.11%	16.94%	61.34%
<i>Education</i>	59.28%	21.16%	45.80%
<i>Age</i>	29.50%	31.05%	40.09%
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	
<i>Gender</i>	28.39%	40.76%	

*Highest group *ceceo* rate per independent variable in **bold**

²⁸ As Education Group III just had one member, it would be amiss to extend conclusions based solely upon this demographic group. More research on *ceceo* with *jerezanos/as* who had received higher education would be necessary to arrive at conclusions. However, Education Group III was included, as the single member provides valuable information for the sake of the study.

Using statistical analysis software platform SPSS, a multiple regression analysis was performed upon the overall results to determine which variable had the greatest influence on *ceceo* production throughout the study. Three values were considered to be the most significant for analysis: Pearson Correlation, beta weight and p-value.²⁹ Table 5 below displays the results of the SPSS analysis. ‘Jerez Score’ had the highest Pearson Correlation and beta weight (.697 and .599, respectively), followed by education (-.491 and -.307, respectively),³⁰ then gender (.244 and .171, respectively) and finally age, which has the lowest Pearson Correlation (.159) and beta weight (-.010). In terms of the p-values, after the lowest ‘Jerez Score’ (.006), it increased slightly for education (.123), moderately for gender (.346), and then jumped significantly with age (.955).

Table 5: Multiple Regression Analysis of Total *Ceceo*

Demographic Factor	Pearson Correlation	Beta Weight	p-value
‘Jerez Score’	.697	.599	.006
Education	-.491	-.307	.123
Gender	.244	.171	.346
Age	.159	-.010	.955

3.3.2. Free Speech *Ceceo*

Of the 3880 total onset <s> tokens, 1670 appeared during the free speech portions of the interview (see Table 3 on page 37). These were all of the opportunities where the participants could potentially produce *ceceo* through casual conversation with the author in interview sections 1 and 3. Of the 1670 onset <s> tokens in these sections, 54.55% (911) were pronounced as interdental fricative [θ]. Table 6 on the next page offers a breakdown of each demographic group’s free speech *ceceo* rate. Here, Jerez Score Group III also had the highest

²⁹ Pearson Correlation determined each factor’s linear relationship with the dependent variable, with -1 indicating the strongest indirect relationship and 1 signaling the strongest direct relationship. Beta weight indicated overall weight or effect of the independent variable upon the dependent variable (eg. a higher beta weight indicated greater impact of that variable on *ceceo*). The p-value determined which null hypothesis (eg. “Independent variable X has no impact on *ceceo*.”) could be rejected. A rejection of the null hypothesis was plausible when p-value was less than .05 and became more probable as p-value decreased from that value. The more the p-value increased above .05, the more likely that a null hypothesis was valid. (*Beta Weight*, 2020; The British Academy, n.d.)

³⁰ Pearson Correlation and beta weight values were negative for education due to its indirect relationship with *ceceo* (eg. higher educational attainment resulted in less *ceceo* use). The numerical values are used to determine the strength of the relationship.

overall free speech *ceceo* rate at 88.42% (603/682), followed by Group I and Group II, with similarly low rates of 31.36% (106/338) and 31.08% (202/650), respectively. However, some new patterns emerged when casual conversation was analyzed on its own. The participant from Education Group III had the highest free speech *ceceo* rate of this demographic at a rate of 81.6% (115/141),³¹ followed by Education Group I (lowest formal education) at 78.79% (364/462) and then Education Group II at 40.49% (432/1067). Of its category, Age Group II had the highest *ceceo* rate in free speech at 64.38% (253/393), followed by Age Group III with a rate of 57.61% (424/736) and then Age Group I at 43.25% (234/541). In terms of gender, men had a free speech *ceceo* rate of 42.89% (356/830) whilst women had a significantly higher rate of 66.07% (555/840).

Table 6: Free Speech *Ceceo* Production Broken Down into Groups

	<i>Group I</i>	<i>Group II</i>	<i>Group III</i>
<i>'Jerez Score'</i>	31.36%	31.08%	88.42%
<i>Education</i>	78.79%	40.49%	81.6%
<i>Age</i>	43.25%	64.38%	57.61%
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	
<i>Gender</i>	42.89%	66.07%	

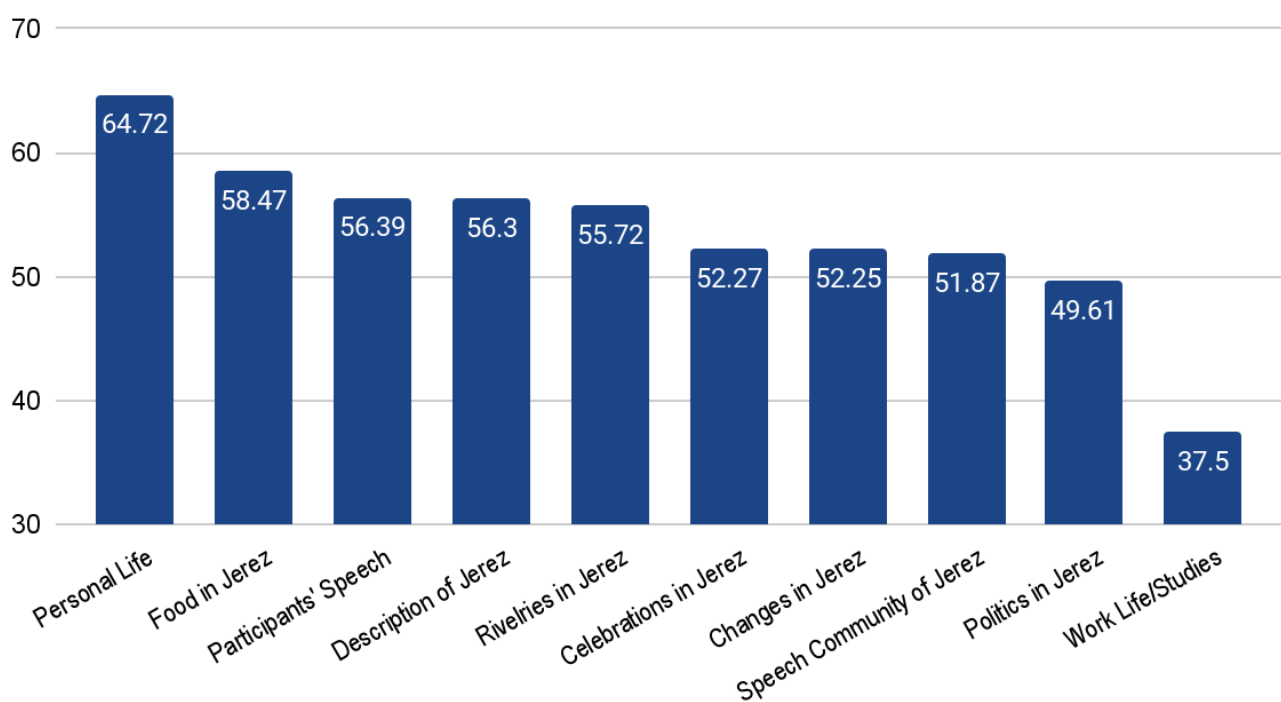
*Highest group *ceceo* rate per independent variable in **bold**

A multiple regression analysis using software SPSS was also performed on the free speech *ceceo* results to determine which independent variable had the greatest influence on *ceceo* production in casual conversation contexts. The goal was also to determine if 'Jerez Score' impacted *ceceo* production more than other demographic factors in free speech. Results are displayed in Table 7 on the following page. Once again, the author focused upon the Pearson Correlation, beta weight and p-value for analysis. 'Jerez Score' remained the most significant factor with the highest Pearson Correlation and beta weight (.663 and .599, respectively), and lowest p-value (.008). However, gender and education impacted *ceceo* rate almost identically in free speech, with gender increasing in importance (Pearson Correlation=.386; beta weight=.329; p-value=.095) above education (Pearson Correlation=-.343; beta weight= -.143; p-value=.475). Age remained the least significant factor impacting *ceceo* in free speech (Pearson Correlation=.128; beta weight= -.009; p-value=.962).

³¹ See note 28.

Table 7: Multiple Regression Analysis of Free Speech *Ceceo*

Demographic Factor	Pearson Correlation	Beta weight	p-value
'Jerez Score'	.663	.599	.008
Gender	.386	.329	.095
Education	-.343	-.143	.475
Age	.128	-.009	.962

Figure 3: Average *Ceceo* Rate per Conversation Topic in Free Speech

To determine if the topic of conversation impacted *ceceo* production in free speech, participants' free speech *ceceo* was further organized into subject matters. As all of the participants did not talk about all of the same topics in their interviews, the author based findings upon topics that at least two-thirds (n=12) of the participants spoke about. *Ceceo* utterances concerning other topics were disregarded here. Participants had an average *ceceo* rate of 64.72% when speaking about their personal lives, mainly about family and friends. There was a 58.47% average rate of *ceceo* when speaking about the cuisine of Jerez. Participants' *ceceo* rate stood at 56.39% when speaking of their metalinguistic awareness, that is explaining how they themselves speak and how their speech has changed over time. Describing the city of Jerez resulted in 56.30% average rate of *ceceo*, while describing its

traditional rivalries resulted in 55.72% *ceceo*. Conversation about typical celebrations in Jerez and changes occurring in the city resulted in very similar rates of *ceceo*, at 52.27% and 52.25%, respectively. Discussion about how *jerezanos/as* generally speak resulted in an average *ceceo* rate of 51.87%, while conversation about politics in Jerez resulted in a 49.61% average *ceceo* rate. Finally, the lowest average *ceceo* rate per topic was at 37.5%, when participants spoke about their professional life, that is their work or studies. Figure 3 on page 40 displays these results in graphic form.

