

***EL HABLA ANDALUZA: THE FIGHT AGAINST
NEGATIVE ATTITUDES AND THE FORMATION OF A
REGIONAL IDENTITY***

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Author's note

As this paper was originally written in Spanish, I have provided translations as well as general background information for the English reader in the form of footnotes. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations and information provided are original.

Abstract

An analysis of the standardization of the Castilian dialect in Spain: an in-depth look at the long-term impact of the implementation of this standard form in areas where Castilian is not the prevalent linguistic variety, primarily focusing on the southern region of Andalusia. The purpose of this thesis is to deconstruct linguistic stereotypes held by those who speak the standard dialect towards those who speak *el habla andaluza* (the Andalusian dialect). This paper argues that the linguistic stereotypes towards *el habla andaluza* are overwhelmingly diminishing while simultaneously acting as a source of regional pride within the Autonomous Community of Andalusia.

Introduction

A language forms part of a society, which causes attitudes and prejudices to develop from one linguistic variety towards another (del Valle 9). The variety spoken in the region of Andalusia in Spain has faced negative attitudes from the north of the country where the standard dialect, Castilian, is prevalent. It is typically thought that the Andalusian dialect sounds uneducated and its speakers are poor; when one searches in Google “*los andaluces*,”¹ the first two options are “*los andaluces no saben hablar*”² and “*los andaluces hablan mal*”³ (need citation). In order to understand how the negative attitudes towards the Andalusian variety of Spanish developed, it is necessary to understand the history of Castilian and its function and implementation as the standard dialect. Today, in Spain, the word Castilian is used as a synonym for Spanish. Throughout time, because of the Spanish *Reconquista*,⁴ various intellectuals, literature, and the introduction of grammar rules, the dialect that began in the region of Castile has become the standard (Penny 20). While the Castilian dialect has enjoyed such success and prestige, others, like *el habla andaluza*⁵, have faced the formation of negative attitudes. It is thought that those who speak in the Andalusian variety are poor and from the countryside, an attitude expressed by the title of a 2010 interview with Tomás Gutler: “*En España el andaluz es la lengua del inculto*”⁶ (Gutler 1). Throughout time, the characteristics of speaking have converted into personal characteristics, born out of the natural formation of stereotypes towards a linguistic group. These negative attitudes towards *el habla andaluza*, however, have produced a growing sense of pride through the

¹ The Andalusian people

² The Andalusian people don't know how to speak

³ The Andalusian people speak badly

⁴ Refers to the Christian re-conquest of Spain

⁵ The linguistic variety of Spanish prevalent in Andalusia

⁶ In Spain, the Andalusian dialect is the language of the uneducated

need to defend Andalusian culture. Today, *el habla andaluza* does not represent uneducated or poor people; it is beginning to be seen as just another way of speaking that has become a source of pride and regional identity for the Autonomous Community of Andalusia.

The Process of the Standardization of Castilian in Spain

The victory of Pelayo and his Christian army between the years 721 and 725 in Covadonga, Asturias signified the beginning of the *Reconquista*. As a result, “a small Christian kingdom was established in the north,” in the region of Castile, with the capital in Leon. King Alfonso VI conquered the influential city of Toledo in 1085 and other kings such as Alfonso VIII, Ferdinand III, and Alfonso XI would further expand the Christian kingdom in the years to come (Spaulding 63-65). Penny argues that the early creation of standard Spanish is the result of King Alfonso X who “pursued literature rather than the infidel” (Penny 20; Spaulding 66). Instead of concentrating on the expansion of the Christian kingdom, as his predecessors had done, he focused on something else: education and literature. “He had scholars compile and translate into Spanish the historical, and scientific works which contained the totality of the knowledge of the period” (Spaulding 66). All of the known information in this time period was written in Castilian. This was the beginning of the idea that one linguistic variety could be more prestigious than another; one variety could represent education and intelligence while the others represented exactly the opposite. The thirteenth century royal decree further promoted the standardization of the Castilian variety. It stated that the language of the upper class in Toledo should be used in all science, literature, and administration (Paffey 46). This related the way that the upper class spoke with education and

intelligence, beginning the formation of the stereotypes that are still present today, that those who do not speak like the upper class are neither educated nor intelligent.

