

Negotiating local identity: rural migration and sociolinguistic perception in urban Asturias

Sonia Barnes

This study examines the connection between place and linguistic performance in the language contact situation between Asturian and Spanish in the city of Gijón (Asturias), and the role that rural migration had on the place-based indexicality of Asturian linguistic features. Migration from rural to urban areas in the 19th and 20th centuries resulted in an intensification of the contact between Asturian and Spanish, accentuating the contrast between the two languages and the socio-demographic characteristics that were associated with each. Today in Gijón we find a hybrid variety characterized by the variable incorporation of features from Asturian. Using historical information, sociolinguistic interview data, and perception experiments, I show that the variation observed in the speech of Gijón is highly influenced by the conflict between regional and urban identity. These results build on prior sociolinguistic research that examines the connection between geographic space and linguistic practice, showing that speakers use language to relate to place. More generally, it supports focusing on linguistic practice at the local level to explain variation.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics, language contact, language and place, place-based identity, morpho-phonological variation, sociolinguistic perception, Asturian Spanish.

Negociación de identidades locales: migración rural y percepción sociolingüística en la Asturias urbana. Este estudio examina la relación entre la localización geográfica y la actuación lingüística en la situación de contacto que se da entre asturiano y español en la ciudad de Gijón (Asturias), y el papel que la migración rural ha tenido en la indexicalidad regional de los rasgos lingüísticos del asturiano. La migración de zonas rurales a zonas urbanas de los siglos XIX y XX resultó en una intensificación del contacto entre asturiano y español, la cual acentuó el contraste entre las dos lenguas y las características socio-demográficas ligadas a cada una de ellas. Hoy en día en Gijón hallamos una variedad lingüística híbrida que se caracteri-

za por la incorporación variable de rasgos del asturiano. Utilizando información histórica, datos procedentes de entrevistas sociolingüísticas y experimentos de percepción, se muestra en este estudio que la variación observada en el habla de Gijón está influida por el conflicto que existe entre la identidad regional y la urbana. Estos resultados constituyen un avance dentro de los estudios sociolingüísticos que examinan la conexión entre el espacio geográfico y la práctica lingüística, mostrando que los hablantes utilizan los recursos del habla para vincularse a su localización geográfica. De modo más general, este estudio apoya la idea de enfocarse en la práctica lingüística a nivel local para explicar los patrones de variación en la lengua.

Palabras claves: Sociolingüística, contacto de lenguas, lengua y localización, identidad regional, variación morfo-fonológica, percepción sociolingüística, español de Asturias.

1. Language and place

Research on perceptual dialectology has shown that listeners are aware of linguistic varieties associated with a particular geographic space and that they have a mental representation of dialects, one which is highly influenced by the location they are from (Preston 1989; 2002). Studies in this field have found that listeners use linguistic information to situate speakers geographically. Preston (1993), for instance, tested whether listeners from two Midwestern states in the US could accurately situate the speech of speakers from nine cities along a North-South continuum from Saginaw, Michigan to Dothan, Alabama. He observed that, although the listeners' speech perception did not necessarily correspond to their mental representation of dialect variation, they were able to use linguistic features to differentiate between northern and southern varieties of the language. More recently, Fridland, Bartlett and Kreuz (2004) tested the perceptions of English vowels produced by two speakers from Memphis, which were digitally shifted to meet Southern and Northern targets to different degrees. Speakers from the same city were asked to select which token of the paired guises sounded more Southern. The authors found that listeners could accurately identify some vowel shifts as Southern, which normally coincided with the shifts present in their speech. In another study, Clopper and Pisoni (2004) asked naïve listeners to categorize speakers of American English into six dialectal regions based solely on their linguistic performance. The results of their analysis showed that, while listeners performed poorly (yet above chance) in

categorizing speech into six regions, they were able to situate speakers according to broader dialectal categories.

Whether listeners' perceptions are accurate or not, these studies indicate that there is a strong link between language practice and place. Speakers make use of this connection, employing their linguistic resources to relate not only to place, but also to the social characteristics tied to it, as part of the construction of their identity. The link between linguistic features and place-based identity was already observed by Labov in 1963 when he conducted his study of the production of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ in Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1972). In this study he observed that the centralization of these diphthongs was more frequent among speakers who displayed positive feelings toward the island. More recent research in sociolinguistics has continued to explore the connection between linguistic production and place-based identity. Johnstone and Kiesling (2008), for instance, found that the perception of /aw/-monophthongization as an index of localness in Pittsburgh, PA did not necessarily align with the production of this feature. Speakers for whom this phonetic feature carried place-based indexical meaning were the least likely to present it in spontaneous speech, while those who monophthongized /aw/ were often not aware of its indexical load. Becker (2009) examined the use of non-rhoticity in syllable coda as an index of localness and authenticity by speakers from New York City's Lower East Side. She argued that non-rhoticity, a feature that is still robust in the area under study is used by Lower East Siders to claim membership to their local community. Most recently, Carmichael (2014) analyzed the relationship between locally salient features of Chalmatian English (Greater New Orleans area) and migration movements that took place in the region after Hurricane Katrina. She found that whether speakers had returned to Chalmette or moved to the Northshore after the hurricane did not affect the variation. Rather, it was the speakers' orientation toward Chalmette or to places outside of the community that predicted the variation of some of the linguistic features examined, showing that speakers oriented toward places outside of Chalmette were less likely to show local linguistic patterns.

This study examines the connection between place and linguistic performance in a situation of language contact, that of Asturian and Spanish in one of the urban areas of the northern Spanish region of Asturias, Gijón, and the role that rural migration had on the place-based indexicality of Asturian features. As a result of the large migration movements from rural to urban areas that took place in the region in the 19th and 20th centuries, Asturian, spoken today mostly in rural settings, maintained a relative vitality in this city, delaying complete assimilation

into Spanish. What we find in Gijón today is a hybrid variety that speakers often characterize as a Spanish “full of Asturianisms”. This linguistic variety is frequently referred to as *Amestáu* (Asturian for ‘mixed’) or Asturian Spanish and is characterized by the variable incorporation of features from Asturian (Barnes 2013; 2016).

Using historical information and data collected via sociolinguistic interviews and perception experiments, I show that the alternation observed between Asturian and Spanish features in the speech of Gijón is influenced by the conflict between regional and urban identity. I maintain that this conflict stems from the process of industrialization in the region and the rural exodus that took place in the 19th and 20th centuries. The article is organized as follows. First, I review the socio-historical context and demographic data of the city of Gijón, as well as the origins of the language contact situation and the current sociolinguistic distribution of the languages. I then examine and discuss the sociolinguistic data that illustrate the way speakers use language practice to evaluate and construct place-based identity.

2. Historical and sociolinguistic background

2.1. Industrialization and the historical conditions for the emergence of *Amestáu*

With approximately 275,000 people according to the census of 2014, Gijón is the largest city and the industrial center of the Spanish region of Asturias. In this section I review the industrial and urban development of Gijón and the migration movements that it experienced during this process, following the work of Llordén Miñambres (1994) and Köhler *et al.* (1996).

In the first half of the 17th century Gijón was a town of approximately 3,000 people (Llordén Miñambres 1994). In subsequent centuries the improvements made to its harbor and the construction of roads that increased commercial communication with the central part of the country set the foundation for the industrial development that would take place during the second half of the 19th century and the first few decades of the 20th. It was during this time that Gijón transformed into an urban area. Gijón’s coastal location within the region and the construction of railways from the Asturian mining areas made Gijón’s role in the exportation of coal an essential one. This led to the development of different industries for whose operation coal was necessary. In addition, most of

the companies dedicated to managing coal extraction and its commercialization settled in Gijón, resulting in a substantial growth in population and the consequent geographic expansion of the city.

The industrial development of the city can be divided into two phases, the first one of which took place at the turn of the 20th century. Up to the mid 19th century, the industrial landscape of Gijón was limited to a tobacco factory created in 1822; a glass factory, established in 1844; and a candle and soap factory, installed in 1848. The industrial development and diversification continued in the last few decades of the 19th century. One of the greatest milestones for the progress of industrialization was the foundation of the first steel factory (Fábrica de Moreda y Gijón) in 1879.