3.3.3. Controlled Speech *Ceceo*

Table 8: Controlled Speech *Ceceo* Production Broken Down into Groups

	<i>Group I</i>	<i>Group II</i>	<i>Group III</i>
<i>Jerez Score</i>	7.32%	6.27%	39.79%
<i>Education</i>	47%	5.9%	4.9%
<i>Age</i>	17.4%	9.76%	26.94%
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	
<i>Gender</i>	17.52%	21.48%	

*Highest group *ceceo* rate per independent variable in **bold**

Of the 3880 total onset <s> tokens, 2210 appeared during the controlled speech section of the interview (see Table 3 on page 37). These were all of the opportunities where the participants could potentially produce *ceceo* through reading aloud in interview sections 2a and 2b. Of the 2210 onset <s> tokens in these sections, 19.5% (431) were pronounced as interdental fricative [θ]. Table 8 above offers a breakdown of each demographic group's controlled speech *ceceo* rate. Patterns generally mirrored those of the overall study, but with much lower percentages. The main dissimilarity was that Education Group I had the highest controlled *ceceo* rate of all demographic groups at 47% (345/734) followed in its demographic by Education Group II at 5.9% (80/1353) and the participant from Education Group III at 4.9% (6/123).³² Jerez Score Group III had the second highest controlled *ceceo* rate of all demographic groups, at a rate of 39.79% (341/857), followed in its category by the significantly lower rates of Jerez Score Group I at 7.32% (36/492) and Group II at 6.27% (54/861). Age Group III had the highest controlled *ceceo* rate of that demographic at 26.94%

³² See note 28.

(264/980), followed by Age Group I at 17.4% (107/615) and then Age Group II at 9.76% (60/615). Finally, men had a controlled *ceceo* rate of 17.52% (194/1107) while women had a slightly higher controlled *ceceo* rate of 21.48% (237/1103).³³

Finally, a multiple regression analysis using SPSS was also performed on the controlled speech *ceceo* results. This was done to determine which independent variables had the greatest influence on *ceceo* production in formal speech contexts. The goal was also to determine if participants' 'Jerez Score' remained the most significant factor impacting *ceceo* production whilst reading aloud. Again, the Pearson Correlation, beta weight and p-value of the independent variables' relationships with *ceceo* were recorded. Results of the analysis are displayed in Table 9, below. In terms of controlled speech *ceceo*, education had the highest Pearson Correlation (-.652) and beta weight (-.557) and a p-value under 0.05 (.016). 'Jerez Score' followed, with the second highest Pearson Correlation (.507) and beta weight (.353). The p-value of 'Jerez Score' was just over 0.05 (.097). These factors were trailed in significance by age, which for the first time, however, was not the least significant factor (Pearson Correlation=.173; beta weight= -.017; p-value=.932) Gender had the lowest Pearson Correlation and beta weight (.007 and -.003, respectively) and highest p-value (.987).

Table 9: Multiple Regression Analysis of Controlled Speech *Ceceo*

Demographic Factor	Pearson Correlation	Beta weight	p-value
Education	-.652	-.557	.016
'Jerez Score'	.507	.353	.097
Age	.173	-.017	.932
Gender	.007	-.003	.987

3.4. Discussions

The following subsections consider implications of the results presented in section 3.3. Discoveries regarding overall *ceceo* production are discussed in the first subsection 'General Findings'. The main purpose of this section is to ascertain if the present study evidences the progression of a fricative demerger in Jerez following the 2008 and 2018 studies of García-Amaya and Harjus, respectively. The following subsection, 'Multivariate Regression Analysis: Significance of 'Jerez Score'', breaks down the SPSS analyses results and describes

³³ The denominator was slightly lower for women than men because participant F8 skipped four onset <s> tokens in part 2b.

how independent variables impacted *ceceo* in the present study. This carries out the first objective of the study: to gauge if participants' emotional connection to Jerez has the greatest impact on their *ceceo* production over demographic factors. The following section 'Extralinguistic Variables and Comparison to Previous Studies' explores results in terms of age, education and gender groups, and determines how these variables interacted with *ceceo*. This executes the study's second objective of determining if trends regarding these factors and *ceceo* fit with trends found in previous studies. The following section 'Significance of Topic in Free Speech' analyzes *ceceo* via subject matters in free speech, fulfilling the third objective of the study: to determine if conversation topic impacts *ceceo* production. Finally, 'Significance of Formality in Reading' compares participants' *ceceo* production while reading the study's two texts in order to accomplish the fourth objective of the study: to determine if text formality impacts *ceceo* production.

3.4.1. General Findings

The total *ceceo* percentage of 34.59% of the participants is notably lower than total *ceceo* calculated in previous studies: 73.1% (García-Amaya, 2008) and 68% (Harjus, 2018b). There are two potential explanations for this discrepancy. The first is that the present study specifically considered the rate of *ceceo*, that is, the onset <s> vocalized as [θ]. Previous studies (García-Amaya, 2008; Harjus, 2018b) may have arrived at their calculations by considering [θ] production for onset <s, z, ce, ci> tokens, as these studies calculated *seseo* rate as well as *ceceo* rate.^{34, 35} The second potential explanation of a significantly lower total *ceceo* in the present study is due to approximately half of the potential *ceceo* utterances coming from texts read aloud. Previous studies, which focused mainly on casual conversation and *ceceo* production, would logically arrive at higher total *ceceo* rates due to the absence of reading situations as a main focus. Perhaps, then, when comparing results of the present study to those of previous studies, it would be more accurate to favor the free speech (conversational) *ceceo* rate. If we focus on this 54.55%, it fits with the decreasing trend of *ceceo* production from 73.1% in 2008 (García-Amaya, 2008), to 68% in 2018 (Harjus, 2018b). In any case, the present study gives further evidence of a fricative demerger of *ceceo* into *distinción fonológica* in Jerez de la Frontera.

³⁴ The present study only considered [θ] production for onset <s>, as [θ] for onset <z, ce, ci> does not fall within the definition of *ceceo*. See section 3.2.3 for more information.

³⁵ Although *seseo* was not the purpose of the study nor was it empirically measured, the author found insignificant evidence of it in the Jerez speech community.

Going from free conversation to reading decreased *ceceo* rate by 35.05%, from 54.55% to 19.5%. This finding backs those of previous studies, giving further evidence that *ceceo* decreases in high diaphasic situations (Villena Ponsoda, 2007; Cervantes, 2010). This demonstrates that the fricative demerger is in a significantly more advanced stage in formal situations, particularly when graphemes are brought to speakers' attention. Only 4 participants (M3, M9, F8, F9) used *ceceo* for more than one-fifth (20%) of the syllable onset <s> in the readings. These 4 were the only individuals from both Education Group I and Jerez Score Group III. Therefore, it seems that people who experience both a strong emotional connection to Jerez and have received low formal schooling are the most (and last) likely to cling to *ceceo*, even in situations of high formality.

3.4.2. Multivariate Regression Analysis: Significance of 'Jerez Score'

Participants' *ceceo* production along with their age, gender, education and 'Jerez Score' groups were run through SPSS multivariate regression analysis software. This was done to determine each factor's significance in *ceceo* production. The multiple regression analysis of the total results confirms that 'Jerez Score' was the most significant independent variable impacting *ceceo* production over the entire study, as its relationship with *ceceo* had the strongest Pearson Correlation and its impact on *ceceo* had the highest beta weight. It was also the only factor that had a p-value under .05, significantly so at .006, meaning that connection to Jerez and rate of *ceceo* are linked to one another in all diaphasic contexts in Jerez. Indeed, when factors did not behave as predicted and unexpected results ensued (eg. the university educated participant who had one of the highest *ceceo* rates in free conversation), it could often be explained by referring to participants' 'Jerez Score'. After 'Jerez Score', participants' level of formal education had the most weight in impacting their *ceceo* production. Here, the Pearson Correlation and beta weight were fairly high as well. Although the p-value signaled the possibility of a null hypothesis at .123, this value is close enough to .05 to infer some relationship between *ceceo* and educational attainment in Jerez. Gender and age had the least significant weight in impacting *ceceo* rate throughout the study. They had the second-lowest and lowest Pearson Correlation and beta weights, respectively. Their p-values were well over 0.05, meaning that there was a slim likelihood of a relationship between gender or age and *ceceo* in all contexts. This signals that *ceceo* may be abundant in the speech of *jerezanos/as* of all ages and genders and in varying diaphasic contexts if they have a strong emotional ties to the city, and to a lesser extent if they have received little formal education. Age proved to be the factor with the lowest impact on *ceceo*, and its very

high p-value of .955 signals the validity of a null hypothesis. The insignificant relationship between age and *ceceo* production is observable in Table 2 on page 36, as the younger half of participants had more speakers with over 40% total *ceceo* (n=5) than the older half (n=4). This indicates that age alone is insignificant in impacting *ceceo* production in Jerez de la Frontera.