Before the time of Alfonso X, all written Spanish reflected dialectical differences, meaning all writing from this time reflected the spoken characteristics of the region of the author, instead of “any supraregional variety” (Penny 20). After King Alfonso X’s dedication to inscription and literature, writing had been regularized through grammatical norms, only increasing the difference in status of Castilian and other regional varieties. The use of Castilian as the source of a large output of science, historiography, law, literature, and more “was bound to lend [it] great prestige” (Penny 20). The use of Castilian to write down all known knowledge of the time naturally gave it more prestige, while simultaneously diminishing the importance of other linguistic varieties in the upper levels of society. Shortly after in 1492, the publication of the *Gramática de la lengua castellana*⁷ by Antonio de Nebrija further realized Castilian prestige (Paffey 46). The *Gramática de la lengua castellana* was the first book published on Spanish grammar. The fact that it was a book on the rules of the Castilian variety had great importance in the growth and establishment of Castilian as the standard. This publication established the idea that there was a correct form to speak and write, insinuating that the other varieties were incorrect.

The city of Seville was also a cultural center and was home to many intellectuals. It was the largest and most economically prosperous city in the kingdom of Andalusia. “The speech of its educated classes must consequently have enjoyed great prestige in its region” (Penny 21). At the time of the implementation of the idea of a standard dialect, there were two principle dialects, however the northern dialect is attributed to having

⁷ Grammar of the Castilian Language

more prestige because “*la Reconquista empezó en el norte, en al territorio del dialecto romance castellano. En casi toda España tanto su idioma castellano como su influencia militar, desplazaba a otros dialectos romances*”⁸ (Resnick 8). The Andalusian dialect faced critique during this time because of the growing status of Castilian, even though in the region of Andalusia, it was not thought of as having little to no prestige. The introduction of Castilian grammar norms meant that the characteristics of *el habla andaluza* were thought of as incorrect. The Andalusian variety continued to lose prestige as the importance of the Castilian variety grew as the Kingdom of Castile conquered more land.

A century later, from 1500 to the end of the 1600s the Golden Age, which was considered the highest point in Spanish literature (Golden Age), “leveled [regional] variation and consolidated the standard code and linguistic culture” (Paffey 46). With the sudden growth of influential publications, the norms of writing further developed and thus diminished distinct regional linguistic variations. There was a great increase in literature produced in Spain during the Golden Age, most of which following the grammar norms of the Castilian variety. Castilian was attributed with having the most prestigious form and becoming the standard dialect throughout this period due to influential authors and intellectuals who used its norms. The formation of the *Real Academia Española*⁹ in 1713 further dissuaded the professional use of a dialect other than Castilian. Intellectuals, politicians, clergy, and aristocrats “sought to purify Castilian Spanish of ‘all errors in its construction, style, and vocabulary’” (Paffey 47). These men were all nominated by the Catholic king and queen and they decided the correct and

⁸ The *Reconquista* began in the north, in the territory of the Castilian Romance dialect. In almost all of Spain, their Castilian language, as well as their military influence, ousted other romantic dialects.

⁹ Royal Spanish Academy

incorrect ways to speak and write, including both grammar and vocabulary norms. They contributed ‘errors’ to “ignorance, careless habits, and neglect [...] linking variation with socially undesirable traits” (Paffey 47). At this time, the Castilian variety was now firmly established as the “authentic and legitimate form of a standard national language” in Spain and other varieties were diminished as socially undesirable” (Paffey 47). For the first time, it was thought that the characteristics of *el habla andaluza* were ugly or uneducated. This related the manner in which one speaks with personal characteristics like intelligence.

The invasion of Napoleon a century later in 1808, further unified the country and “local linguistic and cultural identities were further obscured for the cause of defending Spain as a whole” (Paffey 47). The unification of the country against Napoleon created a sense of nationalism and, as a result, a national identity of “Spanishness” began to develop. From the beginning of the 1880s, the way of speaking in the capital was established as a “firm priority,” giving more credit to Castilian and creating more prejudice and negative attitudes towards other varieties, like *el habla andaluza* (Penny 21).

Furthermore, the loss of the Spanish colonies in 1898, the last piece of their grand empire, initiated a national depression. As a result of the national crisis, a recuperation of the sense of Spanish grandeur was formed with the thought that the cultural and linguistic unification would create national progress (Paffey 47). It was attempted to unify Spain by dissuading the use of linguistic varieties that were not the standard. It was thought that a common linguistic code would create a sense of Spanish nationalism and patriotism, which, in turn, would encourage the Spanish people. However, this recuperation of