The creation of new factories, together with an increase in commercial relations, generated many jobs and attracted people from different areas of Asturias and adjacent provinces. As a result, Gijón's population almost doubled in size from 1877 to 1900, reaching 26,000 people by 1900. It is during this period that a commercial bourgeoisie, whose activities were linked to the management of the developing industry in the city, settled in Gijón. This wealthy social group was formed by professionals that came from other parts of Spain and also from other countries. The working class, formed mostly by immigrants of rural origin, also experienced a significant growth.

During the first few decades of the 20th century and up until after the Spanish Civil War, the growth of the city slowed as industrial development was paralyzed. Even though very few factories were created during this period, the developments in harbor infrastructure allowed Gijón to increase its coal exports during this era. This commercial activity and the continuous work of the factories that had been established at the end of the previous century kept the city alive, and the population continued to increase, although at a lower rate.

In the 1950s and 1960s Asturias' industry experienced another significant growth, which constituted the second phase of the industrialization process. The most important event during this phase was the creation of ENSIDESA, a government-funded steel factory. Even though this new factory was situated in Avilés and not in Gijón, its formation set the perfect conditions for the conception of UNINSA in Gijón in 1961, a new steel company comprised by the three most relevant private factories in the area. The fast growth of UNINSA would result in its incorporation to ENSIDESA in 1973. It also generated a second wave of migration from the rural and mining areas of Asturias, first for the construction and installation of the factory, and, second, for labor in the steel industry. As a result, the population of Gijón increased by 73% in the 60s and 70s. Unlike what was observed at the turn of the 20th centu-

ry, the origin of this population was overwhelmingly rural and mostly from Asturias, as the coal mining sector that sustained the economy of the rural areas of the region started to decline. According to Köhler *et al.* (1996), this completely transformed the composition of the working class in Gijón, making it significantly larger, younger and more masculine.

In the early 1980s, Gijón experienced a deep economic recession that resulted in what has been called the process of de-industrialization. During this time the basis of Gijón's economy shifted from manufacturing to tourism, while maintaining some of the city's industrial character.

The history of Gijón and its current composition differentiates it from other urban areas in Asturias like Oviedo, the second largest city and capital of the region. Almost a fourth of the total population of Asturias lives in Gijón, which is not only the most important industrial center but also the location of the main harbor in the region. The majority of the current population in the city belongs to the working class and a large portion of it has deep family roots in rural Asturias. *Gijoneses* are aware of the distinct identity of their city. When asked to describe people from Gijón, they frequently refer to the eclectic nature of its population:

- (1) "Aparte de que... Gijón, que somos tan dispares, porque realmente Gijón... en Gijón... es una cosa como Madrid, autóctonos, autóctonos pillas pocos [...] Pero la verdad que Gijón al ser una ciudad que fue muy industrial en su día, eh y tal, vino gente de..., ya no solamente de pueblos de Asturias, es que, de León" (GI11-22)

'And also... Gijón, where we are so disparate, because really Gijón, in Gijón, it's like Madrid, you don't get very many autochthonous people [...] But truly Gijón, as a city that was very industrial back in the day and so, people came from... not only Asturian villages but also from León'

In contrast with this, Oviedo was historically the administrative center and the preferred residence of the upper social strata. The capital is also the cultural center, the location of the regional government and the home of the university (Precedo Ledo and Rodríguez 1989; Tomé Fernández 2010). While 44.5% of Gijón's active population currently works in manufacturing jobs, only 25.9% of Oviedo's is employed in this sector (Alvargonzález Rodríguez 1995). Even though Oviedo also experienced some migration from the rural areas of the region during the second half of the 20th century, the increase of its population was not as dramatic as that of Gijón. Gijón's population more than doubled in

size from 1960 to 1990. In contrast with this, Oviedo's only increased by 60%.

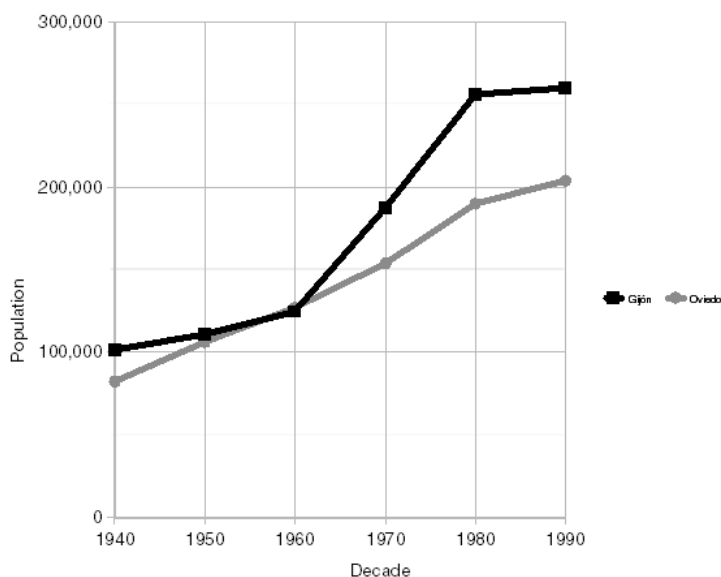


Figure 1. *Population increase in Gijón and Oviedo from 1940 to 1990* (INE)

The differences in the development of the two cities and the current composition of their population play a fundamental role in the way speakers from Gijón utilize linguistic variation to construct their identity.

2.2. Language contact in Gijón

Asturian is a Romance language spoken in the Spanish region of Asturias. Its origins can be traced back to the spread of Latin in the area (Konvalinka 1985; González-Quevedo 2001; Viejo Fernández 2004). Despite its non-official status, Asturian is considered a language distinct from Spanish (García Arias 1982; Konvalinka 1985; González-Quevedo 2001; D'Andrés 1993; 2002a; Viejo Fernández 2004). With the political expansion of the kingdom of Castile, Castilian gained ground as the prestige variety and eventually became the language of the administration and the elite classes in the region, while the use of Asturian was maintained in the rest of the domains.

According to Viejo Fernández (2004), the migration movements that took place in the 19th and 20th centuries as a result of the industrializa-

tion of the region initiated language shift. However, there were two aspects of this process. As the author explains, “On the one hand, the progressive transfer of the population from the rural areas to the cities fostered cultural and linguistic uprooting” (Viejo Fernández 2004:170). At the same time, the Asturian higher social strata distanced themselves from Asturian and rural identity, adopting Spanish as the prestige language and consolidating a situation of diglossia in which Asturian was stigmatized as a rustic language (Viejo Fernández 2004:170). Thus, rural migration resulted in an intensification of the contact between Asturian and Spanish (possibly delaying language shift), accentuating the contrast between the two languages and the socio-demographic characteristics associated with each. As I explained in the previous section, Gijón was established during this era as the industrial center of the region. As a result, it attracted the largest number residents from rural areas.

This does not mean that language contact was restricted to the urban centers of the region. The use of Spanish as the language of administration, education and, later on, the media, resulted in the expansion of Spanish in both urban and rural areas. Thus, speakers that were proficient in Asturian throughout the region borrowed vocabulary items from Spanish when they used their native language. As González Quevedo (2001:175) states, “we see Spanish vocabulary appearing as neologisms referring to realia that were not originally part of traditional country life”. However, Fernández Álvarez (1989) points out that together with these types of ‘new’ lexical items, a substitution of already existing words in Asturian has also taken place. In his study of the lexical choices of speakers from Deva, a suburban community close to the urban center of Gijón, D’Andrés (1993) found that these substitutions occurred at a higher rate in younger speakers than in older generations, providing evidence in apparent time of the linguistic shift that was gradually taking place. In cities like Gijón, Spanish was progressively extended to more communicative contexts and today the great majority of speakers in this area are dominant in this language. In their speech, however, they borrow not only vocabulary, but also morphosyntactic and phonological features from Asturian. This type of structural borrowing is facilitated by the typological similarity between the two languages involved (Prieto 1991). According to González Quevedo (2001), the presence of Asturian structural features in this variety has now become stabilized. The resulting linguistic system, however, does not show the use of Asturian features in a categorical way. Variation between Asturian and Spanish features often occurs within the speech of the same speaker and, on some occasions, within the same conversation. Prieto (1991) documented the alternation between features from the two languages that occurred within the speech of two women from

Gijón. She characterized their system as a mixed variety in which variation occurs at all linguistic levels and suggested that this type of speech is intrinsically connected to the city of Gijón.