Multivariable regression analyses were also run on participants' free speech and controlled speech *ceceo* production, with the purpose of observing how variables impact dialectical features differently in distinct diaphasic contexts. The multiple regression analysis of free speech *ceceo* was not significantly different from that of the overall study. 'Jerez Score' proved to have the most significant relationship with *ceceo* rate in casual conversation, receiving the highest Pearson Correlation and beta weight. 'Jerez Score' was also the only variable with a p-value under 0.05, pointing once more to an invalid null hypothesis. This demonstrates that emotional connection to Jerez surpasses diastatic factors in speakers' (dis)favoring *ceceo* in free conversation in Jerez. Age was proven to be even more insignificant in free speech *ceceo* than in the overall study, with an extremely high p-value of .962. This indicates a null hypothesis regarding the relationship between age and *ceceo* in casual conversation. With a p-value of .475, there was no clear relationship between education and *ceceo* in casual speech either. In these results, however, gender proved to have the second greatest significance after 'Jerez Score', with a slightly higher Pearson Correlation and beta weight than education. The p-value of gender was .095, close enough to .05 that a relationship with *ceceo* in free speech situations is not unfathomable. This finding is unexpected, as it signifies that being female was one of the most predictive factors of *ceceo* production in free speech.

The results of the multiple regression analysis of controlled speech *ceceo* were quite divergent. When reading aloud, participants' level of education was the only independent variable with a clear link to *ceceo* production, with the highest Pearson Correlation and beta weight, and a p-value of .016. This finding is unsurprising, as those with more time spent in the educational system have experienced greater emphasis on the national standard *distinción* while reading. 'Jerez Score' was the second most significant factor here, with a slightly lower Pearson Correlation and beta weight. The p-value was .97, close enough to 0.05 to cast doubt on a null hypothesis. Age still had very little weight in impacting *ceceo* production in formal speech contexts. However, this is the only context in which age was not the most insignificant factor, as it measured more significant than gender. This is likely linked to age's connection to education, as older speakers generally received the most rudimentary schooling which

becomes especially apparent during reading tasks (García-Amaya, 2008). In the case of gender, with an extremely high p-value of .987, a null hypothesis is plausible. Comparing gender's clear insignificance here to its relatively high significance in free speech *ceceo* production is perplexing: it signals that females favored *ceceo* in free conversation, switching to *distinción* in formal situations, while males consistently favored *distinción*. According to recent studies in greater Andalusia (Cervantes, 2010; Regan, 2017b; Havu et al., 2010), females' behavior regarding *ceceo* in the present study would be typically expected from male speakers. The author could not determine what caused this discrepancy, although some suggestions are discussed in section 3.4.3.3.

All in all, the results of the multiple regression analysis demonstrate that connection to Jerez is the variable with the most weight in impacting *ceceo* production overall. It is also the only single factor that had a direct impact on *ceceo* throughout the study. This gives further support to Harjus' (2018b) assumption that quantitative factors alone are insufficient in analyzing *ceceo* in Jerez due to the connection between language and identity, "...*la correlación entre la realización de ciertos fenómenos lingüísticos y la identificación con la localidad y sus estereotipos demuestra el entretrejimiento entre lengua e identidad...*" (p. 441). The importance of a qualitative framework in conjunction with quantitative measurements here can be extended to all research on dialectal features of Jerez de la Frontera's speech community.

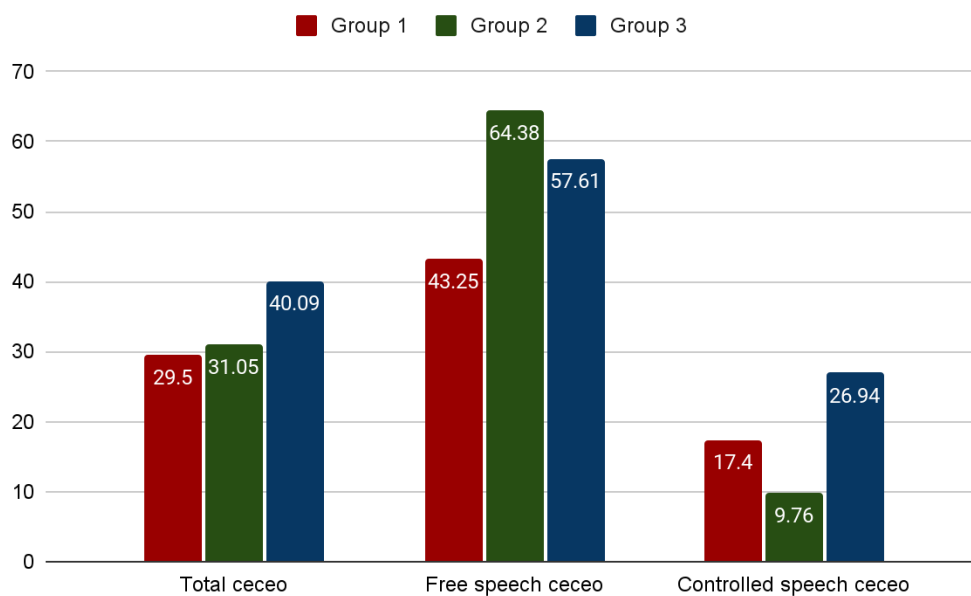
3.4.3. Extralinguistic Variables and Comparison to Previous Studies

3.4.3.1. Age

Figure 4 on page 47 displays age groups' *ceceo* production. On the left, total *ceceo* presents each age group's *ceceo* rate over the entire study, while in the center and on the right age groups' results are broken down into the conversational and reading sections, respectively. As expected, *ceceo* rate decreased drastically from casual conversation to the readings amongst all three age groups. The total *ceceo* bars indicate that considering both contexts, *ceceo* and age have a direct relationship in Jerez. It can very generally be concluded, then, that younger speakers comparatively favor *distinción* over older speakers. This is illustrated by Age Group III constantly surpassing Age Group I in *ceceo* production. This supports previous studies on *ceceo* and age in Andalusia (Salvador, 1980, as cited in Villena Ponsoda et al., 1995; Ávila Muñoz, 1994; Moya Corral & Sosinski, 2015; Regan, 2017a). However, we cannot go as far as to claim *ceceo* to be a speech feature of older *jerezanas/os*; as it currently stands, this

statement would be too broad to be accurate for Jerez' speech community. *Ceceo* was not unique to older speakers in Jerez, as there was ample individual variation within each age group. Indeed, age had extremely low significance in the multivariate regression analysis and hence the relationship between age and *ceceo* may have been rooted in age's interaction with other extralinguistic factors. This may change over the next decades, as the youngest *jerezanos/as* have growing access to social media and technologies exposing them to the national standard.

Figure 4: *Ceceo* Rate vs. Age Groups



Attention must also be drawn to a discrepancy in Age Group II, which had the highest free speech *ceceo* rate and the lowest controlled speech *ceceo* rate. Although unexpected, this is in line with the most recent study on *ceceo* in Jerez, in which the middle age group also had the highest rate of *ceceo* production (Harjus 2018b). A similar result occurred in García-Amaya's 2008 study on the Jerez speech community, in which the older of the two age groups favored production of [s]. He concludes that the employment status of the younger participants could have impacted this result. This could be the case in the present study as well, as two of the five (40%) participants in Age Group II were unemployed at the time of the study. This is higher than the unemployment rates in Age Group I and III (0% and 37.5%, respectively). The low controlled *ceceo* rate of Age Group II could also be linked to the fact that none of the individuals from both Education Group I and Jerez Group III (M3, M9, F8, F9 – those with more than 20% controlled *ceceo* rates) were in this age group.