Spanish spirit “never materialized [and] political upheaval and economic strife gripped Spain well into the Franco dictatorship” (Paffey 47). Through “[a] strong state centralization,” the Franco dictatorship further encouraged the importance of the standard dialect, promoting Castilian and dissuading regional identity (Paffey 47). However, Franco nationalized Spain through “exploiting stereotypes of Andalusian popular culture, “such as bullfights, flamenco music, and religious festivals with the goal of presenting Spain to European tourism as “different” (Dietz 21). In this way, the regional culture of Andalusia was successfully nationalized by Franco’s regime. After Franco’s death, the 1978 constitution named Castilian as the official language of Spain: “*el castellano es la lengua española oficial del Estado. Todos los españoles tienen el deber de conocerla y el derecho a usarla*”¹⁰ (Constitución 1978). Additionally, the new constitution recognized the Autonomous Communities and their distinct cultures and identities: “*la riqueza de las distintas modalidades lingüísticas de España es un patrimonio cultural que será objeto de especial respeto y protección*”¹¹ (Constitución 1978). Although it’s clear that Castilian is considered the only official Spanish dialect, naming the “*modalidades lingüísticas*”¹² as a “*patrimonio cultural*”¹³ shows vast improvement from the rules and stipulations during Franco’s regime. It is shown in the constitution the importance of regional linguistic varieties, not only for regional cultures, but also for the country’s culture as a whole.

¹⁰ Castilian is the official Spanish language of the state. All Spaniards have the obligation to know it and the right to use it.

¹¹ The richness of the distinct linguistic varieties of Spain is part of its cultural heritage that will be the object of special respect and protection.

¹² Linguistic varieties

¹³ Cultural heritage

Negative Attitudes towards *el habla andaluza*

It is possible to see attitudes towards *el habla andaluza* as early as the sixteenth century in the publication of *Dialogo de la lengua* by Juan de Valdés: “Al fin no se puede negar que era andaluz y no castellán, no me alegues otra vez para la lengua castellana el autoridad de Lebrixa andaluz”¹⁴ (Spaulding 230). De Valdés argued that the origin of Antonio de Nebrija as Andalusian diminished his authority to determine the grammar norms of the Castilian variety. Nebrija was born in Lebrija in the province of Seville, Andalusia; a personal detail that de Valdés believed could not be overlooked. He implies that it is possible to see characteristics of *el habla andaluza* in Nebrija’s norms and therefore the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* should not have so much authority in its grammar. De Valdés clearly expresses negative attitudes and prejudice towards Nebrija solely based on the characteristics of his speech, insinuating that Nebrija’s variety is worse and is a less educated variety than Castilian. During the Golden Age in Spain, the Castilian variety became the means of education, and many people began to adapt it as the dialect with the most prestige and bilingualism became the norm in regions with another language (Penny 21-22). With the growing domination of Castilian, there was a development of attitudes and stereotypes against other linguistic varieties. These social relations that are formed through linguistic relations produce a sense of community and pride in between people from the same region, while, at the same time, form prejudices and stereotypes against other regions.

¹⁴ There is no denying that he was Andalusian and not Castilian, do not claim to me the authority of Andalusian Lebrija for the Castilian language.

An example of attitudes that people in the north have towards the south and vice versa is shown in a poetic duel between the vernacular of Andalusia and Asturias¹⁵. The duel took place in the *Circulo Mercantil e Industrial*, a cultural center, in Oviedo in the year 1880 between two university professors, Diego Terrero from Andalusia and Teodoro Cuesta from Asturias (Fernandez 24). It focuses on the comparison of food, drink, and women from each region, aspects that are normally present in the formation of stereotypes and prejudices (Fernandez 26).

The Andalusian, Terrero, begins with a description of the beauty of his city of Seville and is very quick to criticize the Asturian dialect; “if they hear you speak, I assure you that you will be served as a snack to the dogs” (Fernandez 26). He gives the advice to Cuesta that if one day he goes to Andalusia, he needs to keep quiet and to himself because if the Andalusians hear him speak they will criticize and make fun of him. Cuesta responds with a critique of the Andalusian dialect: “where in speaking its forgiven to imitate a sucking calf” (Fernandez 26). Cuesta uses the image of a suckling calf and says that people always speak with a certain hoarseness to describe the *ceceo*¹⁶ of which some speak in Andalusia, two aspects neither kind nor attractive.

Terrero responds by attacking the music and dance, comparing the Fandango¹⁷, “this is not dancing, this is called flying” and the traditional music of Asturias characterized by a drum and bagpipes, “that I would call unfortunate, with wooden shoes [...] it makes one want to cry” (Fernandez 26, 27). Here it is clearly seen the distinction that Terrero creates between Flamenco and the traditional music of Asturias. According

¹⁵ An Autonomous Community located in the north of Spain.

¹⁶ Linguistic phenomenon found in some varieties of Andalusian Spanish where <s>, <z>, and the soft <c> are all realized as /θ/ (Wynne 71).

