

“Somos [ʃ]oqueros:” Indexing locality through nonstandard [ʃ]

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Andalusian Spanish is commonly divided into Eastern and Western varieties. Eastern varieties are said to converge towards standard Castilian Spanish in two salient phonetic features: (i) from the *ceceo* merger [s^θ] for orthographic <s,z,ci,ce> to the standard *distinción* between [s], for <s>, and [θ] for <z,ci,ce>; and (ii) from [ʃ] to standard [tʃ] for orthographic <ch> (Alvar 1996; Hernández-Villena 2009; Narbona et. al 1998; Penny 2000; Stewart 1999; Villena 2008). Western Andalusian varieties, however, are said to maintain these nonstandard features (Hernández-Villena 2009), but nearly all research of Eastern Andalusian varieties has exclusively focused on Sevilla (Dalbor 1980) and Jerez de la Frontera (Carbonero et al. 1992; García 2008). With the exception of Regan (2014), which demonstrated a change from *ceceo* to standard *distinción*, there is a dearth of studies of Huelva and its province.

Based on 40 sociolinguistic interviews (ages 18-86) in and around the capital of Huelva, the current endeavor investigated the nonstandard voiceless palatal fricative [ʃ] standardizing towards the standard Castilian voiceless palatal affricate [tʃ] for orthographic <ch>. The aim of the study was three-fold: (i) to examine a change from above (Labov 2001) from [ʃ] to [tʃ], which would challenge the notion that all Western Andalusian varieties maintain nonstandard features; (ii) to investigate if [ʃ] co-occurs with *ceceo*; and (iii) to observe any indexical or stylistic use of [ʃ]. The two variants were acoustically differentiated using Praat (Boersam and Weenink 2014). Based on an Rbrul mixed-methods multivariate analysis and detailed ethnographic observations, it was observed that participants of younger generations, higher education, females, and *distinción* speakers favor [tʃ], while older generations, lower education, and *ceceante* speakers favor [ʃ]. These results parallel the findings of Regan (2014) of nonstandard *ceceo* standardizing to *distinción*, reinforcing the notion that Huelva, although in Western Andalucía, demonstrates convergence towards standard Castilian. Of greater interest is the indexical usage of [ʃ] with certain words of participants who favor standard [tʃ]. Through detailed discourse analysis the researcher investigated local Huelvan words such as gentilics (*choquero/a*), foods (*choco, puchero*), and colloquialisms (*chiquillo, picha*).

Huelvans are demonstrating a type of word specific phonetics (Pierrehumbert 2002, 2006) to index inherent locality to Huelva in juxtaposition to the current standardization process from [ʃ] to [tʃ]. This supports previously literature (Eckert 2000, 2008, 2012; Moore 2004; Schilling-Estes 2008; Silverstein 2003) that speakers are active linguistic agents selecting between sociolinguistic resources to create contextually situated meaning within an indexical field. The implications of the current study are three-fold: (i) the speech community of Huelva has moved from nonstandard [ʃ] to standard Castilian [tʃ], contradicting the maintenance claims of Western Andalusian varieties and thus requiring a revision of the traditional dialectal divisions; (ii) *ceceo* speakers favor [ʃ] demonstrating a co-occurrence of nonstandard features; (iii) and finally, Huelvans utilize the nonstandard variant to index locality in contrast to the standard variant.

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