3.4.3.2. Education

Figure 5: *Ceceo* Rate vs. Education Groups

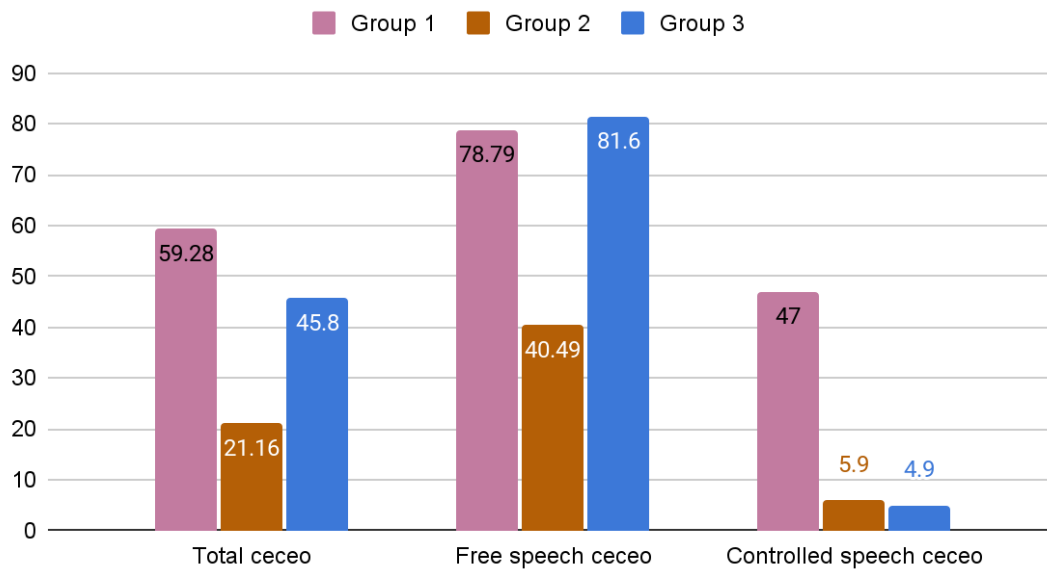


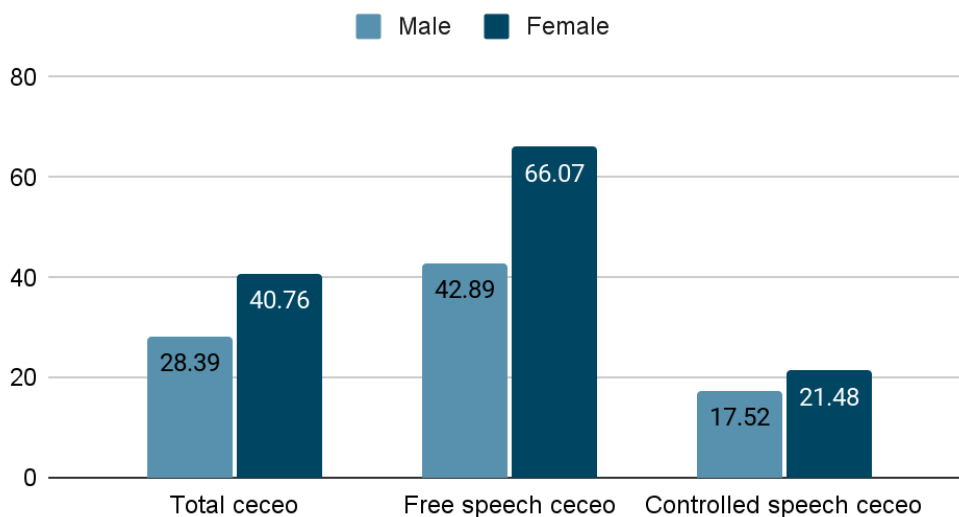
Figure 5 above displays *ceceo* production with reference to education groups. Again, total *ceceo* on the left presents each education group's *ceceo* rate through the entire study, while education groups' results are divided into the conversational section in the center and the reading section on the right. As with age, *ceceo* rate decreased in each education group from free to controlled speech. In fact, rates here dropped more than they did between age groups. Data from Education Groups I and II match data from prior studies on *ceceo* production and educational attainment (Villena Ponsoda et al., 2014; Havu et al., 2010). Amongst the two groups, greater education led to lower *ceceo* rates in both casual and formal speech. In terms of controlled *ceceo*, data behaved as expected across all three groups. Education Group III had the lowest *ceceo* rate in the reading portion of the interview, which was, in fact, the lowest *ceceo* rate of any independent variable group throughout the study. This could indicate that the demerger of *ceceo* is essentially complete amongst the formally educated in highly formality situations.³⁶ Despite this, Education Group III also had the highest free speech *ceceo* rate of any education group at 81.6%. This can be explained by delving into the background of the sole member of Education Group III, participant M2. The participant is a 23 year old male with a high Jerez connection score (25-'Jerez Score' Group III). M2's results reflect and personify the multivariate regression analysis, in that 'Jerez Score' has the

³⁶ See note 28.

greatest impact on free speech *ceceo* production and educational attainment has the greatest impact on controlled speech *ceceo* production. Having received higher education, M2 has compartmentalized when and when not to use *ceceo*. This adds nuance to the stereotype that people with more education use less *ceceo* in their speech, as in Jerez, this may only be true in formal speech. However, more research with university educated *jerezanas/os* must be performed to back this finding. After our university educated participant, the next highest *ceceo* result was from Education Group I (the least educated) in free speech at 79.78%, and then Education Group II at 40.49%, following the indirect trend between education and *ceceo* seen in previous studies.

3.4.3.3. Gender

Figure 6: *Ceceo* Rate vs. Gender Groups



Above, Figure 6 displays binary gender groups' *ceceo* production. Total *ceceo* exhibits gender groups' overall *ceceo* rates, while in the center and on the right results are broken down into the conversational and reading sections, respectively. Gender was the factor that most deviated from previous studies on *ceceo* in Andalusia (García Mouton, 1992; Ávila Muñoz, 1994; Villena Ponsoda, 2007, as cited in Moya Corral & Sosinski, 2015; García Mouton, 2006; Regan, 2017b; Havu et al., 2010), as women in the present study consistently had higher rates of *ceceo*. Of course, this disparity could be due to participant particularities and the limited sample size of 18. However, it could also be tied to how gender interacted with the more significant factor 'Jerez Score', which was generally higher in women ('Jerez Score' Group III had 4 females and 3 males). This interaction could explain why the multivariate analysis deemed gender the second most significant factor impacting free speech

ceceo production, when ‘Jerez Score’ was at its highest Pearson Correlation and beta weight. It would also explain gender’s drop in significance in controlled speech *ceceo* production, as ‘Jerez Score’ dropped here as well. Gender could have also interacted with age, as the two oldest participants of the study were women (ages 69 and 74, after which the next oldest participant was significantly younger at age 61) who had received rudimentary education during the dictatorship. These two were born and raised at a time in which the fricative demerger into *distinción* had not yet been introduced into Jerez’ speech community. However, it is unlikely that this played much of a role in females’ increased *ceceo* production, due to the low significance and weight of age in the regression analysis. Another possibility is that contrary to studies on greater Andalusia, *ceceo* is not currently a male linguistic feature in Jerez de la Frontera. This is not impossible, especially considering that women also used *ceceo* at a higher rate than men in the most recent study of Jerez (Harjus, 2018b). This potential societal change could be in lieu of contemporary gender equality movements, in which women feel less pressure to conceal stigmatized nonstandard traits. Further research must be performed to determine the link between gender and *ceceo* in contemporary Jerez.

3.4.4. Significance of Topic in Free Speech

Two patterns emerged when analyzing participants’ speech through various subjects of conversation (see Figure 3 on page 40). The factors that seemed to impact *ceceo* production were the sphere of life in which the topic takes place and the sense of self tied to the topic. The first factor, ‘sphere of life’, can be divided into three levels: high intimacy (topic takes place in the household sphere), medium intimacy (topic takes place in the public sphere) and low intimacy (topic takes place in the professional sphere). When speaking about high intimacy topics which generally take place in or are related to the household sphere, such as family, participants had the highest rates of *ceceo*.³⁷ When speaking about medium intimacy topics which take place outside of the household in the public sphere, such as local celebrations, average *ceceo* rates decreased. Rates dropped to their lowest when participants spoke about low intimacy topics linked to the professional sphere, such as work life and studies. ‘Sense of self’, the second factor that stood out, can also be divided into three levels regarding the topics of conversation: high sense of self (individual ‘me’), medium sense of

³⁷ Although this rating system may not apply for individuals with special cases (eg. one may be estranged from their family), generalizations true for most of the population are used for the purpose of the study.

self (collective 'we'), and low sense of self (impersonal 'they'). Topics that concerned reflection on participants' personal lives or individual habits, such as awareness of their linguistic habits ("The way I speak..."), referenced 'high sense of self' and typically resulted in higher levels of *ceceo*. Topics of conversation through which the participants identified themselves as part of the Jerez collective, such as the cuisine of Jerez ("The way we eat..."), referenced 'medium sense of self' and resulted in lower *ceceo* rates. Finally, topics of conversation in which participants were not referenced as an individual nor as part of a collective, such as changes in Jerez ("The changes they're making..."), provoked a 'low sense of self' and typically resulted in even lower rates of *ceceo*.

Topics of conversation were given both a 'sphere of life' and 'sense of self' rating by the author, as seen in Table 10 on the following page. Of the two factors, 'sphere of life' proved more significant in impacting *ceceo*. That is, across the board, *ceceo* was highest when the topic of conversation referenced or could be related to participants' household sphere, medium when referencing the public sphere and lowest when the topic involved the participants' professional sphere. The same consistency was not always observed with 'sense of self'. Despite typically high levels of *ceceo* when topics elicited a high 'sense of self' and low levels of *ceceo* with topics eliciting a low 'sense of self', there were exceptions that were able to surpass this factor in significance, impacting *ceceo* rate regardless of a topic's 'sense of self' rating. For example, when the dialect of Jerez was brought up (topic 'speech community of Jerez'), participants' attention likely shifted to their own language, resulting in one of their lower rates of *ceceo* despite the topic provoking a medium 'sense of self'. This is likely due to participants' consciously adjusting their speech to follow prestigious norms when attention was brought to language. This could also be why 'participants' speech', a topic with a high 'sense of self' rating, resulted in slightly less *ceceo* than 'food in Jerez', a topic with a medium 'sense of self' rating. However, conversation about participants' own speech still resulted in significantly more *ceceo* than conversation about the speech community of Jerez, despite both focusing on metalinguistic awareness. This can be attributed to the high intimacy 'sphere of life' rating tied to participants' discussion of their individual speech, as personal linguistic habits are often tied to home life, and the medium intimacy 'sphere of life' rating tied to the speech community of Jerez, as it references *jerezanos/as* speech patterns as observed through interactions in the public sphere. Additionally, speaking about work and studies, which provoked a high 'sense of self' and low 'sphere of life', resulted in participants' lowest collective average rate of *ceceo*. This is more proof that a topic's 'sphere of life' rating is a more reliable and significant indicator of *ceceo*

use than its ‘sense of self’ rating. This could also signify that conversation about contexts or settings in which speakers are personally involved in experiencing a national standard being encouraged (eg. their job, their university classes) will generally result in the lowest rates of nonstandard speech features.