¹⁷ A subgenre of Flamenco

to him, the music in Asturias is unfortunate and the dancers are awkward with their wooden shoes, while in Andalusia the dancers do not dance, they fly. Cuesta continues by defending his home, “never has Oviedo had fear of any other town” and describes the Asturian women as beautiful with white necks decorated with coral necklaces that are jealous of the redness of their lips (Fernandez 27). Cuesta describes the beautiful women of Asturias with white, smooth skin, the opposite of the traditional Andalusian women who are beautiful, but with a darker complexion. Terrero asks where beautiful and enchanting women are and concludes that Cuesta has not experienced the world because he has not traveled outside of Asturias, and therefore he does not know what feminine beauty is, or rather, “the beauty of cinnamon skin” (Fernandez 27). The women from Andalusia and Asturias look different physically, dance differently, and represent the distinct cultures of each region. Terrero and Cuesta defend their respective women, meanwhile criticizing the others.

The duel continues speaking about food and drink. Cuesta criticizes gazpacho, “that which birds eat [...] gazpacho” (Fernandez 28). He is referring to the stale bread, which is used to make gazpacho, calling the people of Andalusia birds because they eat day-old bread. He continues with an expression of surprise, “and without eating *morcilla*¹⁸ you are happy” (Fernandez 28). According to Cuesta, Andalusian food is not for humans, but for birds and it is not possible to be happy without food with more substance. “They are born, they live and they die without developing a decent belly” (Fernandez 29). He is insinuating that people in Andalusia live an unsatisfied life, without good food to fill their stomachs.

¹⁸ Blood sausage typical in northern Spain

Terrero from Andalusia directly brags about his home and directly puts down Cuesta's home, while Cuesta uses stories that he has heard about Andalusia in order to criticize its customs. In the end, both poets conclude with what Fernandez calls "a transcendence of place," recognizing a national identity. Terrero says, "for they have always been sisters Andalusia and Asturias" and Cuesta responds, "because if Spain is our mother they will be our brothers" (Fernandez 30). After all the critiques, Terrero and Cuesta are conscious that they each live in Spain and they are not just Andalusian or Asturian, but Spanish as well.

According to Fernandez, those from the north see those from the south as lazy, weak, fast, nice, unreliable, wasteful, optimists, and happy (Fernandez 34). Here it is seen that there are not just stereotypes about the way in which one speaks, but there are also stereotypes about personality characteristics as well. It is not possible to speak about the prejudices of a language or linguistic variety without recognizing the parallel attitudes against personality characteristics. A study by Juan Carlos Gallego and Anthony Rodríguez argues that the former dictator Franco had a large role in today's attitudes against nonstandard dialects, through his effort to have Castilian as the variety with the most prestige in the public domain within the entire country (Gallego 544). Another study done by González Cruz in 2006 found that students believed that Castilian had more prestige and its speakers were more intelligent, even if they liked the rhythm and sound of other dialects better (Gallego 547). Through prejudices towards ways of speaking, stereotypes against people have also developed. This helps in the formation of a personal definition of one's regional Andalusian identity as well as thoughts against other linguistic varieties.

The Function of Language in Society

Characteristics of *el habla andaluza* have been converted into the personal characteristics of Andalusian people. In the poetic duel, Cuesta mentions that Andalusian people speak with a certain hoarse quality to their voices. He uses this generalized characteristic when, in reality, he is describing the phenomenon of *ceceo* with which some Andalusians speak. In his study of Castilian speakers' attitudes towards accents and regional stereotypes in Spain, Gallego states that, "our regional or local accent acts as an identity trait that influences the way we are perceived by others" (Gallego 544). The way in which one speaks is transformed into a feature that is used to describe a group of people; in this way, Cuesta forms the generalization that all Andalusians speak with *ceceo* and therefore all have hoarse sounding voices.

Both Terrero and Cuesta show that language has more than a purely communicative function within a society. They use characteristics of each linguistic variety, coupled with customs of food, drink, and dance, to describe people from each region. "*Desde un punto de vista social, la lengua no es un simple medio de comunicación, sino un medio de intercambio social entre los miembros de una comunidad, por lo tanto, las relaciones lingüísticas son relaciones sociales*"¹⁹ (D'Introno 203). These social relationships formed by linguistic relationships produce a sense of community and pride between the people of the same region, while, at the same time, form prejudices and stereotypes towards people of other regions. The way in which one speaks has implications that go further than purely communicative because it can also represent a person, a group of people, a certain place or a distinct region; "*los hablantes*

¹⁹ From the social point of view, language is not just a mode of communication, but a mode of social exchange in between members of a community, thus linguistic relations are social relations.

*de una región se distinguen de los hablantes de otra*²⁰ (D’Introno 203). People use language as a means of identification or separation. Language “*les permite identificarse con el grupo en cuestión y les permite diferenciarse de los hablantes de grupos sociales distintos*”²¹ (D’Introno 203). Relationships are born out of linguistic characteristics in common. This is how people from the region of Andalusia identify with each other. They form what D’Introno calls social relations through their linguistic relations and a sense of Andalusian identity is seen due to these formed social relations.