Some researchers have claimed a total lack of monolingual speakers of Asturian (Konvalinka 1985; Amado Rodríguez 1993). Konvalinka (1985) suggested that speakers can be situated along a continuum that reflects different degrees of transfer between the two languages, locating speakers that are dominant in Asturian on the end where Asturian shows minimal influence from Spanish. In previous research the denomination *Amestáu* has been used to refer either to the whole spectrum of varieties or to a particular point on it. Dyzmann (2000), for example, states that *Amestáu* denominates the variety spoken in the cities and that it is sometimes understood as an intermediate point between Asturian and Spanish. She also explains that, instead of a three-way distinction between Asturian, *Amestáu* and Spanish, the different linguistic varieties present in Asturias should be located at different points of the Asturian/Spanish spectrum.

In addition to its academic use, the label of *Amestáu* is sometimes used by speakers from Gijón. In a background questionnaire that was the last part of a perception experiment (Barnes 2015), which is included in Appendix A, 300 speakers from Gijón were asked to describe their speech variety. Fifteen of them described it as a mixed system between Asturian and Spanish, referring to it as *Amestáu* (or *Amestáo*):

- (2) “Hablo **amestáo**, la mezcla entre algo de asturiano y castellano, que creo que es lo que hablamos la mayoría de los asturianos.”

‘I speak **Amestáo**, a mixture of some Asturian and Castilian¹, which is what I think most Asturians speak’

- (3) “Es lo que aquí definiríamos como **amestáo**, una mezcla de castellano y asturiano a partes iguales.”

‘It is what we would define here as **Amestáo**, a mixture of equal parts of Castilian and Asturian’

- (4) “En ámbitos formales hablo un castellano casi perfecto. En ámbitos mas desenfadados lo que llamamos **amestáo**, una mezcla de castellano y asturiano.”

‘In formal contexts I speak almost perfect Castilian. In more informal contexts, (I speak) what we call **Amestáo**

- (5) “Varía mucho en función de mi interlocutor; desde el **amestáu** hasta el castellano.”

‘It varies a lot depending on my interlocutor; from **Amestáu** to Castilian’

Examples (2) and (3) show how speakers understand their variety as a hybrid system. In some instances, as in (3), the linguistic system of Amestáu is understood as a balanced mixture of the two languages involved in the contact situation. In other cases, speakers see it as mostly a Spanish system with occasional incorporation of Asturian features. Whatever the interpretation is, it is common for speakers to identify their speech as a continuum of varieties that can be modified stylistically. This is illustrated in the descriptions of Amestáu given in (4) and (5), where speakers claim to move in the continuum toward Spanish in formal contexts and based on their interlocutor. Fernández Lorences (2011) approached this phenomenon as a manifestation of code-switching, exploring the pragmatic and communicative functions that motivate it, and emphasizing the gradual nature of the switches. In her study, Prieto (1991) also referred to the idea of a continuum of stylistic choices that allows speakers to include more or less features from Asturian depending on the communicative context and the type of interlocutor(s). According to the author, Amestáu is used as a flexible in-group variety that is characteristic of the city of Gijón.

D’Andrés (2002b) considered this urban variety as an originally Asturian system that has experienced massive influence from Spanish. According to the author, this system is characterized by the presence of a set of Asturian features, which he referred to as “differentiating features”. These features are phonological and morphosyntactic and include the following:

- Use of the morpheme /-u/ to mark masculine singular in nouns, adjectives and pronouns, where Spanish uses /-o/ (*el perru* vs. *el perro* – ‘the dog’).
- Use of the morpheme /-es/ to mark plural in nouns, adjectives, determiners and pronouns where Spanish uses /-as/ (*les cases* vs. *las casas* – ‘the houses’).
- Use of /-i/ instead of Spanish /-e/ in the demonstratives *esti* and *esi*.
- Use of /-es/ and /-en/ in the second person singular and third person plural respectively in verbal endings where Spanish uses /-as/ and /-an/ (*ellos bailen* vs. *ellos bailan* – ‘they dance’).
- Use of definite articles with pronominal possessives (*el mi coche* vs. *mi coche* – ‘my car’).

- Enclisis of unstressed pronouns in cases where the prescriptive position in Spanish is proclitic (*hízote gracia* vs. *te hizo gracia* – ‘it amused you’).
- Use of the direct object and indirect object pronoun *vos* for second person plural where Spanish uses *os* (*si vos llamen* vs. *si os llaman* – ‘if they call you (plural)’)
- Use of the indirect object pronouns *y* and *yos* for the third person singular and plural respectively, where Spanish uses *le* and *les* (*dije-y la verdad* vs. *le dije la verdad* – ‘I told him/her the truth’).
- Deletion of /-r/ in the infinitive forms when a enclitic pronoun follows (*tengo que decátelo* vs. *tengo que decírtelo* – ‘I have to tell you’)
- Absence of present perfect tense and exclusive use of preterit (*canté* vs. *he cantado* – ‘I sang’ vs. ‘I have sung’).
- Use of diphthongized forms in the second and third person singular of the present indicative of *ser* (*tú yes* vs. *tú eres*, *él ye* vs. *él es* – ‘you are’, ‘he is’)
- Deletion of final /-e/ in the forms of the third person singular in the present indicative of verbs where the stem ends in a vowel preceded by /n/ or /θ/ (*él diz* vs. *él dice*, *él tien* vs. *él tiene* – ‘he says’, ‘he has’).
- Presence of Asturian verb forms for the verbs *querer* and *poder* (*tú quies* vs. *tú quieres*, *tú pues* vs. *tú puedes* – ‘you want’, ‘you can’).

D’Andrés stated that speakers recognize this set of features as belonging to the Asturian linguistic system. He also claimed that the features appear as a cohesive block in the speech of the urban population, explaining that speakers of Asturian Spanish choose a particular variety of the language and not single features. However, Barnes and Schwenter (2013) found that this is not true for all the differentiating features and that only some of them imply the presence of the rest. In the analysis of the speech of 16 speakers of Asturian Spanish, the authors found that there exists a hierarchical implicational scale of features (cf. Rickford 2002). For instance, the use of /-u/ and the diphthongized forms of the verb *ser* do not imply the presence of any other Asturian feature. This hierarchical organization supports a strategic use of Asturian features by the speakers in order to index more or less “Asturianness”.

Whether a speaker incorporates one, some, or all of the differentiating features in their speech, the use of each one of them is usually not categorical; instead, they normally alternate with their Spanish variants. Thus, speakers do not only show variation in how many or what differentiating features they use but also in how often and when they use the Asturian variants as opposed to the Spanish ones. It is this variation that characterizes the system of Amestáu.

But why does intra-speaker variation occur? In this study I propose that intra-speaker variation is highly related to how people from Gijón connect to place. As I described in the previous section, due to the industrial nature of the city and the migration movements from rural areas of Asturias, speakers from Gijón perceive themselves as being radically different from speakers from other urban centers, such as the capital, Oviedo². While Gijón is the largest city in the region, a rural character is still highlighted by its current population. This small-town feeling that many “gijoneses” attribute to their city is observed in comments like the one in (6), made by a 35-year-old male speaker from Gijón when talking about how some people in the city, in an attempt to sound more urban, have completely shifted to Spanish:

- (6) “Sí que tendemos a olvidarnos de lo pasao, parez que Gijón fue siempre una ciudad, cuando esto ye un pueblu, más grande pero ye un pueblo.”

‘We do tend to forget about the past, it seems like Gijón was always a city, when it really is a village, bigger but it is a village.’

As we will see, place-based identity in Gijón is linked to this rural character of the city described by the speakers and the contrast between rural and urban identity that became highlighted during the industrialization period. People from Gijón have a strong regional pride and want to be identified as Asturian. At the same time, there exists a desire on their part to distance themselves from the social characteristics that are associated with people from rural areas. This creates a conflict that motivates the alternation between Asturian and Spanish linguistic features in the speech of Gijón.

In what follows I review the sociolinguistic data that support the place-based indexicality of Asturian linguistic features and the existence of a conflict between the two aspects of local gijonés identity, exploring how this conflict affects linguistic practice in Gijón.

3. Conflict between regional and urban identity

The data reported in this section come from two different types of study: a sociolinguistic perception experiment and sociolinguistic interviews with native speakers from Gijón. While the perception experiment examined the relationship between a variety of social traits and particular Asturian and Spanish features, I will focus on the characteristics that pertain to place. I will also use qualitative comments made by

the participants in the experiment and metalinguistic data obtained during the sociolinguistic interviews to examine the relationship between linguistic practice and place in Gijón.

3.1. Social perceptions of Asturian and Spanish variants

Perception experiments are used in sociolinguistics to explore the conscious or subconscious associations that speakers make between a particular linguistic variant and a set of social characteristics. This type of data allow researchers to tap into the social meaning indexed by individual linguistic features and, in turn, to elucidate how speakers use the available linguistic resources to create or interpret social identity.

The goal of the study reported here was to uncover the associations that exist between two Asturian Spanish linguistic variables and a set of social characteristics. In order to do so, a perception experiment was designed using a modified form of the Matched Guise Technique (Lambert *et al.* 1960). In this experiment, listeners from Gijón rated utterances that included either the Spanish or the Asturian variants of the two Asturian Spanish linguistic variables: final (*o*, *u*) as a masculine singular morpheme and final (*as*, *es*) as a feminine plural morpheme. These two variables were chosen because they are frequently used by speakers from Gijón, they show alternation between the Spanish and Asturian variants, and they have a high symbolic value as markers of Asturian identity (Antón 1995; Barnes 2013; 2016). The variation observed in Asturian Spanish (or Améstau) between [o] and [u] on the one hand, and [as] and [es] on the other is illustrated in Table 1 and Table 2, respectively:

Spanish variant	Asturian variant	English
<i>El gato</i>	<i>El gatu</i>	'Cat'
<i>Un problema gordo</i>	<i>Un problema gordu</i>	'A big problem'
<i>No lo vi ayer (a David)</i>	<i>No lu vi ayer (a David)</i>	'I did not see him yesterday'
<i>Otro cuento</i>	<i>Otru cuentu</i>	'Another story'

Table 1. *Examples of the contrast between Spanish [o] and Asturian [u]*

Singular form	Spanish variant	Asturian variant	English
<i>La casa</i>	<i>Las casas</i>	<i>Les cases</i>	'The houses'
<i>Una gata mala</i>	<i>Unas gatas malas</i>	<i>Unes gates males</i>	'Some bad cats'
<i>Ella no la tiene</i>	<i>Ellas no las tienen</i>	<i>Elles no les tienen</i>	'They don't have them'

Table 2. *Examples of the contrast between Spanish [as] and Asturian [es]*

Eight matched pairs differing only in the features under study, such as the example in (7), were recorded by eight different speakers from

Gijón, with the same speaker uttering the version (or “guise”) with Spanish and Asturian linguistic features of each matched pair³. The complete list of matched pairs is provided in Appendix B. Participants randomly listened to one of the guises of each pair and had to rate each speaker according to a series of socio-demographic characteristics. They were also asked to provide any supplemental information about the speaker in a box for open comments, followed by personal questions about the respondents’ sex, education, occupation, age and whether they considered themselves speakers of Asturian. Finally, they were asked to describe their own speech in an optional section for open comments.

- (7) a. “Hay un compañero, que ahora está de vacaciones, que perdió un brazo con la maquinaria”
b. “Hay un compañeru, que ahora está de vacaciones, que perdió un brazu con la maquinaria”

‘There is this coworker, who is on vacation right now, that lost an arm in the machines’

Among the social traits included in the survey were how rural or urban the speaker seemed and from what geographic area they were perceived to be. For the first question participants had to select a rating on a Likert scale that ranged from rural (“de pueblo”) to urban (“de ciudad”). The scale was divided into an even number of points to avoid neutral responses. Participants also had to select an answer to a multiple-choice question regarding the perceived place of origin of the speaker. The choices included in this question were the following:

- Gijón: Industrial center, largest city and geographic area that is object of this study.
- Cuencas: Mining area located in the center and south of the province. This region is formed by small villages but also towns with a population of approximately 10,000.⁴ Its connection to the rural world is more transparent than that of Gijón, since many of its inhabitants still live in small villages where they combine their jobs with farm work.
- Village: Any rural area within the region.
- Oviedo: Capital and second largest city. As we saw before, Oviedo is the administrative and bureaucratic center of Asturias, as well as the home of the university and, as a result, the most important cultural center in the region.
- Outside of Asturias: Any rural or urban area that is outside of the region.

A screen shot of the relevant sections of the survey is provided in Figure 2. The complete set of questions for each speaker is included in Appendix C.

En la siguiente grabación vas a escuchar a Jose. Dale a play para escuchar la grabación. Puedes escucharla tantas veces como necesites. Después de escucharla, responde a las siguientes preguntas sobre ella.

▶ 00:00 00:04 🔊

29. Jose parece: *

De pueblo 1 2 3 4 5 6 De ciudad

23. ¿De dónde crees que es Jose? * 25. ¿Qué más piensas de Jose?

☐ De Gijón

☐ De las Cuencas

☐ De un pueblo de Asturias

☐ De Oviedo

☐ De fuera de Asturias

Figure 2. Screen shot of the perception experiment

The online questionnaire, implemented on the web survey platform SurveyGizmo (Vanek and McDaniel 2006), was administered to 300 participants (F = 177; M = 123) with ages ranging from 20 to 62 years old. Participants were recruited by promoting the experiment on several Gijón groups on online social networks (Facebook). I refer the reader to Barnes (2015) for further details about the data collection and survey design process.

All the listeners were either from Gijón or had lived in Gijón for at least 30 years, to ensure not only that they were all familiar with the variety of Asturian Spanish spoken in the city, but also that they had similar perceptions of speakers from other areas of the region. Table 3 shows the distribution of participants by gender and education level:

	Men	Women	Total
Primary education	11	15	26
Secondary education	19	26	45
Post-secondary education	27	20	47
Professional school	19	31	50
College/Graduate degree	47	85	132
Total	123	177	300

Table 3. Distribution of participants by gender and education level

Once all the data were collected, the responses were analyzed using two different statistical models. For the rating variable, in which listen-

ers had to choose how rural or urban the speaker sounded, a linear mixed model using the *lmer* function (Bates *et al.* 2014) in R was developed, to test what effect the use of the Asturian or Spanish variant had on the rural/urban rating. In this model participant and speaker were included as random effects, while the gender of the speaker, the gender, age and education of the participant, and whether participants considered themselves speakers of Asturian, were included as fixed effects. For the checkbox variable, in which listeners indicated what the speakers' place of origin was, a multinomial logistic regression model was developed using the *mlogit* function in R. In this case, random effects were excluded and the only independent variable was the linguistic variant used in the guise.

The results of the statistical analysis showed that the best-fit model only included the linguistic variant and the gender of the speaker as significant predictors of rural/urban rating. These results, summarized in Table 4, indicated that listeners gave significantly lower ratings to guises that contained the Asturian variants; i.e. guises that contained Asturian features were judged as being more rural than those containing the Spanish equivalents.⁵

	Estimate	SE	tValue	p-value
(Intercept)	-3.1205	0.4970	6.279	0.008
Variant = Asturian	-0.6510	0.0985	-6.608	<0.001
Participant age	0.0181	0.0057	3.163	0.002
Speaker gender = male	0.1142	0.6365	0.179	0.874
Variant = Asturian: Speaker gender = male	0.4115	0.1393	2.954	0.003

Table 4. *Best-fit mixed effects model for urban/rural rating.*
Significant predictors are bolded

These results indicate that listeners from Gijón associate the use of the Asturian features under study to place. Particularly, they interpret the presence of the Asturian variants in speech as an indicator that the speaker is from a rural area. Listeners use the alternation between Asturian and Spanish to situate speakers geographically in a rural/urban spectrum. The results thus provide evidence of the strong link that exists between language practice and place.

While the age of the participant had a significant effect on the rating regardless of the variant used in the utterance –in general, older participants rated speakers as more urban than younger participants whether they used Spanish or Asturian features– a significant interaction was found between the variant used and the gender of the speaker. This interaction shows that male speakers are perceived as significantly more urban than female

speakers but only when they use the Asturian variants. Thus, while both male and female speakers are rated as significantly more rural when using Asturian features, the effect of using Asturian variants is much stronger for women than men. This gender difference is illustrated in Figure 3.

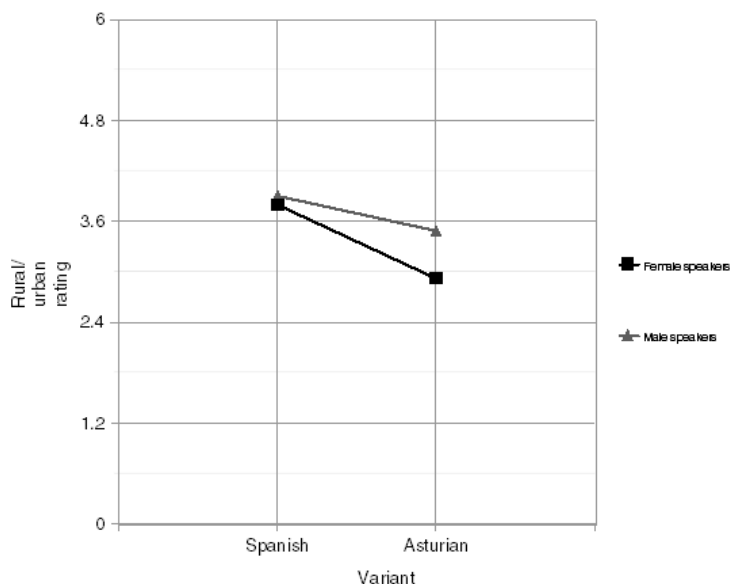


Figure 3. *Rural/urban rating by variant and gender of the speaker*

There appears to be a gendering of the Asturian language that I suggest is also linked to the migration movements that occurred during the 19th and 20th centuries. As I explained above, according to Köhler *et al.* (1996) the rural exodus to Gijón resulted in a masculinization of the population, since the majority of the people that migrated to the city were men in search for work in the new steel factories. I suggest that this led to the use of Asturian quickly being associated with male speech. Nowadays in Gijón, the use of Asturian variants is perceived as being more masculine than that of Spanish features (see Barnes 2015; 2016) for a complete discussion on the relationship between the use of Asturian features and gender). Furthermore, while the use of Asturian by men is expected, women's incorporation of Asturian features into their linguistic production is frequently criticized by other speakers, who see it as not being sufficiently feminine. Compare, for instance, the comments in (8), made about the same speaker when using the Asturian (a) and Spanish (b) variants respectively:

- (8) a. “El acento no me parece femenino, pero lo asocio a gente noble y maja”

‘I don’t think the accent is feminine, but I associate it with honest and nice people’

b. “Lo único que tiene es voz femenina, joven”

‘The only thing she has is a feminine, young voice’

The same speaker’s accent in the matched pair is perceived as not feminine when using the Asturian variants and as feminine when using the Spanish ones.

In addition to receiving significantly more rural scores when using the Asturian features, the linguistic variant also had a significant effect on the selection of a particular place of origin for each speaker. The graph in Figure 4 shows the distribution of responses according to the variant used in the guises:

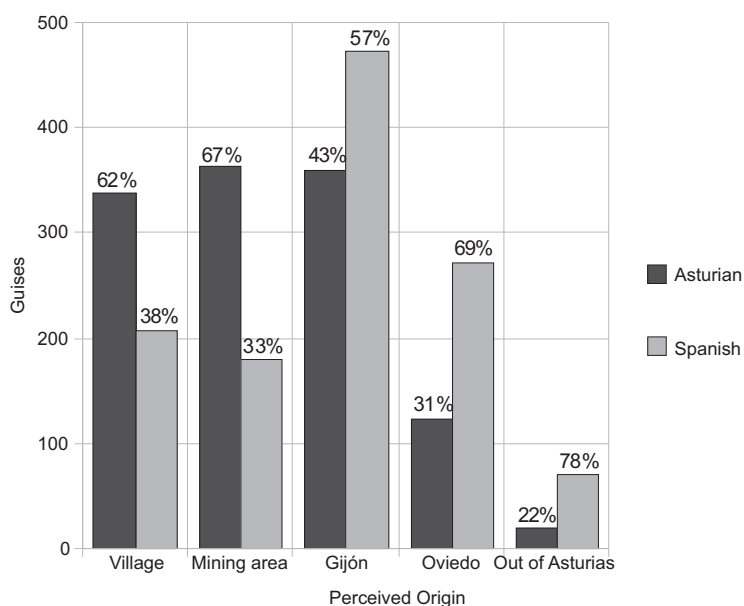


Figure 4. *Distribution of responses to the perceived origin of the speakers by variant*

As we can see the majority of the guises were judged as being uttered by a speaker from Gijón. While a higher percentage of the guises assigned to village or mining areas contained Asturian variants, the opposite was true for the sentences that were perceived as spoken by someone from Gijón, Oviedo, or outside of Asturias. The results of the

multinomial regression reported in Table 5 confirm that the effect of the variant (Asturian or Spanish) on the choice of place of origin was statistically significant.

Reference level is Village	Estimate	SE	tValue	p-value
Outside of Asturias: (Intercept)	-1.0986	0.1390	-7.9031	<0.001
Oviedo: (Intercept)	0.2731	0.0922	2.9607	0.003
Gijón: (Intercept)	0.8243	0.0834	9.8875	<0.001
Mining area: (Intercept)	-0.1398	0.1019	-1.3714	0.170
Feature language (reference level is Spanish)				
Outside of Asturias: Asturian	-1.7800	0.2737	-6.5034	<0.001
Oviedo: Asturian	-1.2921	0.1402	-9.2146	<0.001
Gijón: Asturian	-0.7668	0.1127	-6.8036	<0.001
Mining area: Asturian	0.2111	0.1269	1.6639	0.0961

Table 5. *Effect of feature language on the selection of place of origin*

These results indicate that the odds of selecting outside of Asturias, Oviedo or Gijón over village as the place of origin of the speaker were significantly lower when the utterances contained the Asturian variant, with Gijón being the category that behaved most similarly to the village choice. In contrast to this pattern, the odds of choosing the mining area over village were not significantly different between Asturian and Spanish guises. Further exploration of the data also revealed that Gijón behaved significantly differently from all the other places of origin.

In conjunction with the results from the rural/urban rating, the listeners' choices of a particular place of origin for each speaker show that listeners from Gijón use linguistic information (particularly the alternation between Asturian [u] and [es], and Spanish [o] and [as] respectively) to situate speakers geographically. People from Gijón associate the use of Asturian variants with rural and mining locations, while the incorporation of Spanish variants is more frequently linked to urban areas. However, there are notable differences between the two main Asturian cities. If we go back to Figure 4 we see that while 69% of the responses assigned to Oviedo were Spanish guises, only 57% of the sentences identified as being uttered by a speaker from Gijón contained the Spanish variants. Furthermore, Gijón is the category in which the percentage difference between Asturian and Spanish guises is the smallest; i.e. while the majority of guises that were assigned to a village or the mining area contained Asturian variants and most of those judged as uttered by someone from Oviedo or outside of Asturias contained Spanish variants, Gijón falls somewhere in the middle.

The results for the perceived place of origin of the speakers in the matched-guise experiment are a reflection of Gijón's migration history and its current status as an industrial city. Listeners from this city associate both Asturian and Spanish linguistic features to local speech and simultaneously identify with regional (rural) and urban identities. There is a search for a balance between these two components that results in the linguistic variation that characterizes Amestáu. In the following section I explore these issues, using the metalinguistic comments made by the participants in the perception experiment and statements about language use made by speakers from Gijón and collected via sociolinguistic interviews.

3.2. Urban local identity and the use of Amestáu

The results of the perception experiment reviewed in the previous section provide robust evidence in favor of the association of Asturian features with rural status. The place-based indexicality of Asturian features is also apparent in comments made by participants when asked to describe their own speech or to provide additional information about the speakers they heard during the experiment. The labels rural ("de pueblo", "pueblerino") and urban ("de ciudad") were frequently employed to describe their own linguistic variety:

- (9) "Normal, sencilla, nada de pueblo"

'Normal, simple, not rural'

- (10) "Formal, de ciudad"

'Formal, urban'

The descriptions included in examples (9) and (10) illustrate the association of a formal (and what is also considered a normal) register with urban speech, while participants characterized as rural the deviation from that norm.

When asked to provide further information about the speakers they heard in the experiment, descriptions that alluded to their rural origin were frequently used when the guises contained the Asturian variants:

- (11) "Parece la típica mujer campechana y simpática de algún pueblo tipo Cangas de Narcea."

'She seems like the typical cheerful and friendly woman from a village like Cangas de Narcea.'

(12) “Más de pueblu que les amapolas.”

‘More rural than poppies.’

(13) “De pueblo, y sin muchos estudios.”

‘Rural, and without much schooling.’

On one hand we see that rural status and the use of Asturian features are associated with positive solidarity traits, such as friendliness and cheerfulness (as in (11)). On the other, both are also associated with low social status, such as a low education level (as in (13)). Even though all the speakers in the experiment were from Gijón, their incorporation of Asturian features into Spanish led listeners to identify them as having a rural origin.

While the use of the rural label to describe the speakers was frequent in the supplementary information provided by the participants, they very rarely referred to urban status in their descriptions. Instead, on the occasions in which the speakers were noticed as being urban, they were placed geographically in Oviedo.

(14) “Oviedo seguro”

‘Oviedo for sure’

(15) “Será carbayona⁶”

‘Must be from Oviedo’

(16) “Carbayona 100%”

‘100% from Oviedo’

The association of Asturian use and rural status is also evident in metalinguistic comments made by speakers from Gijón in the context of the sociolinguistic interviews. The following is a comment made by a 35-year-old male speaker in response to the question of whether people from Gijón speak differently from people in other parts of Asturias:

(17) “si hablabas en asturiano no solo no te entendían, sino que te miraban mal, ... ‘¡yes de pueblu!’, ‘ye que...’ no, ‘es que así hablan los del pueblo’, digo yo, ‘ya, ¿y?’, digo, ‘yo hablo como se habla en mi tierra’. Es más, yo cuánto mas me decían que era de paleta, yo mas cerrao en asturiano les hablaba”

‘If you spoke in Asturian not only did people not understand you, but they also looked at you wrong... ‘you’re a hick!’, ‘it’s (ast.) just that...’ no, ‘it’s (span.) just that that’s how hicks talk’, and I say, ‘ok, so?’, I say, ‘I speak like people speak in my region’. Not only that, the more they told me that that was rural, the more Asturian I spoke to them’

In (17) the speaker refers to the attitudes that he perceived people having several years ago. He then proceeded to state that these associations were changing in Gijón in recent years and that more positive attitudes toward the use of Asturian were developing among gijonenses. We can also see in his statement how the connection between Asturian use and rural status is reinterpreted by the speaker by linking the minority language to regional identity. The absence of Asturian features from speech is frequently interpreted by speakers from Gijón as showing a lack of regional pride. The statement in (18) includes the answer to same question as in (17) by a 40-year-old female speaker:

- (18) “¿Sabes de qué tengo la sensación? De que las personas de Gijón últimamente, me pasa con Oviedo también sinceramente, no es que hablen distinto, eramos mas asturianos de lo que somos, están como... no sé si la ciudad está tan grande, creciendo tanto que queremos ser tan educaos y tan castellanos que se están perdiendo, no sé, las maneras de... somos de aquí, somos asturianos, naces con el “¡que ye ho!” y el “calla ne” y yo a lo mejor mezclo o por educación o tal. Incluso hay gente aquí que me dice que si soy de Mieres. Digo yo, ‘no no soy de Mieres, soy de Gijón y en Gijón yo de pequeña mamaba bable’. Hablabas más asturiano y todo el mundo te entendía y ahora, no es que vea que hablan distinto, lo que tengo miedo es que quieren dejar de hablar distinto. Es lo que siento, lo que noto, parece que nos da vergüenza ser asturianos. Es lo que noto, de verdad es lo que siento y me da mucha pena, porque ya lo veo en la capital, y aquí no éramos así, aquí éramos muy playos, somos de playa, somos muy panchos, no tenemos por que disimular el deje.”

‘Do you know what I feel like? I feel like lately people from Gijón, and, honestly, I think the same about Oviedo too, it’s not that they speak differently, we used to be more Asturian than we are, they are like... I don’t know if the city is so big, growing so much that we want to be so educated and Castilian that we are losing, I don’t know, the way we... We are from here, we

are Asturian, you are born saying “¡que ye ho!” and the “calla ne” and, in my case, maybe I mix because of my education and such. There are even people here that ask me if I’m from Mieres. I say, ‘I’m not from Mieres, I’m from Gijón and in Gijón when I was little we were surrounded by Asturian’. You used to speak more Asturian and everybody understood you and now, it’s not that I see that people speak differently, what I’m afraid of is that they want to stop speaking differently. It’s how I feel, what I notice, it seems that we are ashamed of being Asturian. That’s what I notice, honestly, that’s how I feel and it saddens me, because I already see it happening in the capital, and we weren’t like that here, we were very “playos”, we are from the beach, we are very laid back, we don’t have to hide our accent.”

This speaker not only associates the use of Asturian with regional identity, she particularly links the incorporation of Asturian features into speech to being from Gijón. Her statement also reflects the contrast that speakers from Gijón perceive between the capital (Oviedo) and Gijón.

The speaker comments included in (17) and (18) show the stigmatization that the use of Asturian or Asturian features has among a sector of the population from Gijón. In fact, it is not uncommon for a speaker to equate the incorporation of Asturian features to “incorrect” Spanish. In (19), for example, a 53-year-old female speaker from Gijón describes Asturian Spanish as incorrect Spanish and emphasizes the rural origin of this imperfect variety.

- (19) “Noto la gente de pueblo... que habla peor que los de Gijón, gente de pueblo que vino a Gijón, que llevan cincuenta años en Gijón y siguen hablando... en los pueblos que tienen acento o qué tienen... ¿entiendes? Que, a ver, en mi pueblo no se habla así, tan mal, como habla... pero, a ver, por ejemplo, en el pueblo de la mi cuñada, fatal, fatal hablan, y son cerca de nosotros y hablan fatal. Y vienen pa’ca y no se les corrige, no corrigen. Chica, esas palabras tan... tan de pueblo... yo... parezme que no tengo, no sé. Yo vine con diez años también, pero bueno.”

‘I notice rural people... that they speak worse than those from Gijón, people from rural areas that came to Gijón, that have been in Gijón for fifty years and they still speak... in the villages where they have an accent or whatever they have...do you know what I mean? That, let’s see, in my village people don’t speak like that, so poorly, as they speak... but, let’s see,

for example, in my sister-in-law's village, horribly, they speak horribly, and they are from near us and they speak so badly. And they come here and they are not corrected, they don't correct people. Girl, those words so... so rural... I... I don't think I have them, I don't know. I also came here when I was ten, but anyway."

In addition, when participants in the perception experiment described their speech they also referred to the presence or absence of Asturian features in terms of correct and incorrectness. The descriptions in (20), (21) and (22) illustrate this position:

- (20) "Normal, se ve que soy asturiana pero intento hablar lo más correcto posible."

'Normal, you can tell I'm Asturian but I try to speak as correctly as possible'

- (21) "Castellano muy pobre"

'Very poor Castilian'

- (22) "Procuro hablar bien, aunque se mezclan castellano y palabras sueltas en asturiano"

'I try to speak correctly, even though I mix Castilian and isolated words in Asturian'

Based on these perceptions of Asturian Spanish, we could simply conclude that, in Gijón, Asturian is stigmatized and perceived as a rural and imperfect variety that should be avoided in, at least, formal speech. This is true to a certain extent. However, while Asturian and Asturian features seem to lack overt prestige, they do have covert prestige. We can see this in the metalinguistic comments from speakers included in examples (17) and (18). Both speakers recognize the solidarity value of using Asturian or Amestáu to index regional pride. While this position is not generalizable to all speakers, there is a sector of the population in Gijón that adopts Asturian as a way of differentiating themselves from people from the capital, Oviedo, who are often perceived to be too pretentious and uptight, and people from outside of Asturias. As the speaker in (18) indicated, these *gijoneses* describe themselves as laid-back and easy-going, and using Asturian is tied to the construction of that type of persona. As a consequence, avoiding the use of Asturian

features in speech is interpreted by speakers from Gijón as “trying too hard” and linked to a desire to sound sophisticated. In the box provided for additional comments, participants in the perception experiment frequently criticized the use of Spanish features by the speakers they listened to. For instance, one of the female speakers was described as being nice (“amable”), good people (“buena gente”) and normal (“normal”) when she used Asturian features. However, when participants listened to the corresponding Spanish guises, they judged her as being arrogant (“prepotente”), uptight (“estirada”), snobbish (“pija”) and weird (“rara”). Similar comments were made when other speakers used Spanish features in their utterances:

- (23) “Marca mucho la pronunciación sin sentido. Quiere aparentar más de lo que es”

‘She unnecessarily highlights her pronunciation a lot. She pretends to be something she’s not’

- (24) “Intenta ocultar el acento asturiano con poca fortuna”

‘He tries to hide his Asturian accent unsuccessfully’

Thus, while the use of Spanish is seen by many as the correct and educated way to speak in the city (and possibly in the entire region), the complete lack of Asturian features is nevertheless stigmatized. When alluding to their own speech, 56.1% of the 264 participants in the perception experiment that included that information claimed to use a mixture of the two linguistic systems. I propose that the observable alternation between Asturian and Spanish features in the speech of Gijón serves a dual purpose. On the one hand, speakers want to be identified as urban and to distance themselves from the rural world and the social characteristics that are traditionally linked to it. On the other hand, they want to be perceived as being from Asturias, in contrast with other Spanish regions. Thus, there is a search for a balance between rural/regional identity and urban identity that regulates the alternation between Asturian and Spanish linguistic features observed in this city. This negotiation between the two apparently conflicting aspects of local identity is reflected in how participants in the perception experiment describe their own speech.

- (25) “Con acento asturiano pero no de pueblo”

‘With an Asturian accent but not rural’

(26) “Con acento Asturiano sin ser cerrado”

‘With an Asturian accent but not too strong’

(27) “Con cierto acento gijonés, pero sin usar demasiadas palabras en asturiano”

‘With an accent from Gijon but without using too many words in Asturian’

Previous research on Asturian Spanish has also alluded to the search for a balance between the two languages in urban communities. Dyzman (2000), for instance, investigated the speech of teenagers in a high school in Gijón. In her study, she concluded that the speakers opted for a hybrid variety that contained numerous linguistic elements shared by both languages, in addition to frequent incorporation of features that were exclusively Asturian. The author explained that this system allows speakers to satisfy the desire to use the regional language while complying with the social necessity of showing adequate competence in Spanish.

The linguistic variety of gijoneses is thus a result of the history of the city and the migration movements that took place in the 19th and 20th centuries. The rural influx to Gijón changed the composition of the city and resulted in the emergence of a working class that identifies strongly with both Asturian/rural identity and Spanish/urban status. The intra-speaker variation between Asturian and Spanish linguistic features is what characterizes this linguistic variety and reflects the two components of local gijones identity.

4. Conclusions

The experimental data presented in this paper show that the presence or absence of Asturian features in speech is used interpretatively by listeners from urban areas to locate speakers geographically. Metalinguistic comments made by speakers from Gijón also show the connection that exists between Asturian and rural identity, indicating that Asturian features have place-based indexicality. The complex nature of local identity in Gijón, one in which both rural and urban identities are represented, affects linguistic practices in this city. The conflictive presence of these two aspects of local identity leads to the mixture of the languages of the community and the alternation between linguistic practices that are perceived to be rural/regional and those that are seen as urban. The hybrid nature of

Amestáu allows individuals to express their orientation toward each component of the local identity and to create a persona that they interpret as being different from that of people from rural areas in Asturias, people that live in other Asturian cities, and those from outside the region.

Looking at the local level and into the particular socio-historic circumstances from which a contact variety like Amestáu emerged allows us to explain the variation that we observe today. Even though there exist correlations between particular socio-demographic categories and the use of Asturian and Spanish features in this variety (Barnes 2013; 2016), we cannot exclusively rely on macro social categories to fully explain the linguistic variation observed in Gijón. Instead, focusing on local linguistic practices will provide us with a better understanding of the role that language has in the creation of place-based identity.

Sonia Barnes

Department of Foreign Language and Literatures
Marquette University
53233 – Milwaukee (Wisconsin) – U. S.
sonia.barnes@marquette.edu

Recepción: 02/10/2015; Aceptación: 26/04/2016

Notes

- ¹ Even though the term “Castilian” is sometimes used in the literature to refer to the dialect of Latin that originated in the medieval county of Castile, today Spanish speakers and academics alike commonly use it as a synonym of “Spanish”.
- ² The description of the linguistic variety spoken in Oviedo is beyond the scope of this article, whose objectives are to explore the relationship that exists between linguistic practice and place-based identity in Gijón. This does not mean that alternation between Asturian and Spanish linguistic features does not take place in Oviedo (see, for example, Martínez Álvarez 1967; Sánchez Álvarez 1979; Bleortu 2012). The socio-historic contrast between Oviedo and Gijón was included in section 2.1 to give the reader sufficient feedback to understand why speakers from Gijón perceive themselves as being different from people from Oviedo and why they associate this city with a higher urban status.
- ³ Note that the sentences with the Asturian variants used in the matched-guise experiment are not intended to be in Asturian. Rather they are meant to reflect the hybrid contact variety spoken in Gijón (Amestáu).
- ⁴ Even though they are not mutually exclusive, the geographic categories of “Cuencas” and “Villages” were kept separate in the analysis because, as a native of Gijón, I have observed that people from this city sometimes associate the use of Asturian with the mining culture. This question was designed to test this association.
- ⁵ For the purposes of this study, the two linguistic variables were combined in the statistical analysis of the responses to the perception experiment. Although the effect of using the Asturian *vs.* the Spanish variant is stronger in the case of “o” and “u”, both Asturian variants are significantly correlated with higher rural ratings. I refer the reader to Barnes (2015) for further details about the differences between the two linguistic variables and a discussion of the reasons behind these differences.

- ⁶ The term “carbayona” (fem.) is an adjective used to refer to people from Oviedo. People from Gijón sometimes employ it with a pejorative meaning.

References

- Alvargonzález Rodríguez, Ramón. 1995. “Las ciudades de Asturias: planeamiento urbano y transformaciones recientes”. *Situación: Revista de Coyuntura Económica*, 3. 175-180.
- Amado Rodríguez, Lucinda. 1993. *Transferencia lingüística nes parroquies de Trubia y Godos*. Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones del Principado de Asturias.
- Antón, Marta. 1995. “Asturiano y castellano en Llangréu: aspectos sociolingüísticos de la pronunciación de las vocals”. *Lletres Asturianas*, 56. 73-85.
- Barnes, Sonia. 2013. *Morphophonological variation in urban Asturian Spanish: Language contact and regional identity*. Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University dissertation.
- Barnes, Sonia. 2015. “Perceptual salience and social categorization of contact features in Asturian Spanish”. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics*, 8:2. 213-241.
- Barnes, Sonia. 2016. “Variable final back vowels in urban Asturian Spanish”. *Spanish in Context*, 13:1. 1-28.
- Barnes, Sonia and Scott Schwenter. 2013. “An implicational hierarchy of contact features in Asturian Spanish”. Paper presented at the 24th Conference on Spanish in the United States and 9th Conference on Spanish in Contact with other Languages, McAllen, TX, 6-9 March.
- Bates, Douglas, Martin Maechler, Ben Bolker and Steven Walker. 2014. lme4: Linear Mixed-Effects Models Using Eigen and S4. R package version 1.1-7. Available at <<http://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/lme4/index.html>>.
- Becker, Kara. 2009. “/r/ and the construction of place identity on New York City’s Lower East Side”. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 13:5. 634-658.
- Bleortu, Cristina. 2012. “El habla de Oviedo. Estudio desde la perspectiva de la sociolingüística variacionista”. *I Jornadas Doctorales de la Universidad de Oviedo*, 11.
- Carmichael, Katie. 2014. *“I never knew I had an accent until the hurricane”: Sociolinguistic Variation in Post-Katrina Greater New Orleans*. Ph.D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University.
- Clopper, Cynthia G. and David B. Pisoni. 2004. “Some acoustic cues for the perceptual categorization of American English regional dialects”. *Journal of Phonetics*, 32. 111-140.
- D’Andrés, Ramón. 1993. *Encuesta sociolingüística nuna parroquia Asturiana: Deva-Xixón*. Biblioteca de Filoloxía Asturiana, Universidá D’Uviéu.
- D’Andrés, Ramón. 2002a. *Juicios sobre la lengua asturiana*. Oviedo: Ámbitu.
- D’Andrés, Ramón. 2002b. “L’asturianu mínimu urbanu. Delles hipótesis”. *Lletres Asturianas*, 81. 21-38.
- Dyzmann, Nina V. 2000. “Averamientu al estudiu de contautu de llingües (asturianu / castellán) nel Principáu d’Asturies”. *Lletres Asturianas*, 73. 93-105.
- Ferguson, Charles A. 1964. “Diglossia”. In: *Language in Culture and Society*, Dell H. Hymes (ed.), 429-439. New York: Harper and Row.
- Fernández Álvarez, Francisco J. 1989. “Influjo del Castellano en Llué (Colunga)”. *Lletres Asturianas*, 33. 35-52.
- Fernández Lorences, Taresa. 2011. “Alternancia y mesura de códigu asturianu / español. Problemes nel determinu de les fronteres lingüístiques”. In: *Lengua, ciencia y fronteras*, Ramón de Andrés García (ed.), 191-211. Uviéu: Trabe.
- Fridland, Valerie, Kathryn Bartlett and Roger Kreuz. 2004. “Do you hear what I hear? Experimental measurement of the perceptual salience of acoustically manipulated

- vowel variants by Southern speakers in Memphis, TN". *Language Variation and Change*, 16. 1-16.
- García Arias, Xose Lluis. 1982. "Las lenguas minoritarias de la Península Ibérica". In: *Introducción a la Lingüística*, Francisco Abad Nebot and Antonio García Berrio (eds.), 417-454. Madrid: Alhambra Universidad.
- González-Quevedo, Roberto. 2001. "The Asturian speech community". In: *Multilingualism in Spain: Sociolinguistic and Psycholinguistic Aspects of Linguistic Minority Groups*, M. Teresa Turell (ed.), 165-182. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Johnstone, Barbara and Scott F. Kiesling. 2008. "Indexicality and Experience: Variation and identity in Pittsburgh". *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12. 5-33.
- Köhler Holm-Detlev, José Manuel Agüera Sirgo, Sabine Arnicke, Patricia Latorre, Simone Rißmann and Rubén Vega García. 1996. *Asturias: el declive de una región industrial*. Oviedo: Ediciones Trea.
- Konvalinka, Nancy A. 1985. "La situación sociolingüística de Asturias". *Lletres Asturianas*, 16. 29-65.
- Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lambert, Wallace E., R. C. Hodgson, Robert C. Gardner and Samuel Fillenbaum. 1960. "Evaluational reactions to spoken language". *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 60. 44-51.
- Llordén Miñambres, Moisés. 1994. *Desarrollo económico y urbano de Gijón en los siglos XIX y XX*. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo.
- Martínez Álvarez, Josefina. 1967. *Bable y castellano en el concejo de Oviedo*. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo.
- Precedo Ledo, Andrés and Rafael Rodríguez. 1989. "El Sistema Urbano del Norte de España en la Transición Postindustrial". *Ekonomiaz: Revista Vasca de Economía*, 15. 18-53.
- Preston, Dennis. 1989. *Perceptual Dialectology: Nonlinguists' Views of Areal Linguistics*. Foris Publications: Providence, Rhode Island.
- Preston, Dennis. 1993. "Folk dialectology". In: *American dialect research*, Dennis Preston (ed.), 333-378. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Preston, Dennis. 2002. "Perceptual dialectology: aims, methods, findings". In: *Present day dialectology: problems and findings*, Jan Berns and Jaap van Marle (eds.), 57-104. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Prieto, Concha. 1991. *Investigación sociolingüística na Plaza'l Sur de Xixón*. Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones del Principado de Asturias.
- Rickford, John A. 2002. "Implicational Scales". In: *The handbook of language variation and change*, J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill and Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), 142-167. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sánchez Álvarez, Mercedes. 1979. "Consideraciones sobre el bable urbano. Notas para un estudio sociolingüístico". *Estudios y trabajos del seminariu de llingua asturiana*, 2. 259-268.
- Tomé Fernández, Sergio. 2010. *Oviedo, el modelo neoliberal de transformación urbana*. Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones del Principado de Asturias.
- Viejo Fernández, Xulio. 2004. "Asturian: resurgence and impending demise of a minority language in the Iberian Peninsula". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 170. 169-190.

Appendix

Appendix A: Participant background questionnaire

Para ayudarnos a interpretar los datos, te agradeceríamos que nos proporcionaras la siguiente información:

Edad: _____ Sexo: ☐ Hombre ☐ Mujer

¿Qué nivel de educación tienes?

- ☐ Nunca he ido a la escuela
- ☐ EGB/Primaria
- ☐ Secundaria/Instituto/BUP
- ☐ Bachillerato/COU
- ☐ Diplomatura universitaria
- ☐ Licenciatura universitaria
- ☐ Modulo/FP

¿Cuál es tu ocupación?: _____

¿Hablas Asturiano? ☐ Sí ☐ No

¿Cómo describirías tu forma de hablar?:

¿Crees que el Asturiano debería ser la lengua oficial de Asturias? ☐ Sí ☐ No

¿Por qué?:

Appendix B: Stimuli used in the perception experiment

Speaker 1 – male (under 40) o/u

- a) Hora y media si está bien, pero como en el trozo de ahí no hay autopista, pues el viaje acaba siendo más largo
- b) Hora y media si está bien, pero como en el trozo de ahí no hay autopista, pues el viaje acaba siendo más largo

Speaker 2 – female (over 40) o/u

- a) Dijeron que se quedaba otro mes, así que a aguantar al encargao
- b) Dijeron que se quedaba otru mes, así que a aguantar al encargau

Speaker 3 - female (under 40) o/u

- a) Compraron un piso muy guapo en el dos mil ocho, pero está sin amueblar
- b) Compraron un pisu muy guapu en el dos mil ocho, pero está sin amueblar

Speaker 4 - male (over 40) o/u

- a) Hay un compañero, que ahora está de vacaciones, que perdió un brazo con la maquinaria
- b) Hay un compañeru, que ahora está de vacaciones, que perdió un brazu con la maquinaria

Speaker 5 - male (under 40) as/es

- a) Todos empezaron de aquella cuando salieron tantas plazas de policía
- b) Todos empezaron de aquella cuando salieron tantes places de policía

Speaker 6 – male (over 40) as/es

- a) Dediqué muchas horas a la empresa y a lo mejor dediqué menos a la familia
- b) Dediqué muchas hores a la empresa y a lo mejor dediqué menos a la familia

Speaker 7 - female (under 40) as/es

- a) Nunca puedo abrir las ventanas porque como sacuden tanto por aquí
- b) Nunca puedo abrir les ventanes porque como sacuden tanto por aquí.

Speaker 8 - female (over 40) as/es

- a) Fue cuando construyeron escuelas en la zona esa donde están las tiendas del centro
- b) Fue cuando construyeron escuelas en la zona esa donde están las tiendas del centro

Appendix C: Questionnaire used in the perception experiment

En la siguiente grabación vas a escuchar a Pablo. Dale a *play* para escuchar la grabación. Puedes escucharla tantas veces como necesites. Después de escucharla, responde a las siguientes preguntas sobre Pablo.

Pablo suena:

Nada masculino	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Muy masculino
Nada inteligente	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Muy inteligente
Informal	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Formal
De pueblo	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	De ciudad
Pobre	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Rico

¿Qué edad crees que tiene Pablo? (escoge solo uno)

- ☐ Menos de 30 ☐ Entre 30 y 40 ☐ Entre 40 y 50
- ☐ Entre 50 y 60 ☐ Más de 60

¿Que nivel de estudios crees que tiene Pablo?

- ☐ Nunca ha ido a la escuela
- ☐ EGB/Primaria
- ☐ Secundaria/Instituto/BUP
- ☐ Bachillerato/COU
- ☐ Diplomatura universitaria
- ☐ Licenciatura universitaria
- ☐ Modulo/FP

¿De dónde crees que es Pablo? (selecciona solo uno)

- ☐ De Gijón ☐ De las Cuencas ☐ De un pueblo de Asturias
- ☐ De Oviedo ☐ De fuera de Asturias

¿A qué crees que se dedica Pablo?

- ☐ Trabaja en un bar/restaurante
- ☐ Trabaja en la construcción
- ☐ Trabaja en una tienda
- ☐ Es profesor
- ☐ Es abogado/médico
- ☐ Es agricultor/ganadero

¿Qué más piensas de Pablo? _____