Table 10: Ratings for Conversation Topics and % of *Ceceo* per Topic

Conversation Topic	Sphere of Life Rating (HI=High Intimacy; MI=Medium Intimacy; LI=Low Intimacy)	Sense of Self Rating (H=High/Me; M=Medium/We; L=Low/They)	% <i>Ceceo</i>
Personal Life	HI	H	64.72
Food in Jerez	HI	M	58.47
Participants’ Speech	HI	H	56.39
Describe Jerez	MI	M	56.30
Rivalries in Jerez	MI	M	55.72
Celebrations in Jerez	MI	M	52.27
Changes in Jerez	MI	L	52.25
Speech community of Jerez	MI	M	51.87
Politics in Jerez	LI	L	49.61
Work Life/Studies	LI	H	37.50

3.4.5. Significance of Formality in Reading

To determine if text formality impacts *ceceo* rate, participants’ *ceceo* production when reading the study’s two texts aloud were contrasted. Of the two readings, one was rather impersonal (Fun Facts About Spain, part 2a) and one more personal (Interview with José Mercé, part 2b). The majority of participants had similarly low *ceceo* rates between the two readings, which signals the significance of the high formality setting in hindering *ceceo*. However, the participants’ average *ceceo* rate when reading the José Mercé interview was 18.08%, lower than the 20.47% average *ceceo* rate when reading the Fun Facts text. Upon further investigation, there were seven participants who had more than a 5% change in *ceceo* rate between the two texts: M3, F3, F5, M5, F7, M9, F9. Of the seven, six had a higher *ceceo* rate in the less personal Fun Facts passage. The only increase in *ceceo* of more than 5% when

reading the José Mercé text was participant F9, a 74 year old woman who had a ‘Jerez Score’ of 30 and a high rate of *ceceo* all around. See Table 11 for the seven participants’ change in *ceceo* production from the first reading (Fun Facts) to the second (José Mercé).

Table 11: Percentage of *Ceceo* Increase (+) or Decrease (-) from Part 2a to 2b

Participant	M3	F3	F5	M5	F7	M9	F9
Percent Increase (+) or Decrease (-)	-9.4%	-5.1%	-8.5%	-8.2%	-9.9%	-8.5%	+8.9%

This trend is likely because the José Mercé reading (2b) was viewed by participants as more formal, despite the author intending this reading to be the more informal one. Viewing it through the lens of the ‘sense of self’ and ‘sphere of life’ criteria, however, the content of the José Mercé text would actually be given the same rating as the conversation topic ‘professional life’ – the free speech topic with the lowest average *ceceo* rate – as there is generally high ‘sense of self’ (José Mercé speaks in the first person ‘I’) and typically a low intimacy ‘sphere of life’ (the text is a professional interview mainly about his career). Therefore, despite the José Mercé reading containing more personal content and being in the first person, the participants produced more careful speech when reading it, likely because they were reading as someone in a formal diphasic situation speaking about topics mainly related to his work life. In terms of the Fun Facts reading, despite being more abstract and less personal, participants likely experienced the text with a medium ‘sense of self’ (speaking of a country they belong to) and a medium ‘sphere of life’ (facts were about the public sphere), thereby producing slightly less careful speech. This reading can then be interpreted to have been the more informal reading of the two, and therefore provoked more *ceceo* when read aloud by *jerezanos* and *jerezanas*.

3.5. Closing Remarks

Chapter 3 has laid out the present study in its entirety. Sociolinguistic interviews with 18 participants of various demographics resulted in an overall *ceceo* rate of 34.59%. Broken down into the interview’s conversation and reading aloud portions, the rates were 54.55% and 19.50%, respectively. That the higher of these two is still lower than the 68% *ceceo* rate observed in the most recent study of Jerez’ speech community (Harjus, 2018b) can be interpreted as evidence of the fricative demerger’s progression in Jerez, more advanced in

high formality reading situations than in casual speech situations. It is possible that in the next few decades, *ceceo* will all but disappear from formal speech situations in Jerez (eg. reading aloud). The remainder of the section restates the author's hypotheses and discusses the extent of their validity.

1. Quantified connection score to Jerez will have a greater weight than other extralinguistic factors in impacting *ceceo* production.

The results of the SPSS multivariate regression analysis determined that emotional connection to Jerez was indeed the most significant factor in impacting *jerezanas'* and *jerezanos'* *ceceo* production, in line with the author's hypothesis. With a Pearson Correlation and beta weight of .697 and .599, respectively, the strength of 'Jerez Score's' relationship with *ceceo* surpassed that of age, education and gender. Additionally, 'Jerez Score's' p-value was the only of the four under .05, significantly so at .006. Thus, the present study gives confirmation that a qualitative framework is fundamental when studying nonstandard dialectal features in Jerez, a confirmation which may be extended to research on all Andalusian speech communities. 'Jerez Score's' impact on *ceceo* was followed in significance by education, gender then age. Thus, the study demonstrates that those with a strong connection to Jerez and low formal educational attainment are the most likely to cling to *ceceo* in all contexts. When broken down into the free speech and controlled speech sections, weights of the four independent variables on *ceceo* production fluctuated slightly, with 'Jerez Score' remaining the most significant factor in free speech (Pearson Correlation=.663; beta weight=.599; p-value=.008) and education becoming the most significant factor in controlled speech (Pearson Correlation= -.652; beta weight= -.557; p-value= .016). This signifies that those who feel more connected to Jerez are more likely to cling to dephonologization in conversation regardless of their education, gender or age. Conversely, those with greater educational attainment are leading the *ceceo* demerger in diaphasic situations of high formality, even if they feel a strong connection to Jerez.

2. Participants' age, gender and education will impact *ceceo* production following trends found in previous Andalusian field studies.

Generally, *ceceo* rate increased with age; the oldest participants had 40.09% *ceceo* in their speech, decreasing to 31.05% amongst middle aged participants and 29.5% amongst the youngest participants. This fits with the hypothesis that older participants would have greater *ceceo* production in line with previous studies. However, since age was so insignificant in the

regression analysis and there was ample variation within age groups, the present study cannot claim *ceceo* to be a marked speech feature of older speakers in Jerez, despite their tendency towards it. *Ceceo* generally decreased as formal educational attainment increased in the present study, in line with the author's hypothesis. Those with the lowest amount of formal schooling used *ceceo* for 59.28% of onset <s>, while *ceceo* dipped to 21.16% in those with more formal studies. The main exception here was observed with the university educated participant, who had the highest *ceceo* rate in free speech (88.42%) and the lowest *ceceo* rate in controlled speech (4.9%). This is due to the participant's strong emotional connection to Jerez, which ties back to the significance of 'Jerez Score' over education in the multivariate regression analysis of free speech *ceceo*. In terms of gender, females were more likely to use *ceceo* throughout the present study, with [θ] for onset <s> at a rate of 40.76%, compared to males' 28.39%. This finding contradicts that of the multiple studies which define *ceceo* as a male linguistic feature in Andalusia, as well as the author's hypothesis that males would have greater *ceceo* production than females in the present study. This disparity may be due to gender's overlap with 'Jerez Score', the particularities of the present study's participants or simply because *ceceo* is not currently a male speech feature in the Jerez speech community. This highlights the need for further studies regarding gender and *ceceo* in Jerez.

3. Conversation topic will impact *ceceo* in low diaphasic casual speech situations: participants will produce the most *ceceo* when speaking about more emotional topics.

In casual conversation, speakers' highest *ceceo* rates occurred when discussing topics which take place in an intimate 'sphere of life' (eg. the speaker's household) and in which the speaker is involved as an individual (high 'sense of self'). Accordingly, *ceceo* generally decreased as the topic reflected a less intimate setting and involved participants less individually. This supports the author's hypothesis that conversation topic would impact *ceceo* in low diaphasic casual speech situations, but negates the hypothesis that *ceceo* production would change based upon how emotional a topic is. Of the two significant factors, 'sphere of life' was stronger in impacting *ceceo* rate, because topics regarding a high intimacy 'sphere of life' always led to higher rates of *ceceo*. In fact, the topics provoking the three highest rates of *ceceo* (personal life= 64.72%; food in Jerez= 58.47%; participants' speech=56.39%) can all be tied to the household sphere. Meanwhile there was more inconsistency in the relationship between *ceceo* rate and 'sense of self'. The fact that work and studies, the one topic with a high intimacy 'sense of self' and low 'sphere of life', had the lowest *ceceo* rate indicates that *ceceo* decreases significantly when discussing topics in which

the speaker themselves experienced the national standard being enforced. Overall, the present study proves that *ceceo* production is not only impacted by the (in)formality of a situation in which speakers find themselves, but also by referencing such situations.