Fernandez argues that stereotypes are born out of the need to understand new or different information; in order to understand or become acquainted with a place, one must compare a familiar aspect with the new one. “The dynamics of identity [are] tied up in the relation between places or regions [which is] understood to be in sympathetic contrast” (Fernandez 32). Comparing and contrasting a new aspect with a familiar aspect in order to completely understand it is part of human nature. In this way, stereotypes form about a region that has linguistic characteristics in common, those of which have formed linguistic and social relations. In the comparison process, it is common for people to use linguistic characteristics as personal characteristics. Metaphors, that are used to describe a linguistic group, lose their figurative meanings and are converted into an attitude towards that place and its inhabitants. “We become to understand a place in those terms and consequently develop feelings of solidarity or divisiveness toward that place and its peoples” (Fernandez 31). In the poetic duel, the *ceceo* is converted into an unattractive aspect, hoarseness, which reflects a negative attitude towards *el habla andaluza*.

²⁰ The speakers from a region distinguish themselves from speakers of another region.

²¹ Permits people to identify themselves with a group and it permits speakers to differentiate themselves from speakers of distinct social groups.

Furthermore, the function of language within a society has to do with the role of various people with contrasting linguistic relationships. “*Participantes reconocen sus roles [...], sus respectivas posiciones y características en la estructura y jerarquía social*”²² (D’Introno 204). A person unconsciously chooses a particular linguistic variety, whether it is formal or informal, that corresponds to the social situation. The variety reflects the level of the relationship, meaning “*al cambiar los roles, de jefe-y-empleado a amigo-y-amigo, se puede pasar de una variedad más formal a una variedad menos formal*”²³ (D’Introno 205). The manner of speaking also represents the formality of a friendship, so that when two individuals establish a linguistic exchange, the roles of the relationship are manifested through the manner of speech (D’Introno 205). This means that one is able to understand the relationship between people in terms of the linguistic relationship. This is how social levels and linguistic varieties are evaluated within a society (D’Introno 206). Because of this, beliefs are formed towards a person, or a group of people, based solely in the spoken linguistic variety. This is what can be seen in the case of the negative attitudes towards *el habla andaluza*; a linguistic group that is seen as more prestigious has evaluated another linguistic group only based on the characteristics of their speech. “*La evaluación social de las variedades está en la base de la actitud que los hablantes de una comunidad tienen hacia las variedades y formas lingüísticas empleadas en la comunidad, que hace que algunas variedades y formas se consideren buenas, correctas, elegantes, etc. y otras no*”²⁴ (D’Introno 207). People from the north assume that a nonstandard variety is less correct than Castilian, only because the speech

²² Participants recognize their roles, their perspective positions, and characteristics in the structure of social hierarchy.

²³ The change of roles, of employer-to-employee to friend-to-friend, is able to transcend from a more formal variety to a less formal variety.

²⁴ The social evaluation of varieties is the basis of attitudes that speakers from one community have towards other varieties and linguistic forms within the community, which causes certain varieties and linguistic forms to be considered as good, correct, elegant, etc. and while causing the opposite response to others.

characteristics are different. The northern attitudes towards *el habla andaluza* are not an authentic representation of the Andalusian people. They reflect prejudices that do not accurately represent the Andalusian culture, but rather prejudices that have been created out of the comparison of two linguistic forms.

The Deconstruction of Attitudes towards *el habla andaluza*

The Andalusian people have formed a linguistic group through their linguistic relations within the region of Andalusia. A sense of Andalusian identity has formed through common general speech characteristics and similar daily customs. In their study of Castilian speakers' attitudes towards regional accents and stereotypes in Spain, Gallego and Rodriguez found that age has the strongest affect compared to other variables, like gender and level of education, in people's beliefs towards nonstandard dialects. The younger Castilian speakers attributed less importance to a speaker's accent than older speakers who said that an accent has less relevance now than before. "The significant differences found for age in relation to perception of accent are evidence that attitudes toward accent in Spain have changed in recent years" (Gallego 560). This means that throughout time, prejudices towards *el habla andaluza* have begun to diminish. Spaniards who lived a period of their life under the dictatorship have more negative opinions. The deconstruction of attitudes has to do with the new generations, whose attitudes towards nonstandard varieties are not influenced by propaganda from the dictatorship.

The new generations of Castilian speakers separate the way in which a linguistic group speaks with the characteristics of a person. It is also necessary to understand that a person from a certain linguistic group does not necessarily represent the group as a

whole. One can “*hablar de la competencia de un hablante de una comunidad, pero no de la competencia de un grupo de personas o de una comunidad*”²⁵ (D’Introno 211). One person or the general way in which a group speaks can not represent an entire linguistic group. With the growing realization that characteristics of *el habla andaluza* do not represent all of the people from Andalusia, negative attitudes will continue to deconstruct.

The Formation of Andalusian Pride

Before the Spanish civil war, “*una minoría de andaluces intentaron crear una conciencia nacional*”²⁶ of Andalusian culture and identity (Cortés Peña 143). The most notable of these is Blas Infante who is known as the father of Andalusian patriotism. He fought for “*la Verdad y por Andalucía,*”²⁷ in order to show the rest of the country Andalusian nationalism and so that Andalusia would be politically recognized in Madrid (Ruiz 22). Blas Infante defined Andalusian nationalism as the fight of the working class. He represented the Andalusian people who are mostly land workers. In his manifestation of Córdoba, he said “*vengan todos los obreros, sobre todo los campesinos, a defender la aplicación del sagrado principio de tierra y libertad*”²⁸ (Ruiz 23). Here, he uses the image of a land worker from the countryside to represent Andalusia. He believed that the foundation of Andalusian nationalism is in those who work the land, and because of this, he fought for “*tierra y libertad [...] al lado de los oprimidos*”²⁹ (Ruiz 23). With an influential figure such as Blas Infante, the Andalusian people felt pride of their roots and

²⁵ Speak about the competence of one speaker from a community, but not about the competence of a group of people or of a community.

²⁶ A minority of Andalusians attempted to create a national understanding

²⁷ The truth and for Andalusia

²⁸ Come all laborers, especially those from the country, to defend the enforcement of the sacred principle of land and liberty.

²⁹ Land and liberty [...] alongside the oppressed.

were motivated to defend their home and customs. Blas Infante, with other Andalusian politicians, founded *las Juntas Liberalistas*³⁰ that “*tuvieron la misión de crear conciencia de país y pueblo, para desatar, posteriormente, la dinámica del nacionalismo revolucionario de clase*”³¹ (Ruiz 23). This was how Andalusian nationalism of the working class began to develop in the twentieth century. The Spanish civil war and the Franco dictatorship inhibited the continuation of the development of Andalusian nationalism. Franco sentenced Blas Infante to death because “*se significó como propagandista para la constitución de un partido andalucista o regionalista andaluz*”³² (Fundación Blas Infante). The dictatorship dissuaded regional identities, however, due to Blas Infante and his representation of the Andalusian people, the rest of the country had begun to form an understanding of the working class of Andalusia and Andalusian identity continued to develop within the region.

Furthermore, Blas Infante, with the help of other Andalusian politicians, developed products that reflect Andalusian pride. He created the Andalusian flag and hymn, both of which are still used today. The flag’s green and white colors represent the land of Andalusia, another reference to the land workers. The hymn also refers to land, alluding to Andalusian pride, “*la bandera blanca y verde [...] bajo el sol de nuestra tierra*”³³ and calls upon the Andalusian people to rise and “*pedid tierra y libertad*”³⁴ (Fundación Blas Infante). With the incorporation of the repeated themes of land and liberty, Blas Infante gave the Andalusian people something that they all could identify with and use as a common foundation of their definition of Andalusian identity.

³⁰ A Federalist political party

³¹ Had the mission to raise awareness of the country and its people and to subsequently unleash the dynamics of the revolutionary nationalism of the classes.

³² He signified the propaganda of the constitution of a regionalist Andalusian political party.

³³ The white and green flag [...] underneath the sun of our land.

³⁴ Ask for land and liberty.

Federico García Lorca continued the development of the concept of Andalusian identity, further deconstructing the prejudices towards *el habla andaluza*. Through his work he showed the true characteristics of the Andalusian people and opposed the popular idea of Andalusia as a mysterious, exotic land that was made famous by the obsession of flamenco women in *zarzuelas*³⁵ (Handley 43). Throughout the eighteenth century, “*se produce en España un fenómeno extrañísimo que no aparece en ningún otro país. El entusiasmo por lo popular*”³⁶ (Handley 42). The concept of *plebeyismo*³⁷ was the focus of European writers and small Andalusian villages called to them in their search for the exotic and exciting. The Andalusian women were transformed into a sensual image, beautiful and dangerous. The *zarzuelas* also incorporated the flamenco tradition in a satirical way (Handley 43). Lorca “rejected anything associated with Andalusia and [its folkloric] gypsies” with the desire to destroy the false concept of Andalusia and the gypsy world (Handley 44).