4. Text formality will impact *ceceo* production in high diaphasic reading situations: participants will produce more *ceceo* when reading the more informal text, the interview with José Mercé.

When tasked with reading two texts aloud, participants' average *ceceo* production decreased by more than 2% when reading the interview with José Mercé. In fact, one third (n=6) of the study's participants used over 5% less *ceceo* when reading this text. Therefore, the author's hypothesis was accurate in that participants had higher *ceceo* rate when reading the informal text, but inaccurate in her assumption of which text was more formal. This finding can be understood when analyzing the texts' content through the 'sphere of life' and 'sense of self' rating system. The José Mercé text was read in the first person singular (high 'sense of self' rating) mostly focused on his professional career (low 'sphere of life' rating). For this reason participants viewed this text as more formal despite its conversational style, and partook in careful speech when reading it. On the other hand, participants viewed the abstract text regarding fun facts about Spain as more informal and used less careful speech when reading it. This is because content provoked a medium 'sense of self' (eg. we as a country) and medium 'sphere of life' (eg. facts about the Spanish public). Thus, classifying the José Mercé text as informal was an error judgment, as the author mistakenly equated impersonality with informality whereas they are, in fact, distinct factors. Instead, the 'sphere of life' and 'sense of self' of a text should be considered when rating its formality.

4. CONCLUSION

Since the mid-twentieth century, sociolinguists have investigated the interdental fricative merging phenomenon ‘*ceceo*’ in Andalusia. They have honed in on factors impacting its use or abandonment in individuals and greater speech communities. Age, educational attainment, socioeconomic status and gender are generally regarded as the principal diastratic factors impacting speakers’ *ceceo* production. A context’s level of formality has also been proven to significantly impact how speakers participate in *ceceo*. Yet exposure to the national norm and societal pressures in Andalusia have resulted in the demerger of *ceceo* to national standard *distinción*. This shift is currently in progress and more advanced in urban centers than rural regions. The demerger has also further progressed in Oriental Andalusia, where it first gained prominence in the 1980s. Nevertheless, Occidental Andalusia followed and is currently witnessing the *ceceo* demerger’s progression. Amidst this demerger, the present study has contributed to existing research on *ceceo* in the speech community of Jerez de la Frontera. It has also filled a gap in research about the use of *ceceo* in different diaphasic situations. Results indicate that emotional connection to Jerez is the strongest independent variable and the only factor that impacts *jerezanos*’ and *jerezanas*’ *ceceo* production in both formal and informal speech acts. Results additionally indicate that speech regarding speakers’ households encourages more instances of *ceceo*, while less *ceceo* is produced when the topic of speech approaches the professional sphere. This is so in both spoken conversation and reading aloud.

The current study was not without its limitations. One primary shortcoming was the relatively small sample size and the fact that the education groups were uneven. Future studies could increase the sample size and include more participants with a university education. An additional potential limitation is that impressionistic analysis was used for data collection and percentages were calculated by hand. Therefore, there exists a potential margin of error, although calculations were reviewed twice to reduce this possibility. A final limitation is the observer’s paradox, which was inevitably present to some extent. Although the author used techniques from Labov (1973) to reduce this and forge connections with participants, it was impossible to completely avoid. The observer’s paradox can only truly be avoided when participants have a strong connection to the interviewer outside of the interview context. Thus, a *jerezana/o* author performing a similar study with their friends and family as participants would be ideal in this respect. A *jerezana/o* would likely also know enough locals to be able to reduce the study to a single neighborhood, whereas the present study was only able to limit the study to three neighborhoods.

There were additional limitations specifically concerning the formal and informal parts of the interview. Regarding the reading section, "Fun Facts About Spain" was always read first. Thereby, it is possible that controlled speech *ceceo* data was impacted by the unvaried order of the texts. Future studies can be sure to switch the order of any texts, observing if results are in line with those of the present study. Additionally, future studies can repeat the experiment using the rating systems as a guideline to pick drastically dissimilar texts, leading to even more telling results. For example, *ceceo* production with a high 'sense of self'/high 'sphere of life' reading (eg. a dialogue between a *jerezana* family in their house getting ready to eat) can be contrasted with that of a low 'sense of self'/low 'sphere of life' reading (eg. a reading about Swedish politics). Regarding the conversation section, future studies can make sure that all participants speak about all topics. In the present study the author focused upon topics of conversation that at least two thirds of the participants spoke about. Free speech *ceceo* data would be more reliable if all participants spoke about each topic. Due to time and technological constraints, the author was unable to perform such in depth interviews. Future studies can also include a wider range of conversation topics that reflect more 'sphere of life' and 'sense of self' situations (eg. more high intimacy topics regarding the household sphere; more low intimacy topics regarding the professional sphere). As the author arrived at the rating systems through interviews that she had already carried out, she was not careful to have included an array of topics via this criteria.

All in all, Jerez' idiosyncrasy as a city that celebrates rural prestige, along with its low rates of educational attainment and deep-rooted local traditions, may have slowed the *ceceo* demerger in comparison with other urban centers. Nevertheless, all evidence indicates that the demerger is making headway in Jerez de la Frontera, just as in the rest of Andalusia. It is hard to say if *ceceo* will ever fully vanish from the speech community of Jerez. Prescriptivism and emphasis on the national standard in schooling is juxtaposed with *jerezanas*/'*jerezanos*' strong identity and contemporary movements defending non-prestigious Andalusian dialectal traits. Despite its precarious future, *ceceo* currently remains in the speech community of Jerez and, to many, a cornerstone of *jerezana* identity – it is undoubtedly a single phoneme that speaks volumes.

5. REFERENCES

- Alba, O. (2000). Elisión de la /d/ intervocálica postónica. *Brigham Young University Faculty Publications*, 6, 51-72.
- Alonso, A. (1951). Historia del ceceo y del seseo españoles. *Thesaurus: boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo*, 7(1-3), 111-200.
- Alvar Ezquerro, M. (1972). A vueltas con el seseo y el ceceo. *Románica*, 41-57.
- Alvar, Llorente, A., & Salvador Caja, G. (1991). *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Andalucía* (Ed. facs.). Arco.
- Ávila Muñoz, A. (1994). La variación reticular e individual de s/z en el vernáculo urbano malagueño. Datos del barrio de Capuchinos. *Analecta Malacitana*, 17, 343-377.
- Ayora Esteban, M. D. C. (1997). Estereotipos gráficos utilizados por los Álvarez Quintero para caracterizar la pronunciación andaluza. *Lenguaje y textos*, 10, 213-238.
- Beta Weight: Definition, Uses.* (2020). Statistics How To. Recuperado 14 de octubre de 2022, de <https://www.statisticshowto.com/beta-weight/>
- Callebaut, S. (2011). *Entre sistematización y variación: El sufijo diminutivo en España y en Hispanoamérica*. Master's thesis, Universiteit Gent.
- Canal Sur (2004). *Libro de estilo. Canal Sur Televisión y Canal 2 Andalucía*. Sevilla.
- Cano Aguilar, R. (2001). La historia del andaluz. *Actas de las Jornadas "El habla andaluza: historia, normas, usos" [24, 25, 26 febrero, 2000] coord. por Carmen Lucía Reina Reina*, 33-57.
- Carbonero Cano, P., Álvarez Cubero, J. L., Casas Gómez, J., & Gutiérrez Sánchez, I. M. (1992). El habla de Jerez: Estudio sociolingüístico. *Jerez de la Frontera: Biblioteca de Urbanismo y Cultura*.
- Cervantes, M. D. L. C. L. (2010). Datos para la fundamentación empírica de la escisión fonemática prestigiosa de/0s/en Andalucía. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 58(2), 483-516.
- Chambers, J. K. (1992). Linguistic correlates of gender and sex. *English World-Wide*, 13(2), 173-218.
- Dalbor, J. B. (1980). Observations on present-day seseo and ceceo in Southern Spain. *Hispania*, 63(1), 5-19.
- Delgado, F., Serrano, P., del Carmen Aparicio, M., Bidaurrázaga, A. U., & García, J. J. (1995). Sociolingüística y dialectología en Córdoba capital. *Alfinge: Revista de filología*, (8), 367-378.
- Eddington, D. S. (1987). Spanish sibilant evolution. *Deseret Language and Linguistic Society Symposium*, 13(1), 55-62.

Fernández, R. J. (2019). Elisión de la/d/intervocálica en hablantes de nivel sociocultural bajo de Sevilla. *Lengua y Habla*, (23), 258-285.

García-Amaya, L. J. (2008). Variable norms in the production of /θ/ in Jerez de la Frontera, Spain. *IULC Working Papers*, 8(3), 49-71.

García-Amaya, L., Harjus, J., & Henriksen, N. (2019). Introducción. Las hablas andaluzas. *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana*, 17(2/34), 7-14.

García Mouton, P. (1992). El atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Andalucía. Hombres y mujeres. Campo y ciudad. *Real Academia de la Lengua Vasca*, IKER 7, 667-685.

García Mouton, P. (2006). Mujer, dialecto y prestigio. *Estudios sobre lengua, literatura y mujer*, 223-234.