Spain is distinct from northern Europe due to their extensive Arabic history; Pedro Martínez Montávez wrote, “*referirnos a lo hispano-árabe [...] es referirnos a una parte de nosotros mismos*”³⁸ (Handley 41). Lorca’s work emphasized the importance of the unforgettable roots of the Andalusian culture, that which the Castilian identity omits. His publication *el Concurso del Granada* represents the beginning of a new Andalusian movement that “promoted Andalusia rather than Castile as the essence of Spanishness, emphasizing the hybrid nature of the Spanish identity” (Handley 51). Antonio Gallego Burín emphasized the importance of the *Concurso*: “*la obra del Concurso de Granada es*

³⁵ A Spanish musical play.

³⁶ There was an extremely strange phenomenon in Spain that is not apparent in any other country. The obsession for that which pertains to the lower classes of society.

³⁷ “Plebeyism,” referring to that which pertains to a plebeian.

³⁸ To refer to ourselves as Arab-Hispanics [...] is to refer to a part of ourselves.

*el primer paso para descubrir lo ignorado de Andalucía*³⁹ (Handley 51). Lorca fought to eliminate the gap between the stereotypical Andalusia of past European writers and that which Andalusian people wanted the rest of Europe and Spain to know about their regional culture (Handley 51). Through reworking the beliefs of others, the Andalusian people developed their own identity and what it meant to be from Andalusia.

Lorca discovered, what he thought to be, the essence of “Spanishness” in the *pueblo andaluz*⁴⁰ and with the new Andalusian generation, they promoted their Arabic roots in the Andalusian identity, “rather than submit to castellano⁴¹” (Handley 53). It is not possible to omit part of the culture of a group of people and, through his work, Lorca argued that the Castilian pressure to be standard of which Unamuno called the “*personalidad nacional*”⁴² did exactly that. “He has revealed the real issue behind the debate on the much-maligned Andalusian identity: the hybrid heritage in order to present a united European front” (Handley 55). With the focus of foreign writers on Andalusia, there was the opportunity for the Andalusian people to develop the meaning of being Andalusian. Furthermore, in the fight against a unified identity of the entire country as Castilian, the Andalusian people defined their regional identity and formed a sense of pride through their distinct historical roots.

After the dictatorship, Felipe González was the president of the national government from 1974 to 1997. This was the first time that there was a person from Andalusia occupying such a high status in the government, including one with such a notable Andalusian accent. González is known for having a “*gran capacidad de*

³⁹ The work of the *Concurso de Granada* is the first step to discover the ignored [heritage] of Andalusia.

⁴⁰ Refers to the people of Andalusia.

⁴¹ Castilian

⁴² National personality [identity].

comunicación”⁴³ and persuasion (Blázquez 66). Gillespie argues that this has to do with his Andalusian accent. “*Felipe González era muy elocuente, utilizaba un lenguaje popular y podía ‘conectar’ con el pueblo*”⁴⁴ (Blázquez 66). It is not uncommon for a politician to speak in a language full of political jargon that his speech is nearly incomprehensible to the common laymen. González, thanks to his Andalusian accent, seems more accessible to the people. He is able to connect with the people on a more personal level than other politicians because of his manner of speaking. González used “*para su propio beneficio algo que algunos habían utilizado para desacreditarlo: su acento andaluz*”⁴⁵ (Blázquez 66). At first, his opponents, following the historical tendency, used his Andalusian accent as an excuse to discredit him instead of focusing on his political strategy. The success of his career shows that the differences in speech do not necessarily mean that it is incorrect and *el habla andaluza* does not represent a low level of education. Throughout its history, *el habla andaluza* had always faced much critique, however, in the end, González shows that it is not an obstacle that one needs to get over in order to be successful, but an advantage.

Andalusian pride is very prevalent in the media, through movies, music, and even advertisements, it is clearly seen that Andalusian people have an intense sense of pride of their home and regional culture. Fernandez states in his analysis of the vernacular poetic dual that drink, food, and women are normally what is present in the comparison of places (Fernandez 34). In the television advertisement of *Cruzcampo*, a popular Spanish brand of beer, it is obvious that drink is promoted as a source of pride and happiness for people from Andalusia. It begins with a description of the grandeur of Andalusia, “*no es*

⁴³ Great ability to communicate

⁴⁴ Felipe González was very eloquent, he used common language and was able to connect to the people.

⁴⁵ To his own benefit something that some people used to discredit him; his Andalusian accent.

donde termine Europa, es donde empieza [...] donde se inició el Nuevo mundo”⁴⁶ (Cruzcampo). This reflects the sense of pride that the Andalusians have about their home. The rest of Europe is behind Andalusia, implying that Andalusia is the most important and therefore best place, where the discovery of the new world began. It continues with a comment about *el habla andaluza*, “*el andaluz no es acento, es castellano entre amigos*”⁴⁷ (Cruzcampo). This refers to the social culture of Andalusia, that for them their way of speaking represents happiness and friendship. Castilian is how those talk who do not have fun, those who are serious, pessimists, and stingy; all characteristics associated with those from the north (Fernandez 34). It continues with a very typical image of Andalucía, *los toros*, or bulls, “*en Andalucía no nos dan miedo los cuernos, los toreamos*”⁴⁸ (Cruzcampo). It comments on the historic art of bullfighting that is popular in Andalusia. The sense of Andalusian pride about the bullfighting tradition is clearly expressed while mocking those who are afraid of *los toros*. Once again, the advertisement refers to the social culture, “*no andamos por la calle, la vivimos*”⁴⁹ (Cruzcampo). The outdoor atmosphere is a big part of Andalusian culture; here, it is portrayed as a place full of happiness and friendship. The advertisement ends with the statement, “*los andaluces amamos esta tierra y brindamos por ella*”⁵⁰ (Cruzcampo). It is clear that Andalusians have pride for the land of Andalusia, reflecting Blas Infante’s themes of land and liberty. *Cruzcampo* uses various themes that represent the pride the Andalusians have for their home in order to utilize emotion to sell their product. This advertisement does a good job

⁴⁶ It is not where Europe ends, it is where it begins [...] where the new world started out from.

⁴⁷ *El habla andaluza* is not an accent, it is Castilian between friends.

⁴⁸ In Andalusia, we are not afraid of [bull’s] horns, we [bull]fight them.

⁴⁹ We don’t walk in the street, we live on it.

⁵⁰ The Andalusians love this land and we toast to her.

of reflecting the feelings of the Andalusian people and the different aspects of Andalusian identity.

There were a few people who stood out throughout modern history in the formation and development of an Andalusian identity and Andalusian pride. Blas Infante, the father of Andalusian patriotism, brought Andalusian nationalism to a national level. Federico García Lorca combatted the stereotypes of Andalusian culture on a national and continental level. After the dictatorship, Felipe González was the first politician who spoke with the Andalusian accent. Today, there is a well-defined sense of Andalusian identity throughout Andalusia, as seen in the *Cruzcampo* advertisement.

Conclusion

The function of language within a society is more than just communicative and, because of this, the formation of stereotypes and critiques against nonstandard varieties will always be present. How people react to these prejudices predicts the result of the critiques. Since the time of Alfonso X, *el habla andaluza* has faced prejudices from northern Castilian speakers. The Andalusian people have also resisted stereotypes that have unfairly formed towards their manner of speaking. The fight against the negative attitudes has been quite long, taking place during the entirety of the history of written Castilian. The *Reconquista* established the kingdom of Castile and its linguistic variety and grammar norms as authority. All of the known knowledge of that time was written in the Castilian variety, only promoting its high status in educated society. Through the critiques of the manner in which the Andalusian people speak, stereotypes have formed about them and there was a necessity to defend their home and regional culture. Various people helped bring *el habla andaluza* and Andalusian nationalism to a certain status of

national respect. Blas Infante developed Andalusian nationalism through common relatable themes. During the Franco regime, there was a focus on the Andalusian culture that presented an opportunity to further develop the concept of what it means to be Andalusian. Federico García Lorca worked against the famous stereotypes of an exotic land full of dangerous gypsy women. After the dictatorship, the inauguration of Felipe González as president of the new republic showed that the Andalusian accent could be used as an advantage, even in the upper levels of society. It is argued that *el habla andaluza* helped Gonzalez to appear accessible and relatable to the people, something which is difficult to achieve in the world of politics.

Negative attitudes towards *el habla andaluza* are being deconstructed. As Gallego and Rodriquez found in their study, the new generations no longer attribute as much importance to the manner of speaking as do older generations. Businesses like *Cruzcampo* use emotion relating to a sense of pride to sell their products to the Andalusian people. The attitudes towards *el habla andaluza* that were formed out of the standardization of Castilian are in the process of deconstructing and as a result, Andalusian pride is in the process of growing. When the Andalusian people were presented with the opportunity to defend their home and culture, a sense of nationalism, patriotism, and pride was born and has continued to develop in the Autonomous Community today. The traditional stereotypes that the Andalusian variety represents uneducated, poor people from the country are being deconstructed. Felipe González, with his success, showed that not everyone who speaks with the characteristics of *el habla andaluza* is a land worker in the countryside. *El habla andaluza* represents a different

way of speaking other than the standard dialect, which has been converted into a source of cultural pride and regional identity for the Autonomous Community of Andalusia.

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