Gómez, M. L. C. (2019). La modalidad lingüística andaluza en la serie de ficción La Peste y su repercusión mediática. *Pragmalingüística*, (27), 90-111.

Gonzalez-Bueno, M. (1993). Variaciones en el tratamiento de las sibilantes Inconsistencia en el seseo sevillano: Un enfoque sociolingüístico. *Hispania*, 392-398.

Gordon, E. (1997). Sex, speech, and stereotypes: Why women use prestige speech forms more than men. *Language in society*, 26(1), 47-63.

Harjus, J. (2017). Perceptual variety linguistics: Jerezano speakers' concepts and perceptions of phonetic variation in western Andalusian Spanish. *Loquens*, 4(2), 1-15.

Harjus, J. (2018a). Enregisterment del rotacismo, del ceceo y de la fricativa en Andalucía Occidental: El caso de la serie de televisión Allí Abajo. *apropos [Perspektiven auf die Romania]*, (1), 43-61.

Harjus, J. (2018b). Sociofonética andaluza y lingüística perceptiva de la variación: el español hablado en Jerez de la Frontera. *Sociofonética andaluza y lingüística perceptiva de la variación*, 1-505.

Havu, J., Klippi, C., Hakulinen, S., Jacob, P., & Fernandez, J. S. (2010). Incidencia de los vernáculos andaluces en una red transversal de cuello blanco. *ACTES DU XVIIe CONGRÈS DES ROMANISTES SCANDINAVES/ACTAS DEL XVII CONGRESO DE ROMANISTAS ESCANDINAVOS*: Tampere University Press, 1070-1088.

Irvine, J. T. (1978). Formality and Informality in Speech Events, Working Papers in Sociolinguistics, No. 52. *Sociolinguistic Working Paper*, 52, 1-24.

Jefatura del estado. (1990, 3 octubre). *LEY ORGÁNICA 1/1990, de 3 de octubre, de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo* [Comunicado de prensa]. <https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1990/10/04/pdfs/A28927-28942.pdf>

Jiménez Fernández, R. (1999). *El andaluz*. Madrid: Arco.

- Kiddle, L. B. (1977). Sibilant turmoil in middle Spanish (1450-1650). *Hispanic Review*, 45(3), 327-336.
- Koppen, K., Ernestus, M., & van Mulken, M. (2019). The influence of social distance on speech behavior: Formality variation in casual speech. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*, 15(1), 139-165.
- Labov, W. (1973). Sociolinguistic patterns (No. 4). University of Pennsylvania press.
- Labov, W. (1981). Field methods of the project on linguistic change and variation. J. Baugh & J. Sherzer (eds.), *Language in Use*, 28-53.
- Lapesa, R. (1956). Sobre el ceceo y el seseo en Hispanoamérica. *Revista iberoamericana*, 21(41), 409-416.
- Marcos Marín, F. (1990). *El comentario lingüístico: (metodología y práctica)* (9ª ed.). Madrid: Cátedra.
- Martos, R., & Tassile, G. (2019). *Los sabores perdidos: Una novela con recetas de Gabriela Tassile / Lost Flavors: A Novel with Recipes by Gabriela Tassile (Spanish Edition)* (001 ed.). Ediciones B.
- Melguizo Moreno, E. (2009). Una aproximación sociolingüística al estudio del ceceo en un corpus de hablantes granadinos. *Estudios de lingüística aplicada*, (49), 57-78.
- Mendieta, S. (1993). *Manual de estilo de TVE*. Barcelona: Labor.
- Méndez-Gª de Paredes, E., & Amorós-Negre, C. (2019). The status of Andalusian in the Spanish-speaking world: Is it currently possible for Andalusia to have its own linguistic standardization process?. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 20(2), 179-198.
- Morillo-Velarde Pérez, R. (2001). Sociolingüística en el ALEA: variable generacional y cambio lingüístico. *ELUA. Estudios de Lingüística*, (15), 13-49.
- Moya Corral, J. A., & García Wiedemann, E. J. (1995). El habla de Granada y sus barrios. *Estudios de lengua española*, 5, 1-324.
- Moya Corral, M., & SOSIŃSKI, J. A. Y. M. (2015). La inserción social del cambio. La distinción s/θ en Granada. Análisis en tiempo aparente y en tiempo real. *Lingüística española actual*, 37(1), 33-72.
- Narbona Jiménez, A. (1998). ¿Normalizar el andaluz?. *Siglo que viene: revista de cultura*, 1988, 33, 18-22.
- Narbona Jiménez, A., Cano Aguilar, R., & Morillo Velarde Pérez, R. (1998). El español hablado en Andalucía. *Barcelona: Ariel*, 1-251.
- Narbona Jiménez, Cano Aguilar, R., & Morillo Velarde Pérez, R. (2011). El español hablado en Andalucía. *Editorial Universidad de Sevilla*, 39, 1-332.

- Navarro, T., Espinosa, A. M., & Rodríguez-Castellano, L. (1933). La frontera del andaluz. *Revista de filología española*, 20, 225-277.
- Núñez-Méndez, E. (2016). A Diachronic Approach to the Old Spanish Sibilant Merger and its Impact on Trans-Atlantic Spanish (Part I). *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos (U Puerto Rico)*, 2, 59-98.
- Patarroyo, A. G., Maquate, K., Ito, A., & Knoeferle, P. (2022). Investigating the real-time effect of register-situation formality congruence versus verb-argument semantic fit during spoken language comprehension. In *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*, 44(44), 2897-2903.
- Penny, R., & Penny, R. J. (2002). A history of the Spanish language. *Cambridge University Press*, 2.
- Pérez León, E. (2020). *Hablas andaluzas y su reivindicación*. Trabajo fin de grado, Universidad de Sevilla, Facultad de Comunicación.
- Platero, J. M. G. (2011). El concepto de norma y el español meridional. El seseo y el ceceo. *Itinerarios: Revista de estudios lingüísticos, literarios, históricos y antropológicos*, (13), 85-95.
- Quesada, E. R. (2019). El seseo y el ceceo: un ejemplo de la aportación de la variedad a la caracterización fonológica. *Moenia*, 25, 499-520.
- Regan, B. P. (2017a). *The effect of dialect contact and social identity on fricative demerger*. Doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.
- Regan, B. (2017b). A study of ceceo variation in Western Andalusia (Huelva). *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone linguistics*, 10(1), 119-160.
- Regan, B. (2020). The split of a fricative merger due to dialect contact and societal changes: A sociophonetic study on Andalusian Spanish read-speech. *Language Variation and Change*, 32(2), 159-190.
- Regan, B. (2021). The social meaning of a merger: The evaluation of an Andalusian Spanish consonant merger (ceceo). *Language in Society*, 1-30.
- Rickford, J. R. (1996). Regional and social variation. *Sociolinguistics and language teaching*, 151-194.
- Rivaya, Y. B. (2010). On the Relationship between Mozarabic Sibilants and Andalusian Seseo. *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies*, (14), 40-56.
- Salvador, F. (1980). Niveles sociolingüísticos de seseo, ceceo y distinción en la ciudad de Granada. *Espanol actual: Revista de espanol vivo*, (37), 25-32.

Sanchez, C. R. (2017). Seseo, ceceo, and distinción in Andalusian Spanish: Free variation or sociolinguistic variation?. *Linguistics Vanguard*, 3(1). <https://doi.org/10.1515/lingvan-2016-0075>

Sherr-Ziarko, E. (2019). Prosodic properties of formality in conversational Japanese. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, 49(3), 331-352.

The British Academy, Centre for Multilevel Modelling. (s. f.). *Multiple Regression in SPSS worksheet*. University of Bristol. Recuperado 14 de octubre de 2022, de <https://www.bristol.ac.uk/cmm/media/research/ba-teaching-ebooks/pdf/Multiple%20Regression%20-%20Practical.pdf>

Tomás, T. N. (1926). Manual de pronunciación española. *Centro de Estudios Históricos*, 3.

Universidad de Sevilla. (2021). *La pronunciación andaluza*. El español hablado en Andalucía (EHA). Recuperado 10 de octubre de 2022, de http://grupo.us.es/ehandalucia/que_es_el_andaluz/03_la_pronunciacion_andaluza_ext.html

Villena Ponsoda, J.A. (2001). La continuidad del cambio lingüístico. Tendencias conservadoras e innovadoras en la fonología del español. *Universidad de Granada. Monográfica. Biblioteca de Humanidades. Filología y lingüística*, 3.

Villena Ponsoda, J. A. (2003). Igualdad y desigualdad social como factores condicionantes del uso lingüístico. Variación estratificacional, reticular e individual en el español de Andalucía. *El habla andaluza. El español hablado en Andalucía*, 73-104.

Villena Ponsoda, J. A. (2007). Interacción de factores internos y externos en la explicación de la variación fonológica. *Las hablas andaluzas y la enseñanza de la lengua: actas de las XII Jornadas sobre la Enseñanza de la Lengua Española*, 69-98.

Villena-Ponsoda, J. A. (2008). Sociolinguistic patterns of Andalusian Spanish. *The International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 193/194, 139-160. <https://doi.org/10.1515/IJSL.2008.052>

Villena Ponsoda, J. A. (2019). The dilemma of the reliability of geolinguistic and dialectological data for sociolinguistic research. The case of the Andalusian demerger of/θ. *Acta Linguistica Lithuanica*, (79), 9-36.

Villena Ponsoda, J. A., Sánchez Sáez, J. M., & Ávila Muñoz, A. M. (1995). Modelos probabilísticos multinomiales para el estudio del ceceo, seseo y distinción de/s/y/θ: Datos de la ciudad de Málaga. *ELUA. Estudios de Lingüística*, 10(1994-1995), 391-435.

Villena Ponsoda, J. A., Ávila Muñoz, A. M., Braunmüller, K., Höder, S., & Köhl, K. (2014). Dialect stability and divergence in southern Spain. *Stability and Divergence in Language Contact: Amsterdam: John Benjamins*, 207-37.

6. APPENDICES

Appendix A. Participant Information Sheet: Pre-Interview

Ficha de información del participante

Nombre: _____ Género: _____

Edad: _____ Años de estudios (empezando por primaria): _____

Nivel de estudios más alto: _____

Ocupación actual: _____

Ocupaciones anteriores: _____

¿Trabajas en tu barrio? (rodea uno): Sí No

Barrio donde creciste (años allí): _____

Barrio actual (años allí): _____

¿Con que barrio te sientes identificado/a?: _____

Madre:

Origen: _____ Profesión: _____ Estudios: _____

Padre:

Origen: _____ Profesión: _____ Estudios: _____

Pareja estable (rodea uno): Sí No

Años juntos: _____

Origen: _____ Profesión: _____ Estudios: _____

Indica el número que más te representa.

5= Es totalmente verdadero para mí.

4= Es mayormente verdadero para mí.

3= No es ni verdadero ni falso para mí.

2= Es mayormente falso para mí.

1= Es totalmente falso para mí.

Me identifico con Jerez y la cultura jerezana.

5 4 3 2 1

Participo en las costumbres jerezanas (ie: zambombas, feria).

5 4 3 2 1

No me iría a vivir fuera de Jerez.

5 4 3 2 1

Mi barrio es donde mejor me siento y prefiero pasar tiempo ahí.

5 4 3 2 1

Tengo más contacto con la gente de mi barrio.

5 4 3 2 1

Mi familia lleva varias generaciones viviendo en mi barrio.

5 4 3 2 1

Appendix B. Conversation Questions: Interview Part 1

Cuéntame un poco de ti.

Cuéntame sobre tu ciudad, Jerez.

¿Cual es la diferencia entre los Jerezanos y los Gaditanos?

Cuéntame sobre la supuesta rivalidad entre Jerez y Cádiz.

¿Qué se piensa en Jerez sobre Sevilla y los Sevillanos?

¿Has visto muchos cambios en Jerez en tu vida? ¿Qué te parecen los cambios?

¿Qué piensas sobre los políticos en Jerez?

¿Consideras que Jerez es una ciudad segura? ¿Alguna vez te ha pasado algo peligroso?

¿Cómo es la juventud hoy día en Jerez?

¿Puedes describir tu fiesta o celebración preferida de Jerez?

¿Cómo es la comida en Jerez? ¿Qué plato mejor representa Jerez?

Appendix C. Text 1: Interview Part 2a

Datos curiosos sobre España.

España es mucho más que solamente playas, paella y fiestas, a pesar de lo que piensan algunas personas. España puede presumir de ser uno de los países más turísticos del mundo, pero también uno con datos y curiosidades interesantísimas sobre sus costumbres, monumentos, inventos, paisajes naturales y pasado:

1. Si pensabas que Madrid siempre había sido capital de España, te aclaramos que no es así. De hecho, a lo largo de la historia de España y por diferentes motivos, pusieron la capital en sitios como Toledo, Valladolid, Cádiz o Valencia, además de otras muchas ciudades famosas.
2. El restaurante más antiguo del mundo está ubicado en Madrid. Se llama Casa Botín de Madrid y que aún podrás encontrar en funcionamiento en la Calle Cuchilleros y en pleno Madrid de los Austrias. Por él han pasado artistas, famosos y hasta el mismísimo Francisco de Goya.
3. El único museo submarino del mundo está situado en Lanzarote. ¿Te imaginas probando esta sorprendente experiencia de sumergirse para bucear y contemplar toda una colección de esculturas? Eso es lo que podrás hacer en este sitio creado en la costa del sur de Lanzarote.
4. La siesta se asocia a los españoles desde siempre, sin embargo lo cierto es que no es algo tan común como se cree. Resulta que un 60% de los españoles no duerme la siesta normalmente, así que seguramente sea un estereotipo falso.
5. La tradición de tomar 12 uvas en Nochevieja tiene su base en una costumbre que comenzó en 1909, cuando se decidió comer una uva por cada mes del año para atraer la suerte. ¿Y por qué usar uvas? Pues porque aquel año la cosecha fue muy abundante y había de sobra.

6. ¡España es responsable por el invento de varias cosas, populares en todo el mundo! El traje de astronauta, la fregona, el chupa chups, la calculadora, la anestesia epidural o el submarino son algunos de los inventos que pueden atribuirse a España, junto con la guitarra española o la mayonesa, como invento gastronómico.

Adapted

from:

https://www.lespanol.com/curiosidades/espana-pueblos/curiosidades-espana-espanoles-no-sabias-historia-datos-cultura/624938343_0.html

Appendix D. Text 2: Interview Part 2b

Entrevista con el cantaor jerezano, José Mercé, sobre su nuevo disco.

Entrevistador: Hay bastante unanimidad sobre su nuevo disco. Es su "gran obra".

José Mercé: Creo que sí. Después de tantísimos años, como le dije el otro día a Antonio Orozco, es de lo más importante que he hecho.

E: Porque son ya casi 54 años en los escenarios y éste es su vigésimo disco. ¿Asusta la veteranía?

JM: No, me da mucha fuerza y ganas de hacer cosas. Lo que sí asusta es la responsabilidad. Antes de salir al escenario lo paso muy mal.

E: ¿Todavía?

JM: Sí. Cuando eres joven, tienes menos responsabilidad y te da todo un poco igual, pero cada día que pasa es más responsabilidad y más nervios. Hasta que no me veo en el escenario, empiezo a cantar y veo al público... Ahí, ya sí disfruto más que nunca.

E: Pero los momentos previos...

JM: Sí, no se los deseo a nadie. También te digo que, cuando no te ocurra eso, es que te quieres ir a tu casa. Está más claro que el agua. Eso que me entra por aquí, que me pongo malo... Pero cada día, tengo más ganas de estar y hacer cosas. Tengo ilusión. No he sido así, tan ansioso con el trabajo, pero no sé qué me pasa ahora. Con este trabajo, me parece que voy a conseguir algo para las nuevas generaciones.

E: El disco está compuesto y producido por Antonio Orozco. ¿Cómo ha sido trabajar con él?

JM: Estábamos grabando 'La Voz' y le dije: 'Antonio, tengo algo dentro de mí que quiero sacar fuera, pero no sabría explicarlo con una letra'.... Antonio se lo tomó demasiado en serio y empezó a trabajar. Nos ha llevado casi tres años.

E: Claro, se cruzó la pandemia.

JM: Sí, pero había teléfono. Hemos hablado muchísimo.... Le preguntó a mi mujer, a mis hijas y a mis nietos.

E: Su mujer fue clave para poder seguir adelante después de la muerte de su hijo.

JM: Por ella estoy aquí. Gracias a ella seguimos adelante con nuestra vida. Me dijo: 'Tenemos dos hijas más y tú no sabes hacer otra cosa que cantar'. La mujer es la mujer y el nombre es algo secundario. Eso del sexo débil no es así.

E: ¿Qué le ha dado la música?

JM: Todo. Sin música no sabría vivir. No he hecho otra cosa... Cumpló 67 años el mes que viene y empecé con 13 años.

Adapted from: <https://www.elmundo.es/papel/2022/03/22/6238b023fdddff03048b45b6.html>

Appendix E. Metalinguistic Questions: Interview Part 3

¿Cómo es el acento jerezano? Describe algunos de sus rasgos.

En Jerez, ¿toda la población habla de forma igual, o hay variación?

¿Ha cambiado tu forma de hablar a lo largo de tu vida?

¿Cómo hablas cuando estás entre familia y amigos? ¿Cambia cuando estás en contextos más formales?

¿Crees que varía tu forma de hablar cuando hablas con gente de fuera de Jerez?

¿Hay algo que solo se dice o solo se entiende en Jerez?

Appendix F. Announcement/*Convocatoria*



FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA
Universidad de Sevilla

Estudiante de Máster de la Universidad de Sevilla busca participantes jerezanos para un estudio.

¡Hola! Me llamo Emily. Soy de Estados Unidos y amante de Jerez de la Frontera. Busco entrevistar a gente para realizar mi Trabajo Fin de Máster sobre Jerez. Los participantes ideales son personas que tengan 18+ años y que sean de un barrio del centro de Jerez. La entrevista consiste en contestar unas preguntas y leer un artículo en voz alta, no durará más de unos 10 minutos. Como la realización de mi estudio depende de la voluntad de la gente, agradecería muchísimo su colaboración.

¡Gracias!

Para más información contáctame: