



**PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN
ASTURIAS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR
LANGUAGE POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT**

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ABSTRACT

Bable (also known as Asturianu) is the Romance vernacular of the Spanish region of Asturias. Surveys suggest that up to 40% of the population claim oral competency in the language, with much lower figures for literacy. Unlike Catalan, Gallego and Euskerra, Bable has not yet achieved official status. During the period 1981 to 1998 there was a strong debate, often intensely conflictive, on the language's future which led finally to the promulgation of a law on the promotion of the use of Bable, rather than co-officiality. Taking into consideration, amongst others, sociolinguistic theories such as Kaplan's on language planning, Smolicz's on core values, Mühlhäusler's on language ecology, Giles' *et.al.* on ethnolinguistic vitality as well as the work of J. and L. Milroy on social networks (and also G. Williams' critique of the latter two theories), this study argues that the case of Bable represents at once a unique but also an exemplary model for understanding key issues in the development of language planning and education in situations of marginalised languages.

In the lead up to the 1998 law in Asturias, issues of language status, planning, usage domains, codification and educational implementation were all the subject of debate whose participants were not solely linguists, educators or government policy makers, but included many in the community. After outlining the historical origins of Bable and the context of the language debate, this study sought to collect and analyse primary data on language use and opinion in relation to Bable principally over the period 1994-98, but with some additional data from the preceding six years. Two methodological tools were used in the study. The first was a study based on the principal daily newspaper of the region, *La Nueva España*, analysing the incidence of Bable and references to the language; a key part of this study was the analysis of 463 letters to the editor written over the period in question. Other articles in the newspaper relevant to Bable were also analysed. The second research instrument was a survey of 122 attendees of a training conference on the teaching of Bable, held in 1995 and organised by the *Academia de la Llingua Asturiana*. The survey questions sought their views on the significance of Bable, the history of their experience of the language and their views on normalisation and officiality.

The data showed notable differences in domain usage and attitude. Various respondents attributed different meanings to their shared cultural and linguistic lexicons (such as culture, identity, patrimony, *Asturianismo*, *Bablista* and even the pronoun

nuestro/nueso). Opinions were diverse not just about what the word *Bable* signifies, but also the character of Asturias and of being Asturian.

The analyses of the letters and other material from *La Nueva España*, the survey of conference attendees and the interviews all gave some degree of support to the notion of a core value of *paisañin* (in the mold of, but characteristically distinct from, the concept of *das gentlemanideal* first proposed in 1922 by Wilhelm Dibelius, writing of the English context); a core value which was wider than, but included, language. In contrast to this romantic notion, the material also revealed the more recent development of an “identity of the alienated” whose relationship with their language reflected their own perceived marginalisation by the mainstream of society. A third orientation evident in the data, that of the *mineru* (based on a long regional mining tradition), became a bridge between the former two. The respondents’ attitudes to subjects such as language normalisation and officiality, the origins of Bable and the status of its dialects were seen to be related to these ideological orientations.

These findings invite the development of language and education policies which reflect the needs of the respondents in the three different ideological groups rather than opting for a lowest common denominator approach which would satisfy none and fail to ensure Bable’s future vitality. The study also notes that there will be significant sociodemographic impacts on any chosen policy array. Considering these aspects the thesis concludes proposing a ‘double helix’ model of policy development for language.

DEDICATION

To my beloved sister

Bronwyn Jean Arnold

[1952-1973]

You would have achieved so much more had not God called you home.

At that time I will gather you;

At that time I will bring you home ...

Says the Lord

Zephaniah 3:20a.

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But I must make particular mention of my supervisors who tirelessly supported my endeavours by their encouragement and counsel. Without the efforts of Dr Jerzy Smolicz and Dr Margaret Secombe this thesis would not have achieved what it has. Any shortcomings in it, however, are mine and not theirs. I also would like to thank the supervising support I received from Professor José Antonio Martínez García of the School of Philology at the University of Oviedo, whilst I was based in his faculty.

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DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis being available for loan and photocopying.

**LYNN M F ARNOLD
23 September 2002**

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EXPLANATORY NOTES

Language name

For the purposes of this thesis, the term *Bable* is most generally used in denominating the language of the Asturians. When the alternative – *Asturianu/o* – is used it has normally been anglicised to *Asturian*. The use of the term *Bable* has not been out of personal preference (for, as argued in the conclusions, the contention is made that the term *Asturian* should now be considered the more appropriate), but out of recognition that such is its name in the Autonomy Statute (even though in 1998, in legislation specifically dealing with its use and promotion, both *Asturiano* and *Bable* are used).

In Chapter 2 (The Asturian Language) the issue of language name is explored; suffice to say at this point that, while there has been something of a move away from the term *Bable* towards that of *Asturianu*, the historic practice has largely favoured the former. There has also been dual usage by many; indeed a form of typology seems to have developed which for many would provide the following meanings:

Bable: The romance language of the Asturians, derived from the Medieval Leonés (or Astur-leonés); sometimes also called the ‘pure’ or ‘primitive’ Asturian language.

Asturianu(o): The present day Asturian language which has undergone interference from Castilian.

As will be seen later, the issue does not end there, for the dialectal variegation of the language is of such an extent that many Asturians prefer to use neither *Asturianu* nor *Bable* but the term **Bables** in reference to that which is spoken in Asturias.

Finally, as something of a compromise, the factually correct term *Llingua Asturiana* is used by many (and indeed by myself in a number of instances). The term simply acknowledges that there is a non-Castilian romance vernacular spoken in Asturias.

Though the term Bable is most generally used in this thesis, there has been no alteration to the nomenclature adopted by persons quoted or to whose comments reference is made where they have used an alternative term.

Alphabetic ordering

When listing names or words that are either in Bable or Spanish, the practice has been followed which adopts that used until quite recently by the *Real Academia Española* – namely characterising *Ch*, *Ll* and *Ñ* as separate letters (appearing after *C*, *L* and *N* respectively).

In the specific case of Bable, I treat *Ll*, *ll*, *ll* and *Ts* as all being regional derivatives of the same letter – namely *Ll*. This is despite the different phoneme that attracts to each variant – with sounds in the range of between /_ / & /_ / respectively. The reason is that, though they are each sounded differently, they mostly reflect regional variations in the pronunciation of that same consonant. Thus the toponym Lluarca is also written as *ll*uarca; while Aller has also been transcribed as Atser. It is true, however, that this typology does not always apply; there are instances where the regional phonemes migrate across the alphabet – for example, *muyer* [woman] is also written in different regions as: *muller*, *mucher*, *mutser* and *mu__er*.

There is also the case of **Ḥ** which is a softly aspirated *h* (/hw/) – a sound difficult for Castilian speakers, but not uncommon in the eastern part of Asturias. As a character in Bable it can appear in place of both **J** (*guaje* > *guaḥe* [youth]) and **F** (*facer* > *ḥacer* [to make]).

Another Asturian letter, now archaic, which appears in the text is **X̣**. This character had some currency around the turn of the twentieth century amongst some of the group

known as *Los Nuevos Bablistas*. The character seems to have been created to represent a softer sounding *X* (/_/) in place of the aspirated Spanish *J* (/h/). It appears in this text as part of citations from writers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Names

When listing personal names normal Spanish practice is followed. The standard model for personal names in Spain is:

Prenome [*nombre de pila*] + Principal surname [*apellido*] + Secondary
surname
[*apellido*]

The prename can often be a *nombre compuesto* [a combination of two names] – examples being Xosé Lluis, Ana Maria, and Xuan Xosé. Thus there can be a total of four names, two prenames and two surnames. The prenames, however, always have the affect of being one (as if they were hyphenated).

The first *apellido* is the father's principal surname of an individual, while the second *apellido* is the mother's principal surname.

For the purposes of alphabetic listing of personal names, the first *apellido* determines location. Furthermore, as sometimes happens, if only one *apellido* is written, it will always be the first.

Thus the following ordering of names is correct (the principal surname is underlined):

Ana Maria Cano González
Xosé Lluis García Arias
Xuan Xosé Sanchez Vicente

Place names (Toponyms)

Many Asturian locations have Castilian and Bable equivalents of their place-name (toponym), generally the Castilian version has been used except where a particular reference has cited the Bable version or where it is now clear that common usage has replaced the Castilian version with the Bable.

Translations

Most citations originally written in Spanish and Bable appear in the body of the text translated into English. Unless otherwise noted, these translations have been done by myself. In all instances where I have done the translation, since I neither speak Bable nor am I an expert translator, the original versions of texts translated have been included for the purposes of verification; the original texts appear as footnotes identified by a ^t. Where I have not done the translation, the identity of the translator is noted in the Bibliography and associated footnotes in the text where appropriate.

I have not provided translations for comments made by people I interviewed for this thesis. The reason for this is that at the time of interview I simultaneously translated comments into English and kept no record of the actual words said (which were either in Bable or in Castilian).

Citations of individual words or phrases are followed within the text by their translations in English, which are contained within square [] brackets. In a number of instances I have included both Bable and Castilian versions of words to either highlight differences or similarities between the two languages. These translations are shown in the following manner:

Oricios {Castilian: *errizos*} or {C: *errizos*}
Roble {Bable: *rebollo*} or {B: *rebollo*}

Dictionaries

As is evident from the Bibliography, a number of dictionaries have been used in providing definitions and in lexical analysis. Apart from the first reference to each dictionary in the text, in order to simplify further references to those dictionaries the following notation system, rather than footnote system, has been used for such purposes. The notations are:

- GdP 1788** – *Diccionario de Algunas Voces del Dialecto Asturiano*, Carlos González de Posada, 1788, reprinted as part of the *Biblioteca de Filología Asturiana* series, Uviéu, 1989.
- RAT 1891** – *Diccionario gramática bable*, Apolinar de Rato de Argüelles, 1891, republished by Ramón de Rato, Editorial Planeta, Barcelona, 1979.
- SOM 1901** – *Primer Ensayo de un Vocabulario Bable*, Julio Somoza, 1896-1901, reprinted as part of the *Llibrería Lingüística* series, ALLA, Uviéu, 1996.
- NOV 1983** – *Diccionario General Español-Asturiano*, Lorenzo Novo Meir, Asturlibros, 1983.
- BAS 1984** – *Diccionariu Básicu de la Llingua Asturiana*, Félix Ferreiro, Pablo Manzana, Urbano Rodríguez, Ediciones Trea, 1984 (3rd edition 1995).
- XXSV 1988** – *Diccionariu de la Llingua Asturiana*, Xuan Xosé Sánchez Vicente, GH Editores SA, 1988.
- JN 1989** – *Diccionario de Los Bables de Asturias*, Jesús Neira & María Rosario Piñeiro, IDEA, Oviedo 1989.
- ALLA 2001** – *Diccionariu de la llingua asturiana*, ALLA, Uviéu, 2000.

Grammar sources:

At various points I make comments about Bable and Castilian grammar. I claim to be an expert in neither. Unless otherwise cited, the source of my information on the grammars of both languages has been my understanding of the contents of the following texts:

ALLA, *Normes Ortográfiques y Entamos Normativos*, Uviéu, 3rd ed. 1990.

J de Bruyne, *A comprehensive Spanish grammar*, Blackwell, Cambridge 1995.

Normes Ortográfiques y Entamos Normativos is the official publication of the *Academia de la Llingua Asturiana* and, while there is contention within Asturias as to orthographic and syntactic norms of Bable, this publication can be taken to represent a reasonable consensus with respect to those norms. Jacques de Bruyne is a member of

the *Real Academia Española* and therefore could be expected to follow the orthographic and syntactic rulings of that body with respect to Castilian.

Frequency numbers:

On some occasions reference is made to lexical frequency surveys. The sources used with respect to Bable and English were:

F Cuentos *et.al.*, *Diccionariu de frecuencies léxiques del Asturianu*.¹

K Hofland & S Johansson, *Frequency analysis of English vocabulary and grammar*.²

Sometimes such information with respect to Bable words is included in tables and appears as a figure in brackets after the word, eg *fame*_[83] which signifies that the Bable lexical frequency survey cited above identified that the word *fame* [*hunger*] appeared 83 times in the documentation surveyed. Where the word did not appear in the lexical frequency survey the notation [*] is used. The Cuentos study only listed words which appeared five times or more.

There clearly are caveats on how such information regarding lexical frequency should be used and what conclusions can legitimately be drawn. However, I have incorporated the figures where I felt that some indicative findings could be drawn from their inclusion.

One of the caveats results from the significant diglossic character of much Bable usage in Asturias. Thus, for example, while a number of the words in Figure 6.3 have frequently appeared in basically Castilian-language articles in *La Nueva España*, the

¹ F Cuentos *et.al.*, *Diccionariu de frecuencies léxiques del Asturianu*, Estaya Pedagógica 11, ALLA, Uviéu, 1997.

² K Hofland & S Johansson, *Frequency analysis of English vocabulary & grammar*, OUP, Oxofrd, 1989.

lexical frequency survey found that they had not appeared frequently in Bable only articles (eg *campanu*, *Guirria* and *oriciu*).

Primary source reference notations

In Chapters 13-15 primary source material is the subject of analysis. This material, however, is also used throughout the text as reference material.

For ease of cross-referencing, items of primary source material are identified by notations. These notations cross reference with the relevant appendices.

The appendices relating to the letters to the editor, which are a principal primary source, contain two series of notations. The first, by letter, numbers each letter in chronological order – **001 – 462**. The second, by author, proceeds alphanumerically – **L001-L377**. References to these letters in the text cite both notations. Thus, for example, **L060/350** refers to letter number 350 (entitled *La oficialidad del asturiano* [*The officiality of Asturian*] – from original letter listing) written by letter writer number L060 (Llucio Blanco Llera – as per Appendix D).

The appendix relating to casual quotations in the Asturian language which have appeared in *La Nueva España* uses the alphanumeric sequence **Q001-Q123**; this is done in chronological order. There is no separate alphabetic listing of persons quoted for this material.

With respect to other primary source material garnered from *La Nueva España* the following sequences have been used to connect citations in the text with the associated appendices:

E001 – E148 - for interviewees of the *Encuentros a la Esterilla* [*Encounters on The beach towel*] (compiled in chronological order).

P01 – P21 - for interviewees of the *Patio de las luces* [*Sun porch*] series
(compiled in chronological order)

O204 – O418 (or O+date) - for issues of the *Oreja Verde* [The green ear]
children's series (compiled in chronological order). The system
being based upon the published series number or date of
publication.

There were three sources of primary material which were not from *La Nueva España*. They are the survey of attendees at a conference convened by ALLA and two series of interviews. The conference on *Formación y reciclax de la llingua asturiana* [Training and language recuperation for the Asturian language] was held in Cangas del Narcea, 27-30 August 1995. The survey responses have been notated in a random compilation in the sequence **S001-S122**.

The interviews were of two types. First a series of interviews with people knowledgeable and involved in the debates surrounding the future of Bable; some of these were conducted on a one-to-one basis and some in small groups. Second were a series of interviews with people who spoke some form of Bable in their daily life, but who were not activists in the debates. All references to these debates are by the initials of the interviewee or date reference (in the case of group interviews).

In addition to the above notation system for primary sources of information which are the subject of analysis, there are also included many references to news items and articles in LNE. Each of these are identified in the footnotes by the prefix **LNE** and the date of the issue in which they appeared. Page references have not been included.

The extensive use of this newspaper as a reference source for this thesis is also worthy of brief comment. The public interest in Asturias in language issues has ensured that there has been extensive coverage given to them in the daily press. Whilst all the local dailies have given such coverage, *La Nueva España* would justify being a major source

without cross reference to comparable coverage in other dailies; this is due both to its relative size (the largest regional daily in Asturias, with its readership exceeding all the others combined) and its preparedness to cover the diversity of opinion on Bable. Validation for such a viewpoint is provided by the work *Llingua y Xuiciu: sobre delles cuestiones básiques del debate llingüísticu n'Asturies* by Ramón d'Andrés.³ This writer had 282 footnotes in this work, 152 of them came from newspapers; and of this latter number, 97 came from *La Nueva España*.

ABBREVIATIONS

ALLA	<i>Academia de la Llingua Asturiana</i> [<i>Academy of the Asturian Language</i>]
BOE	<i>Boletín Oficial de Estado</i> [<i>Official Bulletin of the Spanish State</i>]
H de A	<i>Historia de Asturias</i> , four volume set issued by LNE
IDEA/RIDEA	<i>(Real) Instituto de Estudios Asturianos</i> [(<i>Royal</i>) <i>Institute of Asturian Studies</i>]
IU	<i>Izquierda Unida</i> [<i>United Left</i> – a coalition of parties including the former Spanish Communist Party]
LLAA	<i>Lletres Asturianes</i> , biannual publication of ALLA
LNE	<i>La Nueva España</i> [<i>The New Spain</i> – an Asturian newspaper]
PAS	<i>Partida Asturianista</i> [<i>Asturianist Party</i>]
PP	<i>Partido Popular</i> [<i>Popular Party</i>]
PSOE	<i>Partido Socialista de Obreros Españoles</i> [<i>Socialist Party of Spanish workers</i> – a social democratic party]
RAE	<i>Real Academia Española</i> [<i>Royal Spanish Academy</i>]
SADEI	<i>Sociedad Asturiana de Estudios Económicos e Industriales</i> [<i>Asturian Society for Economic and Industrial Studies</i>]

[Note: ALLA, H de A & LLAA are often cited in footnotes].

BABLE AND CASTILIAN EQUIVALENTS OF SOME COMMON TOPONYMS

CASTILIAN	BABLE
Aller	Ayer, Atser
Cudillero	Cuideiru
Gijón	Xixón
Langreo	Langreu, Llangreu
Luarca	Lluarca, __uarca
Oviedo	Uviéu

³ R d'Andrés, *Llingua y Xuiciu: sobre delles cuestiones básiques del debate llingüísticu n'Asturies*, Prncipáu d'Asturies, Uviéu, 1998.

INTRODUCTION

I.1 Bable – the language of Asturias

As with many countries, Spain is known by a wide array of stereotypes. A superficial assessment would reduce the image of the country to a place of bull fights, flamenco, wine and siestas. Yet were superficial image markers to be sought for that northern part of Spain known as Asturias, they would be different. More probably they would be: bagpipes, clogs, cider and festivals.

This little known and unique northern region of Spain also has its own language – Bable – a language which has received very little attention beyond the Iberian peninsula. Only a handful of non-Spanish scholars have dedicated time to the study of this romance language. President of the Asturian Language Academy [Academia de la Llingua Asturiana] Xosé Lluís García Arias has noted that the first such non-Spanish study was the 1887 work of Swede Åke Munthe, who published in Uppsala *el primer estudio científico* [*the first scientific study*] of Asturian.¹ García Arias also referred to a 1907 work by Erik Staaff, *L'ancien dialecte léonnais d'après des chartes du XIII siècle* [*The ancient Leonese dialect after the charter documents of the thirteenth century*].

In the English language domain there have been two commonly cited major writers about the languages of Spain – William Entwistle² and Ralph Penny.³ Both of these made reference to *Leonés*. Entwistle's work *The Languages of Spain* (published in 1936 with a new edition in 1962) made brief reference to Bable (also calling it Asturian) and indicated that it arose from *Leonés*. Penny's *A History of the Spanish Language* (1991) made no reference under either name. The two references by Entwistle were:

¹ X L I García Arias, *Algunas causa de las diferencias entre las lenguas hispánicas*, paper delivered at a conference held at the University of Vienna in 1993, unpublished – copy of text supplied by author; p16.

² W J Entwistle, *The Spanish Language, together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque*, Faber & Faber, London, 1936; second edition 1962.

³ R Penny, *A History of the Spanish Language*, Cambridge UP, Cambridge, 1991.

... sheltered behind the Cantabrian mountains and more and more cut off from the imperial plans of León, the Asturian dialects continued their uninterrupted development from the common Latin base, and to this day constitute the most differentiated region of Spanish speakers.⁴

And:

... the Asturian (bable) dialects lie in the confined valleys behind the Cantabrian range.⁵

At the more generalist level of information about Bable in the English language domain, a deterioration of knowledge appears to have occurred over the past hundred or so years. An example of this is a comparison of the entries about Bable which appeared in two editions of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* over a gap of nearly a century and a quarter.

The 1875 edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica* made the following reference to Bable:

The native dialect is called Bable, and among other distinctive marks employs *f* for the usual Spanish *h* in many words, thus approaching nearer to the original Latin.⁶

Later in the same edition, under the entry for *Romance Languages*, there was included a considerable amount of detail in relation to Asturian grammar. This commentary included twelve distinct grammatical or lexical observations such as commentary on the origins of *-ie-*, the absence of a guttural *j*, the replacement of *gi* and *ge* by *xi* and *xe*, and the characteristic nature of personal pronouns.⁷

However by the 1998 edition, such expansive treatment of Bable was reduced to a sole reference buried in the following entry for Spain:

the regional dialects of Aragon, Navarre, Leon, Asturias and Santander were crowded out gradually and today survive only in secluded rural areas.⁸

⁴ W J Entwistle, *The Spanish Language, together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque*, op.cit., p. 139.

⁵ W J Entwistle, *The Spanish Language, together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque*, op.cit. page 225.

⁶ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Vol. 2, Ninth edition, Edinburgh, 1875, page 824.

⁷ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Vol 22., op. cit, pp 350-1.

⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 11, Chicago, 1998, page 69.

Table I – Bable & selected other language citations from generalist books on language

Reference	Languages of Spain mentioned						Some other references to languages with fewer speakers than Bable	
	Aragonese	Aranese	Bable	Basque	Caló	Catalan		Galician
Atlas of Languages ⁹				✓		✓	✓	Arumanian, Faroese, Friulan, Istro-Rumanian, Sorbian.
Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language ¹⁰				✓		✓	✓	Faroese, Sorbian.
Languages of the world ¹¹				✓		✓	✓	Faroese, Friulan, Sorbian.
Romance Languages ¹²	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	Arumanian, Friulan, Istro-Rumanian.
Words: an illustrated history of western languages ¹³				✓	✓	✓	✓	Faroese, Friulan, Sorbian.

Table I summarises an examination of a range of books which deal with languages which have been published in the English language domain. The examination is of references in those books to languages spoken in Spain as well as certain other minority languages from other parts of Europe. The other languages chosen were selected on the basis that they currently have fewer speakers than Bable (which has between 200,000 and 400,000 speakers). The languages selected being Arumanian (50,000 speakers), Faroese (47,000), Friulan (60,000), Istro-Rumanian (147,000) and Sorbian (67,000).

⁹ B Crombie et.al (ed), *The Atlas of Languages: The Origin & Development of Languages Throughout the World*, New Burlington Books, London, 1996.

¹⁰ D Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, Cambridge UP, Cambridge 1992.

¹¹ K Katzner, *The Languages of the World*, Routledge, London, 1995.

¹² R Posner, *The Romance Languages*, Cambridge UP, Cambridge, 1996.

¹³ V Stevenson (ed), *Words: An illustrated history of western languages*, MacDonald, London, 1983.

I.2 The thesis

This thesis is divided into five parts. Part A deals with the Asturian setting (history, geography, politics, sociological features and some iconic characteristics); Part B treats with Bable (its history, characteristics and usage as well as promotion and issues facing Bable at this time). Part C deals with theories (sociolinguistic and sociological) relevant to the themes of my thesis. Part D is the core of the thesis dealing with my empirical research; it includes the explanation of my methodology as well as analysis of the findings. Finally Part E draws conclusions from the findings.

While Parts C and D are the most important parts in terms of the objectives of this thesis, Part A is itself longer than might normally be expected. The reason for this greater length has to do with the relative obscurity, at least in the English language domain, of knowledge about Bable. This relative ignorance is matched by little awareness outside Spain about the unique historical and social characteristics of Bable's birthplace - Asturias. Consideration of my findings is made more useful if there is some understanding therefore of the history and sociology of Asturian society and the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of its autochthonous language - Bable.

The key research question which this thesis sets out to investigate is "What are the current status and vitality of Bable in the region of Asturias and what are its most probable futures?" Addressing this key research question has involved a study of

- Bable's historical development within the region;
- Current patterns of usage;
- Perceptions about and attitudes toward Bable;
- Opportunities for learning the language; and
- Policy options for the support and promotion of Bable.

A wide range of data from various sources has been used in parts A, B & D to answer the key research question. The data gathered have been interpreted in the light of the theories discussed in Part C.

I.3 Some key observations

In the process of undertaking this thesis I have made many observations about the sociolinguistic circumstance of the language. Principal among these were the following:

- There is a strong identification amongst the Asturian population with their unique heritage and their self-perception of the Asturian character; these include recognition of many almost iconic features of heritage, heroic self-image as well as the perception that the region has a special linguistic inheritance [Sections 13.3.2; 14.6; 15.3; 15.7];
- There is a division within the population as to the character of those perceptions of that linguistic inheritance between those who believe there exist a range of disparate *bables* which are unique one from another and those who believe that these *bables* are simply dialects of a unitary concept which can be called *Bable* or *Asturian*. This polarity complicates discussions about normalising the language and granting it official status [6.3; 13.3.1; 14.5; 15.2];
- With respect to the language itself: there is significant lexical overlap between Bable and Castilian [6.1.1]. Like other languages, Bable exhibits change characteristics [6.1.2], but often the perception of this is confused with views that there is considerable Castilian interference into Bable with some evidence of consequential hyper-correction [13.2.2; 13.3.7; 14.3.1; 15.2.1];

- Bable is relatively stronger in the mining *cuencas* and rural zones than in other areas particularly the larger population centers with the exception of the region's largest city, Gijón [7.1; 14.2.1; 13.2.2; 14.3.2];
- In the current context there are two disparate groups of Bable speakers – traditional Bable speakers from rural and mining areas; and a growing number of young people who have had some exposure to the language. Unlike traditional speakers, some young people have adopted the vernacular as being reflective of a self-view of alienation from the holders of power. [7.4.3; 15.4.3];
- There is significantly less breadth to the domains and genres where Bable is used compared with the more dominant Castilian [7.5; 13.2.5];
- Oral usage of Bable is much higher than written [7.3.1, 7.4.1; 14.2.2; 14.4.1]. Publishing of literature in Bable remains comparatively limited with small production runs; however there has in recent years been increased activity and output of titles in more genres than just poetry [Chapter 8];
- There are strong patterns of festive and seasonal usage of Bable by those who use it only occasionally or in limited degrees [14.3.3; 15.1; 15.4]; and
- There is significant lexical borrowing from Bable into the Castilian spoken by many in Asturias [6.1.5; 14.34.3; 15.5]. This borrowing is often related to cultural and historical icons but also includes its use in humour [7.4.6] as well as nicknames and diminutives [7.4.7; 13.3.4; 14.6.8; 15.6]. There is also a significant usage of the third person singular of the Bable verb *to be* [*ye*] [6.2.3; 13.3.6; 14.4.2; 15.1; 15.2.1] in everyday communication in the region.

1.4 The theoretical framework used

Analysing the observations through the framework of the theoretical approaches I have used have given rise to a series of deductions about the implications for language policy and development for Bable based upon the issues of perception and identity in particular.

The following theoretical approaches are considered in Chapter 11:

- Peter Mühlhäusler's promotion of the concept of language ecology and in particular his proposition that dialectical variation can be beneficial to a language's survival prospects [11.1];
- Robert Kaplan and Richard Baldauf's consideration of three levels of language planning (macro, meso and micro) and that top-down approaches may not be as beneficial as bottom-up when it comes to language sustainability [11.2];
- Jerzy Smolicz's work on core value theory examining those features of identification (including oftentimes language) valued by a community whose maintenance is important to the self-perceived integrity of that community [11.3];
- Howard Giles, R Bourhis and D Taylor's proposition that understanding ethnolinguistic vitality provides a means of better understanding the relationship of group and language status [11.4]; and
- James & Lesley Milroy's premise about the relationship between the replacement of strong community network ties by weak ones and the sources of language change [11.5].

In addition to considering such sociolinguistic theories, in Chapter 12 sociological perspectives from the following have also been used:

- Glyn Williams' critique of sociolinguistic analyses [12.1];
- The concept of thesis/antithesis as expressed by Hegel and others [12.2]; and
- William Dibelius and the concept of *Das gentlemanideal*. [12.3].

I.5 Analytical tools

Using the framework of these theoretical approaches for analysing the research, I have developed the following analytical tools.

- Attitude circle - a schematic showing how arrays of attitudes to language issues (such as change/interference) may be mapped. The schematic considers such attitudes from different perspectives - positive/optimistic, negative/pessimistic, dispassionate interest and absolute disinterest [10.2; 16.2; 16.3];
- Genre & Domain correlation graphic – a table which attempts to analyse ‘usage’ in the active and passive senses both by genre and domain [10.3.3; 16.3.4];
- Sociolinguistic double helix – a diagrammatic conceptualising possible relationships between counter-posing sociolinguistic perspectives and how they may interact with each other [12.2; 12.4; 16.4.1]; and
- Language status & vitality matrix – a graphic giving a visual dimension to language status and vitality and identifying deficit zones where particular types of policy responses might be needed [11.4; 16.3.2].

Finally

In his opening address to the *I Asamblea Regional del Bable* [*First Regional Assembly on Bable*] in 1973, the late, noted linguist Emilio Alarcos Llorach said:

Some think that Bable is dying without remission; others consider it contaminated and invaded by alien elements, but (that it) is firmly rooted. Some resign themselves to its loss; others gird themselves to seek means of strengthening it. For some this Assembly should have to commit itself to delay issuing the certificate of dysfunction for Bable. For others, our meeting ought to be an assembly constituting an academy of Bable which would dictate fixed norms and would make these complete *tabla rasa*, purifying our speech and promoting its written and literary use.¹⁴

This thesis maps these diverse elements and tries to chart some directions forward.

¹⁴ E Alarcos Llorach, *Presentación de la Asamblea*, I Asamblea Regional del Bable, 1973, published in *Proceedings*, Editorial Nacional, Madrid, 1980.

¹ *Unos piensan que el bable muere irremisiblemente; otros lo consideran contaminado e invadido de elementos alienígenas, pero firmemente arraigado. Unos se resignan a su pérdida; otros se esfuerzan en buscar procedimientos para robustecerlo. Para algunos esta Asamblea tendría por cometido el extender el certificado de defunción del bable. Para otros, nuestra reunión debería ser como la asamblea constituyente de una academia del bable que dictara normas fijas y las hiciera cumplir a rajatabla, purificando nuestra habla y promoviendo su utilización escrita y literaria.*

PART A – THE SETTING

CHAPTER ONE – GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY & POLITICS

Overview

Asturias is a relatively small region with many distinct geographical, historical and political features when compared with the rest of Spain. This chapter provides some insights into those distinctive features from which, in later chapters, will be drawn themes and hypotheses relevant to the Asturians and their autochthonous language - Bable.

The distinctive features include significant differences in the periods of occupation by Celts, Romans and Moors. Also noted is the ‘Gothic Myth’ created during the Middle Ages in the interests of the then newly dominant Castilian crown. This myth would ultimately be a part of a process which would lead to the supremacy of the Castilian language, first over Astur-Leonés (precursor to Bable) and ultimately over all other Spanish vernaculars.

1.1 GEOGRAPHY

Sometimes called the Switzerland of Spain and included as part of the country’s *Costa Verde* [*Green Coast*] on the northern litoral (between Galicia and Cantabria), Asturias is a mountainous region of 10,565 square kilometres. There is a coastal zone with a rugged coastline and undulating hills. Behind that zone, mountains rise steeply, separating the region from the high plateau of Castille and León. The steepness of these geologically young mountains has created deep gorges, narrow passes and secluded valleys. The coastline is pocked with coves and inlets which provide safe anchorage from the Bay of Biscay.

The mountainous area contains, in the eastern part of the region, the *Picos de Europa* {B: *Picus d'Europa*} [*Peaks of Europe*], one of the highest points being *Naranco de Bulnes* {B: *Picu Urriellu*} rising to 2,500m above sea level. The delineating characteristic of the mountains separating Asturias from the regions to the south has given rise to the use of the word *puerto* {B: *puertu*} [usually translated as *port*, but in this context meaning gateway] as the term to describe the pass at the head of each valley which then leads out of the region (eg Puerto de Pajares, Puerto de Tarna &c). (As elsewhere in Spain, the term *puerto* is also used to name points on the coastline where settlement meets the sea).

The rains of Spain do not fall anywhere near as much on the plains to the south as they do in hilly and mountainous Asturias. Annual rainfall well above the national average (along with heavy winter snowfalls on the mountains) fuels numerous rivers whose flows are fast enough to drive the water-wheels of mills and whose volumes are large enough to carry substantial stocks of salmon and other fresh water species. The high rainfall, often leaving sodden ground underfoot, has given rise in country areas to the still frequent use of *madreñes* ^[58] [*wooden clogs*].

Agricultural settlement covers much of the landscape but still a third of the province is forest. Much of the forest area consists of autochthonous species such as *rebollo* ^[6] {C: *roble*} [*oak*], *castañal* ^[39] {C: *castaño*_[6]} [*chestnut*] and *faya* ^[*] {C: *haya*_[29]} [*beech*].

The woodland area has provided sanctuary to the *osu* {C: *oso*} [the black bear, a species which originally lived all over the north of Spain and is now much reduced in numbers living in pockets of the Asturian mountains], the *llobu* ^[213] {C: *lobo*} [*wolf*] and *xabali* ^[5]

{C: *jabali*} [*wild boar*]. The bears and wolves are protected species while the wild boar are prized, and expensive, hunting targets.

In the open high country can be found the Asturian native horse, *asturcón*, a small, strong horse first recorded in the cave paintings of Tito Bustillo (near Ribadesella). Pliny recorded that breed was an *equis memorabilis* [*remarkable horse*].¹ Much reduced in numbers today, the *asturcon* is often used in Asturian symbols (such as the trade mark of the *Caxa d'Aforros d' Asturias/Caja de Ahorros de Asturias* [*Asturian Savings Bank*], and the export award of *Exportastur* – the *Asturcón d'oru/Asturcón de oro* [*Gold Asturcon*]).

Two of Spain's twelve species of autochthonous cattle (the stocky *Carreño, raza asturiana de los valles* [*race of the valleys*] and the agile, short-legged *Casina, raza de montaña* [*race of the mountains*])² form a declining part of the region's cattle herds as more international varieties of cattle make increasing inroads. In the farmyards and country byways the *pitu de calleja* [*chicken of the streets*] spend their lives free ranging and then become a highly prized meat in the region's shops of specialist fare. There is also an autochthonous species of sheep – *xaldas* {C: *ovejas*}.

Salmon [B: *zancáu* [*] & *salmón* [*]; C: *salmón*] once were so abundant in the rivers that story has it Asturian coal miners protested to their employers in the late nineteenth century that they be fed the fish no more frequently than two days a week. Though the salmon are not so numerous any more, annually in each river there is vigorous competition to become the season's *campanu* [*] [*catcher of the first salmon*].

¹ C Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, VIII, 166, as cited in O.Schneider (comp.), *In C Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae – libros indices*, Georg Olm, Hildensheim, 1967, page 119.

Along the coastline, *pecebres*^{*}_[*] {C: *percebes*} [*goose-necked barnacles*] and *oricius*_[*] {C: *errizos*} [*sea urchins*] are much sought. Away from the coastline, many varieties of shellfish and fish are caught with *pixin*_[6] [literally *little fish*] {C- *rape*} [anglerfish] achieving the highest unit price at market.

1.2 HISTORY

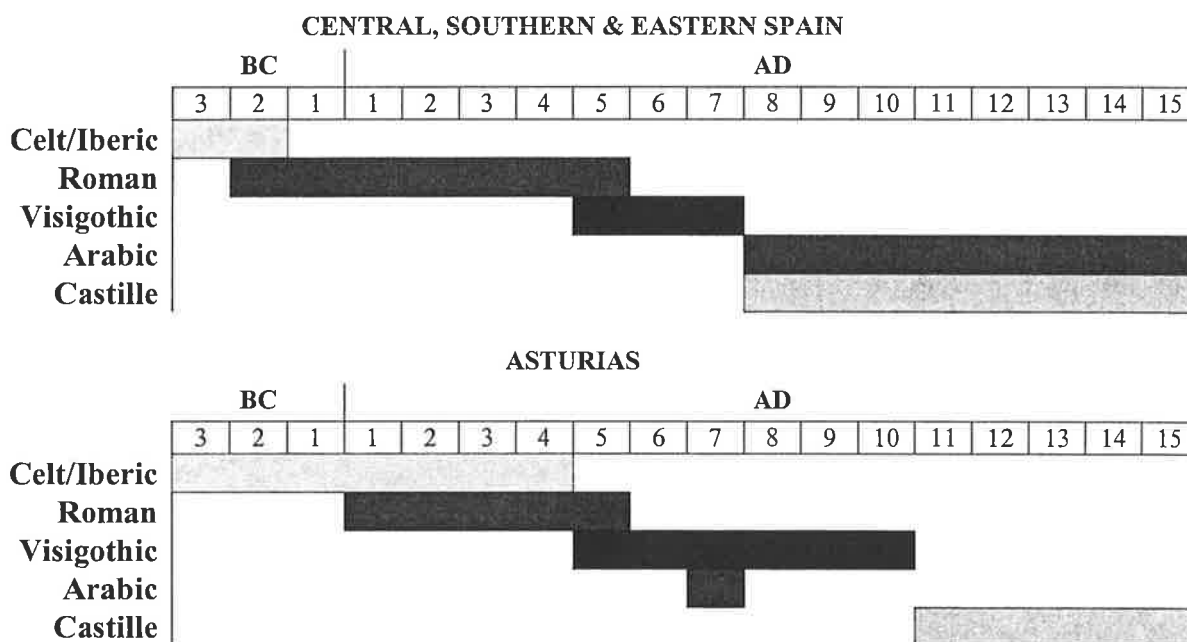
Summaries of Spanish history speak of the successive appearance of different peoples over many centuries – for example reference is made to the Atlantic (or *Guanche*) people who lived alongside the ancient Iberics: then there were the Celts who arrived in about the sixth century BC; and later still, the Romans who remained for some centuries as Spain became a key part of the Roman Empire. The summaries note that the Empire came under stress, eventually collapsing as barbarian peoples either journeyed through Spain (the Vandals) or stayed (the Visigoths, Suevi and Alani). Those who remained, most notably the Visigoths, and the indigenous population whom they governed, in turn came under the domination of the Moors who remained in Spain for up to eight centuries. In turn, the tide went against the Moors as the Reconquest slowly reasserted the suzerainty of the remnant northern Christian kingdoms of the north over the whole peninsula, culminating in their expulsion after the fall of Granada in 1492.

Such summaries are simplistic, principally because they ignore both the variable duration and differing levels of impact of the imprints of each successive wave of occupation.

² *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada,- Suplemento 1942-44*, Espasa Calpe, Madrid, pp 1189-90.

Figure 1.1 illustrates the point as to the differing durations of the various historical imprints. The two diagrams in this figure measure (very approximately) the periods of time during which the Iberics and Celts, Romans, Visigoths and Moors held sway over the bulk of Spain and over Asturias in particular. The diagrams also indicate the period, up to the fifteenth century, during which the successes of the Reconquest enabled the Christian monarchs (in particular the Crown of Castille) to control ever increasing territories until, in 1492, total control was finally achieved with the fall of Granada.

Figure 1.1 - Duration of historical imprints



Celt/Iberic

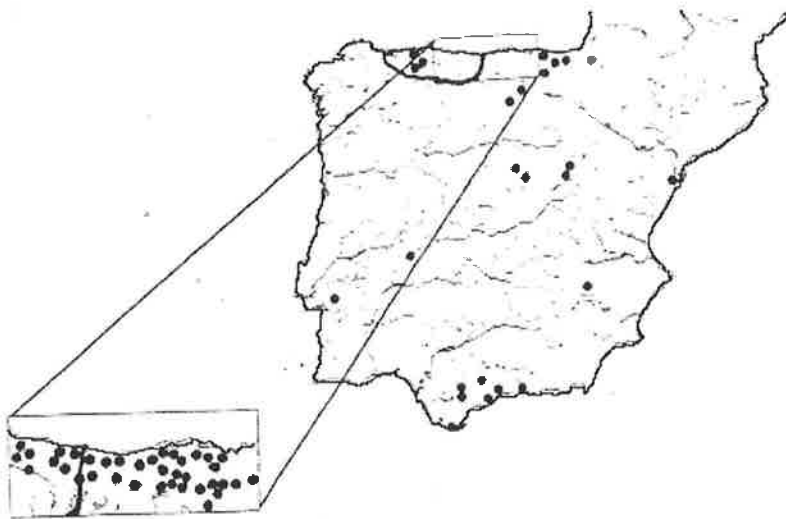
The commencement and concluding dates are easier to identify for the periods of Roman or Arabic rule than they are for the Celt/Iberic period. The broad classification *Celt/Iberic* is itself little more than a generic term used to refer to all pre-Roman peoples of the Iberian peninsula. It is known that some of these peoples arrived as part of the general Celt migrations across Europe in the sixth century BC; but it is also known that

* Note that *pecebres* is a metasthesised version of *percebes* – metathesis is a not infrequent phenomenon

prior to their arrival, there already existed populations who had lived there since before neolithic times – peoples who have been called the *Iberics*.

The Iberics had lived in the peninsula since the dawn of time with evidence of settlement dating back before neolithic times. Cave paintings [*rupestres*] at Cueva Tito Bustillo {B: Cuevu del Ramu}, located near Ribadesella, have been dated at between 12,300 and 13,450 years old³, while those at Cuevu del Buxu, near Cangas de Onis, are ten to twenty thousand years older. Many cave painting sites have been found in the northern litoral of Spain (not only Asturias but also Cantabria and the Basque country).

Map 1.1: Upper Paleolithic Parietal Art in the Iberian Peninsula



Asturias marked in outline

in Bable, a subject which is returned to in Section 3.1.5.

³ E Ripoll Perelló, *Rock Art in Spanish Pre-History*, in *The Peoples of Spain: Their origin*, Instituto Español de Emigración, Madrid, 1984, page 50.

Map 1.1⁴ indicates the sites dating from the Upper Paleolithic epoch discovered in the Iberian peninsula thus far. It reveals that in the northern litoral, such finds almost exceed the total number so far found in all other regions of Spain. This comparatively higher incidence would seem to indicate a longer, denser and more consistent history of settlement in northern Spain than in the rest of the peninsula.

Beyond such cave paintings and the strange 4,000 year old markings at a hill top site known as Peñu Tu (in the Sierra Plana de la Barballa, eastern Asturias), however, there is little other remaining evidence of these earliest settlers.

The arrival date of the Celts can only be guessed as being in the sixth century BC. In any event it would have occurred over many decades. Even less definable is what might be determined as the finishing point of their period of occupancy. What indeed would 'finishing point' mean? I have taken it to refer to the period where we may guess the cultural and linguistic influences ceased to be dominant and began their decline.

What is not so well known is the extent of the diversity within those Celt and Iberic populations. Were all Iberics of the same origin? Were they the same as the Atlantic people (the *Guanche*) who were to live on as a remnant in the Canaries until the fifteenth century? Were the Iberics of Asturias the same as or related to the Basques? Were the Celts comprised of one or more distinct racial group who merely shared a language and culture? Answers are still being sought through the array of theories the questions have inspired.

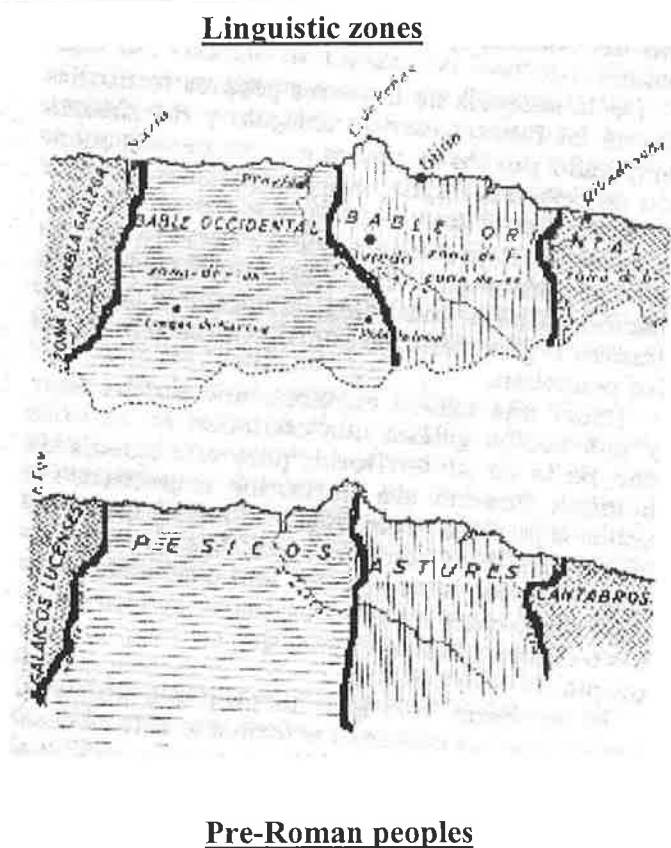
⁴ Ripoll, op. cit., page 51.

However, it is apparent at the very least that the pre-Roman peoples of the peninsula were neither homogenous in language nor culture. The same applied to the Asturian region. José Manuel González noted:

... protohistoric Asturias did not constitute a uniform whole, rather within its territory there could be identified different cultural and ethnological groupings.^{5 t}

González noted that there were four principal groupings in Asturias – the Astures, Cantabros, Pesicos and Galaicos. He correlated the geographic zones of these peoples against some present day linguistic frontiers (ie the *-es/-as*, *h-/f-* isoglosses and the *Astur-Gallego ~ Bable Occidental ~ Bable Central ~ Bable Oriental* dialect frontiers discussed in Section 2.1). The uppermost map in Map 1.2 shows the current linguistic situation while the lower map shows the geographical spread of the pre-Roman peoples.

Map 1.2: Correlation of present day linguistic zones with pre-Roman peoples⁶



⁵ J M González, *Antiguos Pobladores de Asturias: Protohistoria*, Ayalga Ediciones, Salinas, 1976, p. 40.

^t ... la Asturias protohistórico no constituía un todo uniforme sino que se distinguían en su territorio comarcas etnológicas y culturales diferentes.

⁶ J M González, *Antiguos Pobladores de Asturias: Protohistoria*, Op.cit., page 133.

While no formal census was ever known to have been taken of the Celtic population living in Asturias at the time of contact with the Romans, Pliny asserted that there were 240,000 *liberorum capitum* [free persons] in that region.⁷

Roman era

The length of Roman rule varied in different parts of Spain. The first Roman contact with the Iberian Peninsula began with the start of the Second Punic War in 218BC. During the following century the majority of the peninsula came under Roman rule, simultaneous with the colonisation of northern Italy but preceding the occupation of northern Gaul. However, Roman control of northwest Spain was not to occur until much later (by 19 BC in the case of Asturias). Thus the Mediterranean and Andalusian portions of Spain would ultimately be under Roman control for between six and seven centuries; whilst the northwest, including Asturias, would experience Roman rule for only a little over four centuries until the Suevi invasions, followed by the Visigothic, prised the region from Roman control.

Besides the issue of duration, the impact of each imprint also differed in various parts of the country irrespective of the length of contact. The Roman soldier/settlers of eastern and southern Spain became the predominant populations of those regions. In other parts (such as the north), the Roman presence amounted to little more than administrators and military personnel sent to apply *Lex Romana* over the locals. It is true that, to these groups of existing people, there were added some additional numbers of specialist populations of Roman settlers (such as miners), but nowhere did this compare with the

⁷ Pliny *Naturalis Historiae* III, iii 28, Loeb Classical Library, Heinemann/HUP, Boston, 1947. pp 24-25.

level of colonisation of the Mediterranean littoral. Thus in these areas the pre-existing local populations remained in the majority.

Visigothic

Both because the Visigoths had already come under significant Roman influence even before their invasion of Spain, and also because they were never very large in number compared with the population already resident in the peninsula at the time of their arrival, there was very little specific Visigothic influence on Spain in general or Asturias in particular.

The latter may seem surprising given that it has been stated in some histories that Asturias remained a Visigothic kingdom for much of the time that the rest of the country was under Moorish domination. Yet an alternative viewpoint, expressed by an unnamed muslim writer of the time, writing after the Moorish defeat by the Asturians at Covadonga, disputing the view of Visigothic continuity said of their new leader and their nationhood:

Pelayo is a new king who reigns over a new people.^{8 t}

The historic evidence is incomplete as to whether the remnant Christian realm in Asturias was, during the Moorish epoch, inhabited by Visigoth refugees or was an autochthonous political entity formed largely from and by the then indigenes with only limited Visigothic involvement. J B Trend wrote of “the Gothic legend” and of *sangre de godos* [*blood of the Goths*] as entering into the historiography of the Asturians:

The most quick-witted were the Asturians who were probably of Celtic stock. They took in fugitives from the defeated Visigothic army as an addition to their

⁸ V Fernández & Paco Abril, *Famosos personajes asturianos de todos los tiempos*, Ayalga Ediciones 1978, page 23.

^t *Pelayo es un rey nuevo, que reina sobre un pueblo nuevo.*

number of their fighting men, rewarding them with Asturian wives; and so began the Gothic legend of Asturias.⁹

Whatever the strength of the Visigothic connection, following the victory of King Pelayo at Covadonga in 722AD and before amalgamation with the Crown of Castille, there would be a lineage of twelve, Christian, Asturian monarchs following him until Alfonso III, while the Moors continued their occupation of the rest of the peninsula.

Arabic

The above is not to suggest that there was no Moorish impact on Asturias; just that its duration was brief, with only the southern part of Asturias and the southern reaches of what became the furthest extent of Astur-Leonés (the romance vernacular which eventually sired Bable), subject to anything which could be considered a period of stable occupancy by the Moors. For the rest, Moorish contact was limited to seasonal *aceifas* [raiding parties] and the presence of educated individual Moors in public service at the court.

As a subset of the Arabic imprint was the impact of the *Mozarabic* language and culture on the Christian kingdoms as they spread southwards. The Mozarabic language was the Romance vernacular which developed from Late Latin, with slight Visigothic influences, and which survived alongside Arabic during the Moorish occupation. It lost its Roman script and absorbed many Arabic words; indeed it became a vehicle for the transport of Arabic words into the later languages of Spain. As with the slight Moorish impact, so too Asturias never experienced the extent of Mozarabic influence as occurred elsewhere.

⁹ J B Trend, *Language & History of Spain*, Hutchinson's University Library, London 1953, page 82.

Christian Spain

The defeat of the Moors at Covadonga led to the proclamation of Cangas de Onis as the capital of the Kingdom of Asturias. Later, in early years of the tenth century, the capital would be moved to Oviedo.

Thus with the seminal victory over the Moors, a local Visigothic chief became the first king of Asturias, which itself would become the beginnings of the Spanish Kingdom.

Later following the death of Alfonso the Great (852-910) and the ascension to the throne of Ordoño II and as the Moorish frontier was pushed southwards, the court was moved over the mountains from Oviedo to León situated on the Castilian plateau, converting the Kingdom of Asturias into the Kingdom of Leon. The romance vernacular of this kingdom came to be known as Astur-Leonese and its maximum reach matched that of the boundaries of the kingdom stretching as far as Miranda do Douro (in modern day Portugal) to the south.

In 1067, the kingdoms of Castille and Leon were combined and the capital of the merged realm moved south to Toledo. In 1253, the inequality of this union was underscored when Alfonso X recommended to the Cortes that Castilian be the language of the realm; relegating Astur-Leonese, which itself had been considered the *most direct heir of the vernacular as it was spoken at the court in the Visigothic period and the most faithful preserver of the ancient traits.*¹⁰

¹⁰ R K Spaulding, *How Spanish grew*, University of California, Berkeley, 1943, page 220.

The new kingdom resolved the split personality of its origins and the depreciation of part of its linguistic inheritance by extolling the present power of Castille and the past glory of the Visigoths (as represented in the history of León and Asturias). One early writer wrote of the dominant position of Castille:

But of all Spanna, Castile is the best. The Creator chose to advance her because she was greater in the beginning than the other regions.¹¹

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in the mid thirteenth century promoted the neo-Gothic thesis – in what has been called Castilian historical myth-making.¹² By the mid-fifteenth century, when the Kingdom of Castille and León were in the final decades of expelling the Moors and were already starting to eye the other Christian kingdoms of the peninsula (Navarra, Aragón and Portugal), Alonso de Cartagena (d 1456) in *Anacepha Leonsis* hijacked the Gothic myth of the Asturians by stating that the Castilian Royal house descended from the Goths and that all the *kings of Spain descend from the House of Castille*.¹³

Yet whether such explanations of royal genealogy in the Spanish court were true or false, Asturian society was very different from that of Castille, and even from much of León. In sociological terms, Asturias shared much more with the Basque country, Navarra, Aragón and Catalunya.

Such myth-making would nurture amongst many Asturians over the centuries the belief that their region was the proto-Spain. Pablo San Martín Antuña wrote of *el mitificáu goticismu hispanu* [*the hispanic gothic mythification*] and the *cuadonguismu*

¹¹ J N Hilgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250-1516 Vol 1*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1978, page 9.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pages Vol I, 198-200.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, page 199.

recoquistada [Covadongism of the Reconquest] which arose from it and has affected much of Asturian self-perception.¹⁴

In each of these regions (more so in Asturias, the Basque country and Navarra than Aragón and Catalunya), a strong communal spirit developed at the local level, with the result that there developed governance institutions and practices different from those seen elsewhere on the peninsula. Local populations, whilst accepting their membership within larger kingdoms, insisted on the recognition of their local rights. Thus *fueros* [charters but also meaning *privileges, exemptions*] were granted, first to the larger centres and later smaller ones. In the case of Asturias, the first granted was to Avilés in 1085 AD. The nature of foral incorporation may perhaps have been differently understood by grantee and granter. The former would have been inclined to see such documents as protections for their autonomy at the price of tokens of obeisance. The latter would have been more inclined to see them as the means for committing local populations to loyalty and fiscal obligations in return for ceding some rights [*derechos*].

Pablo San Martín, ardent regionalist of the early twentieth century writing in *Doctrina Asturianista* [Asturianist Doctrine], saw *fuero* as different from *derecho* stating that:

Fuero means exemption or privilege; on the contrary our private *derecho* was born from the impulse of the needs and character of the region, perhaps much earlier than communal legislation had appeared.^{15 t}

San Martín further noted the extension up to the regional level of such status with the birth of a concept of *una region foral* [a foral region] where *un régimen jurídico propio*

¹⁴ P San Martín Antuña, *Doctrina Asturianista*, in *Regionalismo: Doctrina Asturianista – Junta Regionalista del Principado 1918*, Nueva Asturias Fundación, Xixón, 1999, page 59.

¹⁵ Op.cit., page 78.

^t *fuero significa exención o privilegio; por el contrario nuestro derecho privativo nació a impulsos de la necesidades y carácter de la Región.*

[a unique juridical regimen] developed. He stated that such a structure was *desconocida en el resto de España* [unknown in the rest of Spain].¹⁶ From the local *fuero* grew the institution of the regional *junta* {B: *xunta*} which would play a key role in peninsular history half a millenium later, during the time of the French invasions.

An Asturian ethnohistoric study group – *Equipu Büieda* – noted the difference between a juridical perspective from a sociological of not only the concepts of *junta* and *fuero* but also of other communal concepts such as *esfueya*_[5]/*esfoyaza*_[7] [communal husking of corn and creating strands of corn cobs]*, *estaferia*_[*] [communal maintenance of community assets], *andecha*_[26] [communal effort] and *vecera*_[14] [sharing the care of small livestock].¹⁷

In the intervening centuries, the strong sense of communalism was fostered by the greater equality of status between the classes in Asturias than elsewhere in Spain. Two observations have been made in this regard by Claudio Sánchez Albornoz; the first that there was, by the sixteenth century, a greater percentage of the Asturian population who were regarded as *hidalgo* [noble] than elsewhere in Spain, where the *pecheros* [bare breasted ones, or plebeians] were in the majority. Secondly, that these Asturian nobles had less wealth than their southern counterparts. On the first point, Table 1.1 records the *hidalgo:pechero* ratio in different parts of Spain.

¹⁶ Ibid.

* The interview notes with Angel additionally noted that the *esfoyaza* also covered the stranding of onions and garlic.

¹⁷ A I Fernández Rodríguez *et.al*, members of *Grupu Büeida*, *El Pueblu Quirosán: una unidá social*, Cultures 1, ALLA, Uviéu, 1991.

Table 1.1: *Hidalgo/Pechero* ratios in C16 in various Spanish provinces¹⁸

Region	<i>Hidalgo</i>	<i>Pecheros</i>
Asturias, León	1	1
Burgos	1	4
Zamora	1	7
Valladolid	1	8
Galicia, Ávila, Soria	1	10
Salamanca, Madrid, Toledo, Guadalajara, Cuenca, Jaén, Córdoba, Seville, Granada	1	20
Murcia, Segovia	1	40

As to the second point, Sánchez Albornoz noted of the Asturian and Leonese nobility:

(they) constituted a nobility of lower hierarchy (than elsewhere) but quite numerous and very jealous of their prerogatives.^{19 t}

In 1716 Felipe V, upon the defeat of the Catalans and their integration into the Kingdom of Spain, promulgated the laws of the *Nueva Planta* [*New Program*]. These laws commenced a period of proscription of Catalan. Herbert Barrera quoted Rodrigo Villalpando who had said at the time:

The importance of making the language uniform has always been recognised as great and is a signal of the domination or superiority of the princes or nations.^{20 t}

The proscription did not have much impact on Bable as it was not a language in wide official use at the time and therefore (as was also the case during the Franco era) not seen as a threat in the way that Catalan was.

¹⁸ C Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, Edhasa, Barcelona 1956, reprinted 1991, page 671.

¹⁹ Op.cit, page 672.

^t *acabaron constituyendo una capa nobiliaria de inferior jerarquía pero bastante numerosa y muy celosa de sus prerrogativas.*

²⁰ H Barrera, *Lengua e Identidad*, LLAA 27, 1987, page 40.

^t *La importancia de hacer uniforme la lengua se ha reconocido siempre por grande, es un señal de la dominación o superioridad de los Príncipes o naciones.*

The French Revolution of 1788 was to unleash a process of social change whose impact remains felt today. Neighbouring Spain became an early frontline in the face of the advance of new ideas confronting the Spanish equivalent of the *ancien regime*. The Arc de Triomfe in Paris carries the names of battles fought in Spain as the French frontline advanced through the Iberian peninsula. Asturias was to play a significant role in Spain's response to the French invasions and its unique institution, the *junta* {*B: xunta*_[112]}, rose to national significance. Following the abdication of Carlos IV in favour of his son Fernando VII, Napoleon had invaded the peninsula and cut off loyalist parts of the country from each other. Asturias was one such part separated from the seat of national government in Madrid. Thus it was that in September 1808, the Junta General of Asturias expanded its character from the purely regional to becoming a key part of the national patriotic resistance. Francisco Carantoña Álvarez referred to the 1808-09 period of the Junta as *su momento de mayor esplendor* [*its moment of greatest splendor*].²¹

At the end of this time, in 1809, events on the national stage not only led to the willing cession of that quasi-national authority by the Junta, but also the unwilling surrender of many of its historic autonomy rights. Early twentieth century regionalist, Álvaro Fernández de Miranda, a viscount, criticised the spirit of willing cession of authority by those a century earlier writing:

Some of the eminent people, influenced by the ideas of French centralism, infiltrated (the minds) of our people with the new and pernicious theories, which extinguished the Asturian soul.²² †

²¹ F Carantoña Álvarez, *La crisis del antiguo regimen y el comienzo de la revolución liberal (1808-1833)*, H d A III, page 623.

²² P San Martín Antuña, *Doctrina Asturianista, ...*, op.cit., page 80.

† *algunos de ellos eminentes, influidos por las ideas del centralismo francés, infiltraron en nuestros paisanos las nuevas y perniciosas teorías, que extinguieron el alma asturiana.*

The Junta, reduced in significance, would limp on until its virtual suspension in 1826, its last meeting being held in 1834. Its demise did not extinguish regionalist sentiment however.

The second French invasion of 1823 again provided a focus for polarisation within Spain between the liberal and the conservative. The death of Ferdinand VII in 1833 crystallised this polarisation with the birth of Carlism (around the claims of Carlos, the conservative brother of the dead king against those of the late monarch's daughter, Isabela). In subsequent decades, the Asturian political constituency contained Carlists and federalist liberals. Though seemingly at odds from the point of view of much of their competing ideologies, they shared a desire for greater regional autonomy which led to both groups being amongst the founding members of the *Partido Republicano Federal* [*Federal Republican Party*] in 1865 – a party which continued in existence until 1936. Such an alliance of disparates was not unique in the Asturian context and is a theme pursued in Chapter Twelve.

The diversity of supporters of the concept of regionalism was again apparent on the occasion of the *Magna Asamblea Regionalista* [*Great Regionalist Assembly*] held at Covadonga in 1916. This assembly of 6,000 participants brought together *xaimistes*, *mauristes*, *católicos obreros*, *sindicales llabriegues* [*xaimistas* (carlists), *mauristas* (socialists), *catholic workers*, *labour unions*]. What was seen to unite such a disparate group at that time was not only a shared view of regionalism but also the location of the assembly, Covadonga, which was the *perfuete mitificación hestórica dominante* [*perfect, dominant, historic mythification*].²³

²³ P San Martín Antuña, *Doctrina Asturianista ...* op.cit. pp 36,38.

Of significance to linguistic diversity, following a period during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century of reinvigoration by various languages in Spain, was the decree in September 1923 by the dictator Primo de Rivera against separatism. The rationale behind the decree was to *purgar el virus regional* [*purge the regional virus*].²⁴

One correspondent to the editor [L270/459] made reference to similar attitudes a decade later the then Spanish Prime Minister, Francisco Largo Caballero; the writer noted that there had been since the 1920s a growing reaction to linguistic pluralism which provided a foundation for later actions by General Franco, and wrote that the Prime Minister had said:

The autonomies only serve for discord between the states ... that in Spain there were no differences between Castilians, Basques, Catalans, Asturians, Navarrans nor Aragonese ... (and that) Castilian is the envy of all languages.[†]

The October uprising of 1934, triggered by a miners' strike, was the climax of various historic strands which finally interweaved themselves in that climactic event. The increasing militancy of workers over the previous three decades, the democratic vs autocratic tensions of the preceding fifteen years and the economic realities of the global depression of the first years of the 1930s all came together in an event about which Romain Rolland wrote:

Not since the Paris Commune had there been anything so beautiful as the revolutionary movement of Asturias.^{25 †}

²⁴ A Ruiz de la Peña Solar, *La literatura bable: hitos de una frustración* in *Estudios y Trabajos del Seminariu de llingua asturiana II – Asturias 1979*, Universidá d'Uviéu, 1980, page 215.

[†] *las autonomies solo servirán para discordias entre los estados ... en España no había diferencias enre castellanos ni vascos, ni catalanes, ni asturianos, ni navarras ni maños &c ... castellano que es la envidia de todos las lenguas.*

²⁵ D Ruiz, *Introducción a Octubre de 1934*, introduction to *A Camus Rebelión en Asturias*, Ayalga Ediciones, Salinas, 1978, page 10.

Starting in the mining *cuencas* it spread as miners marched on the capital where numerous buildings, such as the historic university library and the *Teatro Campoamor* were gutted by arson. The uprising would leave 1084 dead and 2074 injured in Asturias.

The trigger of the Spanish Civil War is commonly accepted as having been the events of October 1934 (which entered into Spanish history under the title *Octubre Rojo* [*Red October*]). The democratically-elected government was destabilised and in 1937 Francisco Franco y Bahamonde (1892-1975), who had previously been internally exiled to the Canaries, initiated a mutiny there which led to the commencement of the civil conflagration which would beset Spain until his forces claimed victory with the final collapse of the Republican government on 1 April 1939.

During that Civil War most of the province remained loyal to the Republican government, however Oviedo aligned itself with the Francoist rebels and sustained a 3 month siege by the forces of the Republican government which ended on 8 October 1936; a siege second only in duration to the more famous one at Toledo.

In the early stage of the Civil War, there was once again the establishment of a proto-national government due to the physical separation from the rest of Republican Spain. From 24 August 1937 to the fall of Gijón nearly two months later on 20 October, there existed a *Consejo Soberano de Asturias y León* [*Sovereign Council of Asturias and León*] under the leadership of General Belarmino. This authority issued currency (both specie and notes) that became known as *Belarminos*.

¹ *Desde la Comuna de Paris no se había visto nada tan hermoso como el movimiento*

The fall of Gijón saw an exodus of 10,000 political refugees who fled by boat to England and France. Such a significant departure of political activists did not weaken the Asturian temperament with the result that the Franco regime (mindful that the mining zones had been the crucible of *Octubre Rojo* [*Red October*]) exhibited:

A peculiar treatment ... reserved for the Asturian mining zone, practising there a demagoguery and an intense police vigilance during the forties.²⁶ †

Franco's victory brought with it a renewal of repression against minority languages in Spain. Catalan and Basque were to be particular targets of this. The indicators of this started very early in the Civil War; in October 1937 the then pro-Franco ABC newspaper printed the following attack on the use of Catalan:

.... The brazen and provocative use of a dialect, when in these moments in the Spanish nation it is an impertinence to use it in public.²⁷ †

And on the occasion of the second anniversary of the occupation of Bilbao, General Franco said:

In the psychological order your region is like the other Spanish regions, with their dialects, with their human identity. There we meet the origins of tradition, but we encounter them underneath the mother race, underneath the mother language, the language that we live united to Castile, the language that brought the Gospel to America, the language with which our navigators set out upon the world, the language that has given life to millions of beings and the language that we express ourselves by today and which we all understand.²⁸ †

revolucionario de Asturias.

²⁶ D Ruiz, *Introducción a Octubre de 1934*, op.cit., 1978, page 34.

† *al tratamiento peculiar ... reservó a la cuenca hullera asturiana, practicando simultáneamente sobre ella la demagogia y una intense vigilancia policial en la década de los años 40.*

²⁷ J Uria, *Ideología y lengua durante el franquismo: el case asturiano*, LLAA 18, 1985, page 26.

† *el uso descarado y provocativo de un dialecto, que en estos momentos y en la España nacional es de todo punto impertinente usar en público.*

²⁸ Ibid.

† *En el orden psicológico vuestra region es como las otras regions españolas, con sus dialectos, con su sentido humano. Allí encontramos los veneros de la tradición, pero los encontramos debajo de la raza madre, debajo de la lengua madre, la lengua que vivimos unidos a Castilla, la lengua en que llevamos el Evangelio hacia América, la lengua en que vuestros navegantes marchaban por el mundo, la lengua en que dio vida a millones de seres y la lengua en que nos expresamos hoy y que todos comprendemos.*

However, notwithstanding such stands against Catalan and Basque, Bable was left in a category of its own and, in the words of Jorge Uria *no desdecía en nada las directrices de una propaganda oficial franquista ferozmente dialectófoba* [did not clash with any of the objectives of the ferociously dialectophobic official Francoist propaganda].²⁹

1.3 POLITICS

Aside from the general left-right polarity of Spanish politics, Asturias also has had two conflicting political traditions – on the one hand a nostalgic conservatism as in the tendency to traditionalist Carlism* in the nineteenth century and on the other a change-seeking left wing, sometimes revolutionary, politics most notably in the twentieth century. Despite their fundamental differences in ideological roots, a common thread through both traditions was a suspicion of power imposed from outside the region. This shared suspicion on occasion created a type of symbiotic relationship between these apparently competing tendencies.

The radical left wing politics of the region was itself made up of two disparate strands – anarcho-syndicalism and communism. The former until the Civil War had its stronghold in Gijón, while the latter was predominant in Oviedo and the mining centres.³⁰ G H Meaker, who described anarchism as having *assumed the form of a mass movement and surrogate religious faith for the dispossessed*,³¹ noted that anarcho-syndicalism became *an authentic and durable amalgam of anarchist and syndicalist impulses that was unique to Spain*.³²

²⁹ Ibid.

* Carlism was a reactionary, religious movement rallied under the banner of Carlos and his claims to the throne following the death Fernando VII. It championed a medievalist view of the world, opposing liberalism which swept Europe in the early nineteenth century.

³⁰ G H Meaker, *The Revolutionary Left in Spain, 1914-1923*, Stanford UP, Stanford, 1974, page 1.

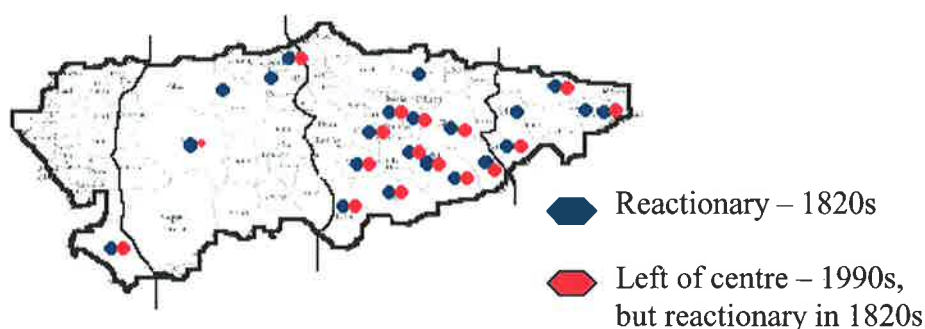
³¹ Ibid.

³² Op.cit., page 2.

The degree of the different penetration in different areas was revealed by the fact that in 1910 46.5% of workers' societies in Gijón affiliated with anarchists, compared with 32% with socialists. On the other hand, no workers' societies in Oviedo aligned themselves with anarchists.³³

Another characteristic of the political traditions of the region has been the polarity of views between Oviedo and the rest of the region. In the nineteenth century, bourgeois liberalism prevailed in the capital whilst traditionalist views were entrenched elsewhere, not just in rural areas, but even in centres like Gijón. By contrast, in the twentieth century an apparent 'ideological flip' occurred, with Oviedo becoming the centre for conservative politics whilst social democratic politics prevailed in many of the erstwhile conservative rural communities. Map 1.3 identifies those communities which in the 1820s were considered *realistas* [royalists] and *ultrareaccionario* [extreme reactionary] and yet by the council elections of 1995 elected left of centre (PSOE and the extreme left IU) councillors in greater number than those from the conservative PP.

Map 1.3: Changing allegiances from reactionary to radical 1820s-1990s



Notes: Map includes those locations in the 1820s which were reactionary and did not become radical by the 1990s; but excludes those left of centre locations from the 1990s which were not reactionary in 1820s.

³³ J Uria González, *La crisis de la Restauración (1898-1931)*, H d A IV, page 778.

The deduction from this map is that, particularly in the rural/mining communities of the Central zone, there has occurred what might appear to be ‘ideological flipping’ and which may be explained by the growing significance of the mining sector in much of that area. Nevertheless, an alternative proposition considered later is that the relationship between reaction and radicalism in rural and mining communities need not indicate flipping but a rational evolution..

Focussing on more recent years, the political voting patterns of Asturians since the restoration of democracy in 1975 have shown a continued, though declining, level of support for left of centre candidates (principally the social democratic *Partido Socialista de Obreros Españoles* – PSOE - and the latter-day Communists and their allies, *Izquierda Unida* – IU). There has also been the emergence of an Asturianist Party (*Partido Asturianista* – PAS) and other regionalist parties such as *Andecha Astur* [*Asturian Cooperative Action*] and *Liga Asturiana* [*Asturian League*] . The conservative side of politics has, in the 1990s, been represented by *Partido Popular* (PP), taking the baton from the predecessor *Alianza Popular* and *Coalición Popular* before that. A centrist party, *Centristas Asturianos* (CAS), flourished in the mid-1980s, but has not since fared very strongly, though centrism has remained the tradition of two or three rural counties in the province.

Table 1.2 shows the voting percentages of these parties in the four elections for the regional parliament held in the region since the enacting of the Statute of Autonomy up to 1995.³⁴

³⁴ LNE 21/5/95 and 30/5/95

Table 1.2 – Voting percentages in regional elections

		1983	1987	1991	1995
LEFT	IU	10.7	12.2	15.0	16.5
	PSOE	52.1	39.3	41.4	33.6
TOTAL LEFT		62.8	51.5	56.4	50.1
RIGHT	PP	30.3	25.5	30.8	42.1
OTHER	CAS	3.8	18.7	6.9	3.1
	PAS	..	1.2	2.7	3.2
TOTAL OTHER		3.8	19.9	9.6	6.3

While the overall vote for left of centre parties has declined, the makeup of that vote altered as radical left share grew from 17% of the total left vote of in 1983 to 32.9% in 1995 (ie approaching half the share of the mainstream left party, PSOE). Surveys of voter concern over the period 1991 to 1995, reveal part of the cause. The percentage of those who believed the industrial sector had worsened over the previous five years rose from 46% to 78%; while for the mining sector the figures were 67% and 84%. Both sectors underwent significant rationalisation and restructuring as a result of policies of the national PSOE government imposed as part of the process of Spain's entry to the European Union.³⁵

More marked, however, has been the polarisation within the region. In local government elections held concurrently with the regional, Oviedo in 1995 returned two conservative (PP) councillors for every one from the left-of-centre (PSOE & IU). Though not by as great a margin, a reverse situation applied in Gijón, Avilés, and the mining *cuencas* of Siero, Langreo and Mieres (in the latter two the radical IU taking more than half of the left-of-centre vote).

³⁵ *ibid.*

Out of 78 councils, PSOE won absolute majorities in 31 and was the leading party (without achieving an absolute majority) in 13. Thus the social democratic party, the main party of the Left, dominated the electoral map of the rural and mining cities of Asturias. By contrast PP only won absolute majorities in 12 counties, the IU in 3 (all mining centres) and the Centrists in one; Independents won majorities in the remaining six.

Also of note was the fact that, in 1995, strongly regionalist candidates (PAS as well as *Liga Asturiana* and *Andecha Astur*) had their greatest support in mining areas; the underlying cause, according to one such candidate elected to the council of Aller:

There is a need to change the mentality of the people. We continue being rooted to HUNOSA and the mine ... the key is 'to empathise with the problems of the *paisanos* [country folk].³⁶ †

Andecha Astur has been described by one of its leaders as *leftist and nationalist* but encompassing both those for and against independence for Asturias, while supporting methods of peaceful change.³⁷

This chapter has, after some treatment of Asturian geography, largely dealt with the history of the region and the political outcomes of that history. The next chapter deals with the economic and demographic aspects of Asturias.

³⁶ Alfredo Pérez Argüelles quoted in LNE, 7/5/97

† *Hay que cambiar la mentalidad de la gente. Seguimos arraigados a HUNOSA y la mina ... La clave es 'colar en los problemas de los paisanos'.*

³⁷ Xulio Elife Raposo, mayoral candidate for *Andecha Astur* for Avilés, LNE 12/5/95

PART A – THE SETTING

CHAPTER TWO – ECONOMICS & DEMOGRAPHY

Overview

A long history of agriculture and fishing, combined with a resurgent mining sector along with its downstream industry in the twentieth, have all affected both the character of the Asturians and their vernacular. In this chapter some key elements of these economic sectors are examined; including the current crises facing each of these sectors. Also of significance have been demographic factors. Emigration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the aging of the population over the past decade have also had impacts on the Asturian language and its dialects, these issues are also examined.

2.1 ECONOMICS

The Asturian is a mixed economy with sizeable agricultural, fishing, mining and manufacturing sectors. The history of the first three of these is extensive, the latter has been developed only over the last century.

In the brief analysis of each sector which follows, there appear recurring themes of reduction in the economic impact of each sector over the past decades and an even greater reduction in the levels of people employed in each. There are some sector-specific reasons for the declines in each sector (such as general reduction in fish stocks); more significant, however, has been the two-phase impact of Spain's economic transition since the 1960s.

Asturias fared well in the state-sponsored Spanish industrial boom of the 1960s. Per capita GDP in those years was better than for Spain at large and was underpinned by the significant coal mining and steel industry investments of the national holding company *INI*. The death of Franco brought a rush to economic liberalism in the country, spurred on by the desire to be admitted to the European Union (achieved on 1 January 1986). *INI* was broken up and its erstwhile investments subjected to harsh economic realities of the liberalising market place.

For its part agriculture, which up until the 1980s had benefited from the increasing prosperity (and therefore consumption) of Spanish households in the sixties and seventies whilst being protected from the economic exigencies of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the EU, suddenly found itself being restructured and 'quota-ed'.

By the 1990s economic liberalism for the manufacturing and mining sectors, along with the peculiarities of the EU CAP for agriculture and fishing had brought average GNP per capita down below the national average with negative impacts on each of the major sectors (mining, industry and agriculture). State subsidies for industry went and agriculture came under the control of production quotas of Brussels.

In the ten year period 1985 to 1994, total employment in Asturias fell 35,000 (or 10.2%) to 308,000.¹

¹ LNE 8.12.96.

2.1.1 Rural Asturias and Agriculture

Landholding patterns have, at least since the Middle Ages and probably earlier, differed from the general Spanish pattern of *señorialismo* [aristocratic landholding] and *latifundia* [large estates] forms of landholding. This was due both to the region's topography and the Celtic individualism of its early settlers. On page 13 it was noted that Asturian society was more egalitarian than other parts of Spain.

Mortimer Chambers et.al. assert that *seigneurialism* (*señorialismo* in Castilian) was the predominant land owning or controlling regime in much of western Europe until the eve of the Industrial Revolution with some additional evidence of *latifundia* in Spain and Italy. The former involved the authority of nobles or clerics over land which might either be owned by themselves or be in some form of tenure by peasants; in the latter case landless peasants worked for land-owning nobles.²

Figures for the late eighteenth century show that only 9.5% of Asturian landholdings were under *señorios* (a third of those being ecclesiastic), the remaining 90.5% were *realengo* [a word which came to mean *secure tenure* or *freehold* though originally meant *royal domain*, not unlike the concept of Crown Land tenure in Australia] which meant they were under the effective *control* of the occupiers.³ Thus in contrast to the rest of Spain, it could be said that:

The Asturian *señorio* lacked the importance in terms of the reach of his authority, as much economic as personal, over the vassals.^{4 t}

² M Chambers, R. Grew, D. Herlihy, TK Rabb & I Woloch, *The Western Experience - Volume B: The Early Modern Era*, McGraw Hill, New York, 1995, pages 590-1.

³ B Barreiro Mallon, *Cocejos y Señorios Asturianos en la Edad Moderna*, H d A III, page 552.

⁴ Op.cit., page 556.

As to the occupiers of land under *realengo*, they had originally been land-occupiers by royal permission. But as time passed their tenure of the land became stronger, starting first with the right not to suffer summary eviction. A Royal Order of 1785:

established that in Asturias, in the future, no settler could be thrown (off the land) at the end of a lease, when and always the land was well cultivated and the rent paid with relative punctuality^{5 t}

The results were, from the earliest times, a much stronger tie of each farming family to its land and a strong communal spirit between families and within small farming communities.

This communalism, and the organisational models it inspired, was first noted in records on the subject which appear from as early as the eleventh century. What have been called the *antiguas asambleas vecinales* [*ancient neighbourhood assemblies*] were developed to organise the community aspects of village life. As Elena Díaz Palacios noted:

The village council, the meeting of good men, that we see consolidating itself from the eleventh century would have among other capacities, that of managing the social space of the village^{6 t}

From such beginnings grew a strong sense of community, of ‘us-ness’ among Asturian rural communities. The establishment of *Conceyu Bable* [*Bable Council*] in 1974 and *Conceyu Abierta* [*Open Council*] in the nineteen eighties might thus be considered modern inheritors of this tradition of neighbourhood assemblies.

^t *El señorío asturiano carece de importancia en cuanto al alcance de sus cargas, tanto económicas como personales, sobre los vasallos*

⁵ R Anes Álvarez, *El Campesinado en la Edad Moderna*, H d A III, op cit., pp 493-4.

^t *establecía que en Asturias, en el futuro, el colono no pudiese ser echado al terminar el plazo del arriendo, siempre y cuando cultivase bien la tierra y pagase con relativa puntualidad la renta..*

⁶ E Díaz Palacios, *La Sociedad Rural y su Dinamización*, in A Roza Iglesias *et.al*, *Orígenes: Arte y cultura en Asturias – Siglos VII-XV.*, Orígenes y Lunwerg Editores SA, Oviedo 1993, page 275.

An important consequence of the lack of large scale farming has been the proliferation of very small landholdings compared with the nation at large. In 1972 the average size holding in Asturias was only 11.86 hectares compared with 19.72 ha for the Spanish average; furthermore 91% of Asturian farms were less than ten hectares in size. Ten years earlier 99% of Asturian farms had been less than ten hectares in size.⁷

This pattern of smaller sized farms, which needed only an extended family for their cultivation, resulted in a strong vinculation between family and farm, which *latifundia* (with its large core of landless rural peasantry providing the labour) did not produce elsewhere in Spain. As stated by Mari Cruz Alonso Antolín *et.al.*:

The house in Asturias is considered as the neurological centre of the organic structure of the peasant family. No historic fact, however important it could have been, has diminished its importance. This is thus, not only for the physical fact of the building which lodges the peasant family, but also moreover, the house is an agrarian exploitation unit, generally small, integrated with its lands for working which surround it, the beasts for its labour and the implements for their use.^{8 t}

The movement away from farming communities of supernumerary children in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is noted elsewhere. This movement left behind sufficient of each generation of children to manage the farms. However, since the severe decline in farm incomes commenced a quarter of a century ago, a new phenomenon has resulted. Almost all of the younger generation began to leave the farms, with only their grandparents (or perhaps parents) left to manage them, rather than siblings. Thus, not

^t *El concejo aldeano, la reunión de los boni homines, que vemos consolidarse desde el siglo XI, tendría, entre otras muchas competencias, la de esa gestión comunitaria del espacio social de la aldea.*

⁷ M C Alonso Antolín *et.al.*, *Aspectos sociológicos de la emigración asturiana*, appearing in *Indianos*, Monograph of the *Los Cuadernos del Norte: Revista Cultural*, Caja de Ahorros de Asturias, Oviedo, 1984, page 77.

⁸ *Ibid.*

^t *La casa en Asturias está considerada como el centro neurálgico de la estructura orgánica de la familia campesina. Ningún hecho histórico, por importante que haya sido, ha menoscabado su importancia. Esto es así, no sólo por el hecho físico del edificio que alberga a una familia*

only have the total numbers of farmers decreased, the average age of the farming population has also escalated dramatically.

Between 1985 and 1994 36,400 Asturians quit farming and fishing – a reduction in the rural workforce of 44.4%. In terms of age profile the number of dairy farmers over 65 increased from 265 in 1994 to 1103 in 1996 with clear indications of worse to come. In 1994 34.7% of dairy farmers were over 50, this had grown to 57.4% only two years later.⁹

Agricultural production

Beans, apples and corn have long been key products grown in Asturias in addition to the livestock and dairy industries (based on cattle, sheep and goats). These significant sectors of Asturian agriculture are joined by chestnuts and a small vineyard sector.

*Maíz*_[29] [*corn*] is perhaps the most obvious agricultural product to the outside observer due to the sight of strings of corn ears tied together hanging out to dry from the balconies of almost every *horreu*_[25] [*barn*] in the region. The ritual of husking corn and tying the ears in strings – *la esfoyaza*_[7] / *la esfueya*_[5] {C: *la deshojadura*} – is done each *seronda*_[48] {C: *otoño*} [*autumn*] and was traditionally an occasion when *los güelos contaben historias a los niños y los mozos cortexaben* [*the randparents told stories and the young people courted*].¹⁰

The bean industry is much prized with the annual harvest of *fabes*_[40] {C: *alubias* or *habas*} [medium sized white *beans*] being assessed with almost the same attention as a

campesina, sino porque además, la casa es una explotación agraria, generalmente pequeña, integrada por las tierras de labor que la circundan, las bestias para su labor y los aperos al uso.

⁹ LNE 20.1.97.

¹⁰ Q064.

grape vintage, with the differences in the individual quality of the annual harvests of beans being subject to much comment.

The apple industry, harvesting apples from the *pumarada*_[*] {C: *manzanar*} [*apple orchard*],* has sustained the autochthonous cider industry of Asturias, first mentioned by the geographer Strabo, with its unique *sidra*_[57] [*cider*] and the cultural traditions which pertain to it (such as *escanciar*_[*] [to pour into a *culín*_[12] or glass from a height of more than a metre over a sawdust-covered floor] and *espicha*_[*] [the festival-connected with the tapping of a large cider barrel]).

Most cattle in Asturias today are made up of breeds introduced long ago; however, there are two autochthonous breeds – cattle of the *raza asturiana* [*Asturian race*] – which are called *Xata*_[40], or more familiarly *xatín*, compared with the more frequent *vaca*_[97] {Bable plural: *vaques*_[78]} for other cows, whose numbers by the 1990s had declined to 2,000 head.¹¹ There have been efforts to promote one of the breeds, the short-legged *casina* considered ideal for mountain herding.

While the European Union has provided support for much of Spanish agriculture, Asturian producers have not been significant recipients of such aid. In the period 1986-1995, Asturian agriculture received just 0.86% of aid disbursements,¹² despite the fact that its share of Spain's agricultural output in 1990 was 2.1%.¹³ The reason for this sidelining of Asturian agriculture was caused by the *reduced size of the productive units*

* *Pumarada* is a Bable word of ancient origin; it is related to *pumar* {C: *manzano*} [*apple tree*], from the Latin *poma* [*apple*]. While some have believed the word came via the French *pomme* [*apple*], variants (such as the older word for apple orchard - *pumariega*) were first recorded in tenth century documents; vide Elviro Martínez, *La manzana a través de la Historia*, in *Sidra y Manzana de Asturias*, (ed) J A Fidalgo Sánchez, LNE, Oviedo, 1992, page 22.

¹¹ L286/243.

¹² LNE 17/7/97

¹³ BANESTO *Anuario del Mercado Español 1993*, BANESTO, Madrid, 1993, page 197.

and the low productivity of their livestock[†] according to Jesús Arango, a former regional minister of agriculture.¹⁴

Rural depopulation has been the result. According to some projections, and because of CAP, only 20% of the livestock industry has a guaranteed future which will result in even fewer livestock farmers.¹⁵

2.1.2 Fishing

The Asturian fishing tradition predates the arrival of the Romans as records reveal the use of boats by the ancient Astures. And in 1147AD the Reconquest chronicles of King Alfonso VII recorded that Asturians *tienen bien mostrado su valor tanto por tierra como sobre las olas del mar* [have shown their great courage as much on land as on the waves of the sea].¹⁶ Along with this tradition of fishing developed the accoutrements of fishing culture, including unique language characteristics.

Though significant in the local economy, unlike neighbouring Galicia, where fishing has developed into a global enterprise with fishing fleets out of Vigo reaching as far as the waters off Western Australia, the fishing sector of Asturias is still focussed on the waters of the Bay of Biscay. The organisational structure is also different, two of the world's top ten fishing corporations are based in Galicia reflecting the significant corporatising of that sector in that region necessitated by the fact that Galician fishers take one quarter of all the fish brought in by European fishers. In Asturias, however, not only is the sector much smaller, the average organisational unit is as well. In 1996 there

[†] el reducido tamaño de las explotaciones y la baja productividad de su actividad ganadera.

¹⁴ LNE 17.7.97

¹⁵ LNE 5.9.96

¹⁶ E Barriuso Fernández, *La lengua marinera de Asturias*, RIDEA, Oviedo, 1987, page 18.

were a total of 541 fishing boats registered in the province with a total of 1,787 fishers (compared with 8,687 boats in Galicia with 28,000 fishers)¹⁷.

The one similarity with Galicia, and in a theme paralleling other sectors of the Asturian economy, has been the increased application of new technology which has reduced the employment needs of the sector. By 1996 the tonnage of the fleet had suffered a 37% decline due to reduced catches and EU fishing policies; the impact on employment, reflecting the increased application of technology, was more severe with the number of fishers going down 59% from 1963 levels.¹⁸ Further EU policy decisions in the late 1990s (based upon falling fish stocks in the Atlantic) will almost certainly further reduce employment in the Asturian fishing sector.

The largest individual fishing community consisted of the *pixuetos* [a possible translation is *the fish active ones* from *pix – fish – and ueto – activity*]¹⁹ of Cudillero where there were 90 boats and 267 fishers; the second largest fishing community being the adjacent port of San Juan de La Arena (with 67 and 77 respectively).²⁰ The Pixuetos are noted for having their own dialect – *Pixuetu*.

There are two interesting sociodemographic features of the fishing population (especially in terms of survival of fishing argots). The first has been the decrease in the proportion of fishers who are still active (compared with those who have retired). Already by 1985, less than half of all fishers (47.7%) were still active in the industry.²¹

¹⁷ SADEI citing statistics provided by Consejería de Medios Rural y Pesca, www.sadei.es and *Datos Estadísticos do Xunta de Galicia*, 1999, page 384.

¹⁸ SADEI citing statistics provided by Consejería de Medios Rural y Pesca. Op.cit.

¹⁹ LNE 31.8.96

²⁰ LNE 30.11.96 & 27.4.97

²¹ Op.cit., page 28.

The second has been the phenomenon, especially in smaller fishing localities, of seasonal employment in the fishing sector being complemented by rural employment for the balance of the year.²² Thus there has been the possibility of some linguistic transfer between the fishing ports of the coast and their rural hinterlands.

2.1.3 Mining

The history of mining in Asturias dates from pre-Roman times, with some evidence indicating it may have commenced about 1500 BC.²³ The principal mining activities during this period were iron and copper mining.²⁴ Whether gold mining also started in this early period is the subject of some disagreement between historians; but what is certain is that it was a significant industry in Roman times.

Mining grew substantially during the Roman epoch. Iron mining was further developed in response to military needs with 32 iron works supplying all local legionary requirements for iron armaments by the fifth century. Under Roman rule new iron ore resources were discovered and exploited across the breadth of Asturias.²⁵ There was, also during this time, the mining of lead, silver and mercury.²⁶ In addition, the discovery of a gold province in the west of Asturias led to significant growth of that mining sector and led to it being the biggest gold producing region in Spain.²⁷ It has been estimated that 230,000 kg of gold were extracted during Roman times.

²² Op.cit., page 27.

²³ J L Maya González, *La explotación minera y la metalúrgica romana en Asturias*, H d A I, page 194.

²⁴ Op.cit..pp 194, 197.

²⁵ Op.cit, page 197.

²⁶ Op.cit., pages 209-210.

²⁷ C Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, XXXIII:78

There is no clear evidence as to how labour was sourced for pre-Roman mining in Asturias; however, in Roman times the industry was worked largely by the dedicated use of slave, prison or mercenary labour.²⁸

In the post-Roman period, it appears that mining ceased to be an independent sector of the economy, being reduced to a part of village economy. This change was doubtless caused by the disappearance of large consumers of mineral output such as the Roman army and treasury. The Visigothic period and the successor Kingdom of Asturias did not have such large sources of demand. Thus with demand falling, the only viable mining enterprises were those small units which could integrate their mining activity with rural production. Guillermo Morales Matos and Ramón Alvargonzález Rodríguez commented that until the middle of the nineteenth century:

The greater part of the mines were in the mountains, and their workforce combined the field workers with the rural unemployed, a duality which has maintained itself until current times for the inhabitants of the rural zones surrounding the mines The mines did not induce the appearance of a mining populace in the form of barracks and dormitories as they were called until the twenties in this century.²⁹ †

The needs for metal by the Christian armies as they reconquered Spain came to be met from mines and foundries elsewhere on the peninsula. And by the fall of Granada, when Christian Spain began its reach out to the rest of the world, its treasury needs were to be met from the riches of the Americas.

²⁸ J L Maya González, *La explotación minera y la metalurgia romana en Asturias*, op.cit, pp 208-9

²⁹ G Morales Matos & R Alvargonzález Rodríguez, *El Hábitat Urbana en Asturias (I)* in, HdA III, p 676.
† *la mayor parte de las minas fueron de montaña, y su fuerza de trabajo combinaba las labores del campo con las de asalariado en ellas, dualidad que se ha mantenido hasta nuestros días para los habitantes de la zona rural en torno de las minas las minas no indujeron la aparición del poblado minero en forma de cuarteles, barridas, barracones o 'colominas' que de todas estas formas se llamaban, hasta los años veinte de nuestro siglo.*

It would not be until after the European Industrial Revolution provided a surge in demand for coal and iron that attention would again be turned in Asturias, leading to the reinvigoration of the mining sector, changing it from artesanal to industrial. Indeed Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos in 1790 proposed the establishment of a mineralogical institute which would enable the introduction of mining technologies and promote the training of locals to use them.

But it would take until well into the second half of the nineteenth century, and even the early twentieth century before the mining industry would again become an independent and significant sector of the regional economy, with its own labour force and capital base. As Bustiello has commented on the development by the enterprise *Hullera Española del Marqués de Comillas* of the integrated mining community in Mieres in 1914:

It could be considered as the first urban enclave of the mining area, without its inhabitants linked with the surrounding rural area.^{30 t}

Employment figures confirm this. In 1860 7,000 were employed in all parts of mining and downstream processing. By 1896 there were 27,000 (12,000 miners, 5,000 metallurgic workers and 10,000 in other mining related industries). This would become 35,000 by 1901.³¹ After the depredations of the Civil War and the economic difficulties of the immediate post-War period the mining sector grew again, peaking in the 1960s. However, economic restructuring forced by more competition from European and world marketplaces forced the industry into a period of steep decline with consequent massive losses in employment.

³⁰ Ibid.

^t *puede ser considerado como el primer enclave urbano de la cuenca minera, sin vinculación de sus habitantes con el medio rural.*

Two significant points concerning the rural-mining linkage can be made from the historical and statistical record of the mining industry in Asturias:

- There was a close linkage between the mining and rural sectors until about a century ago. Furthermore, even after the growing 'industrialisation' of the mining sector, its geographical location in the rural valleys would ensure close sociological and cultural links.
- The labour needs of the mining sector were at all times met largely from the rural sector. Initially as farmers worked both the land and mines; and later as the 'surplus' children of rural families were forced to seek productive activity away from the land and became the mining sector's source of labour.

Thus it is not surprising that the mining community has shared many Asturianist beliefs with rural people, though the ideological underpinnings may have differed (eg the Carlism of the rural populace versus the anarcho-sindicalism of the mining workforce).

On the subject of language, being closely linked with rural areas, mining communities have had strong Bable traditions. In addition, as the mining sector grew in the late nineteenth century there started the a mining-specific lexicon. César Rubín compiled a core lexicon of *Minero-Astur*, which he referred to as:

The miners' language, their own language ... words were being born which, undoubtedly, slowly increased the language of the Asturian mines.³² †

This lexicon had its roots in Bable rather than Castilian:

This language has something of what occurs in the regional vernacular language or Bables, variable from one zone to another.³³ †

³¹ J M Moro Barreñada, *El Sexenio Revolucionario y la Restauración Monárquica (1868-1902)*, HdA III, page 710.

³² C Rubín, *Diccionario Minero-Astur*, IDEA, Oviedo, 1985, page 9.

† El lenguaje minero, una lengua propia ... iban naciendo los vocablos que, indudablemente, aumentaban paulatinamente el lenguaje de las minas astures

³³ Op.cit., page 10.

2.1.4 Industry

At the beginning of the European Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth century Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos had proposed the establishment of a minerological institute to promote the development of mining and downstream industry. The fulfillment of his vision would be a century in coming as Asturias missed out on the necessary industrial investment for want of sufficient capital-raising capacity within the region. The structure of Asturian agriculture was more conducive to the generation of surplus labour than capital.

It would not be until the late nineteenth century when the flow of remittances from *Indianos* – successful Asturian expatriates and returnees – created a capital stream for local industry. In particular the creation of an Asturian banking sector by some of these returnees enabled a high proportion of this new capital flow to be invested within the region.

A failure by Asturian industrialists to capitalise on the trade gains which Spain's neutrality during World War I had delivered, brought severe economic recession to the region by the early nineteen twenties. As Gerald H Meaker commented:

Asturian industrialists had neither modernised their methods of extraction nor integrated their holdings; nor had they had the foresight even to increase their production of coke, which was more easily salable.³⁴

The 1950s and 1960s saw a boom in state-sponsored industrial investment focussed on heavy industry. The city of Avilés was a key destination of much of this investment once it was selected as the site of a massive iron and steel facility for state-owned

^t Tiene este lenguaje algo de lo que ocurre en la lengua vernácula regional o bables, variables desde una a otra zona

³⁴ G H Meaker, *The Revolutionary Left in Spain, 1914-1923*, op.cit., page 355.

ENSIDESA. So significant was the investment that by 1964 Avilés would be described as *uno de los complejos industriales más poderosos de España* [one of the most powerful industrial complexes in all of Spain].³⁵

State investment, though the government holding enterprise *Instituto Nacional de Industria*, dominated industrial investment in the region, and the by the early 1970s held half of its investments in Asturias. The substantial size of this portfolio meant that *INI* companies provided 45% of the Gross Value Added to the province's economy, employed 1/3 of the industrial workforce and 13% of its active population. Hardly surprising then that Asturias was given the nickname *Inilandia*.³⁶

Investments in zinc and aluminium added to the industrial boom in Asturias; such that by 1975 35% of the region's GDP came from industry (with an additional 9.6% from mining).³⁷

Large increases in production and employment resulted from these investments; with labour being imported into the region from other parts of the country, particularly Andalucía. Steel production in the region increased from 131,000t in 1940 to 896,825t by 1962.³⁸

Though by 1990, Asturian industry still represented 3.9% of national industrial production (compared with a population share of 2.8%), as with agriculture, it suffered the vicissitudes of economic liberalisation in the post-Franco era, including the break up

³⁵ S Alonso Fueyo, *Asturias: España en Paz*, op.cit., page 86.

³⁶ P de Silva Cienfuegos Jovellanos, *El regionalismo asturiano*, Ayalga Ediciones, Salinas, 1976, p 54.

³⁷ G Morales Matos, *Evolución reciente de la población en Asturias*, RIDEA Boletín 103, 1978, p 527.

³⁸ Op. cit., page 123.

of *INI*. Asturian industry which employed 96,600 in 1985 was only employing 60,400 by 1994.³⁹

2.1.5 General economic well-being

Whereas Asturian GDP per capita was above the national average in the nineteen sixties, it fell below in subsequent decades. By 1997 only eleven of Asturias' seventy eight counties were at or above the national average level of economic development.⁴⁰

This relative economic decline has reflected itself in a higher level of unemployment; which at 75,800 in 1977 represented 18.5% of the working age population of Asturias (compared with 15% for Spain).⁴¹

2.2 DEMOGRAPHY

The demographic challenge for Asturias can be summed up in the finding from the 1991 survey of Francisco Llera Ramo that while 51% of those aged 60+ regarded Bable as their childhood language; only 15% of 16-17 year olds did so. The situation has been exacerbated by emigration and reduced birth rates resulting in a much lower size of the young age cohort compared with that of their parents and grandparents.

2.2.1 Population

Through the 1980s and 1990s, the population of Asturias declined after what had been continuous though slowing growth until the 1970s. The population of Spain at large continued to grow throughout. By 1981 Asturias had a population of 1,116,699 (up

³⁹ BANESTO, *Anuario del Mercado Español*, op.cit, 1993.

⁴⁰ LNE 8.3.97

⁴¹ LNE 16.3.97

about 70,000 on a decade earlier); this fell to 1,098,725 (a reduction of nearly 18,000 or an average of 1,800 per year) over the decade to 1991. From 1991 to 1997, the population continued to decline at much the same average annual rate falling to 1,087,885 in 1997.

Table 2.2 gives the population figures for the 25 most populous *concejos* {B:*conceyus*} [counties] according to the census statistics in 1991 and 1996.⁴²

Table 2.2 – Top 25 counties – 1960, 1991 & 1996 census

<u>County</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>Δ '60-'96</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>Δ '91-'96</u>	<u>1996</u>
Gijón (Central)	124,714	+120%	260,267	+	264,381
Oviedo (C)	127,058	+57.4%	196,051	+	200,049
Avilés (C)	48,503	+76.7%	84,582	+	85,696
Mieres	70,871	-27.4%	53,170	▼	51,423
Langreo	65,860	-23.2%	51,481	*	50,597
Siero	34,574	+34.0%	45,324	+	46,315
Castrillon	12,382	+80.6%	21,216	+	22,361
San Martín del Rey Aurelio	28,258	-21.7%	23,616	▼	22,129
Cangas del Narcea	20,980	-13.7%	19,083	▼	18,110
Corvera de Asturias	9,813	+68.2%	17,072	▼	16,502
Aller	28,689	-43.0%	17,373	▼	16,347
Valdés (Lluarca)	25,211	-36.2%	16,672	▼	16,073
Laviana	14,946	+0.9%	15,105	*	15,085
Villaviciosa	20,333	-28.9%	15,093	▼	14,465
Lena	16,457	-13.0%	14,096	+	14,323
Tineo	20,347	-33.3%	14,857	▼	13,578
Llanes	17,451	-24.5%	13,382	*	13,184
Grado	16,343	-26.3%	12,048	-	12,051
Gozón	12,426	-8.2%	11,505	*	11,410
Llanera	10,174	+12.1%	10,453	+	11,407
Carreño	11,128	-5.3%	11,009	▼	10,533
Pravia	11,421	-15.1%	9,831	*	9,694
Piloña	14,707	-37.3%	9,517	▼	9,215
Navia	8,150	+12.1%	8,914	+	9,136

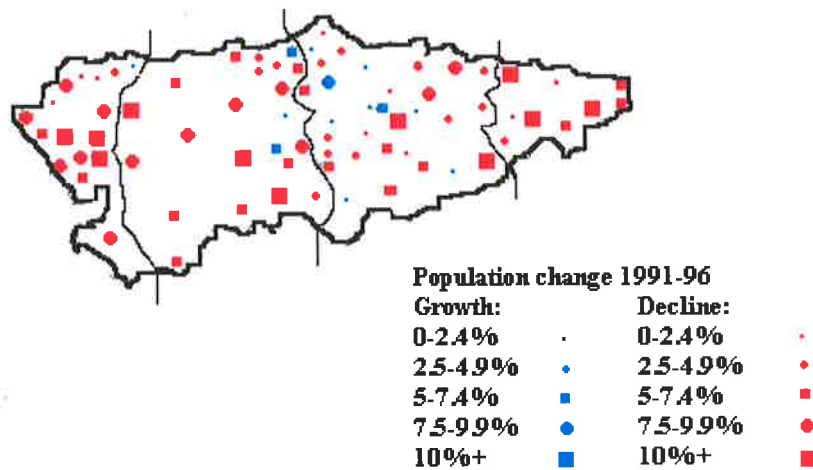
Legend:

1960>1997: **Bold:** growth > 20%; **Shaded:** decline > 20%.

1991>1997: **+**: growth > 2%; **+**: growth < 2%; **▼**: decline > 2%; *****: decline < 2%.

Mapping this table is done in Map 2.1:

Map 2.1: Population change 1991-96



The basic population figures indicate that the top twenty five centres contained 87.8% of the Asturian population in 1997. The remaining 12.2% (or 133,048 people) were resident in fifty three counties – an average of less than 2,500 per county (with the smallest, Yernes y Tameza, being under 200).

However, of perhaps greater significance than the simple population figures has been the variation in growth or decline rates and what that might imply for future population trends in the region. As indicated by the symbols used in Table 3, growth is focused on the larger centres (with five of the top seven growing over the six year period); this contrasts with the fact that only three of the next eighteen grew in that period.

⁴² Sources: G Morales Matos, *Evolución reciente de la población en Asturias*, op.cit.; BANESTO,

2.2.2 Population movements within Asturias

In analysing the decline over the nineties, the top six population centres, with two thirds of the region's population had only 5.9% (or 639 people) of the loss which occurred over the period 1991-97. The result was that these six centres grew to a combined 64.2% of the region's population (compared with 63.6% in 1991). The bulk of the population decline within Asturias has occurred in rural towns and communities as people have moved from the countryside to the cities. So severe has the movement been that many small hamlets have ceased to exist altogether. In the mining *cuenca* [*basin* or *zone*] of Nalón, the number of abandoned villages climbed from 90 in 1991 to 112 in 1996,⁴³ while in the neighbouring *cuenca* of Langreo, the figures were 40 abandoned villages in 1996 up from 10 in 1991.⁴⁴

Asturias can be considered as consisting of four types of population centre:

- (i) the commercial/administrative/industrial triangle of Oviedo, Gijón and Avilés;
- (ii) the mining *cuencas* (six of the top twenty five counties);
- (iii) other provincial centres (the remaining sixteen of the top twenty five); and
- (iv) counties of a predominantly rural character (the remaining fifty three Asturian counties).

The first category – the commercial/administrative/industrial triangle of Gijón, Oviedo, Avilés and surrounding areas – by 1996 had increased its combined share of the population to 50.6% (from 50.0% six years earlier) with growth of 1.7%. In 1970 these three cities had a combined population of 436,223, or 41.7% of the region's population;⁴⁵ and in 1960 they had 300,275 inhabitants (30.4% of the regional

Anuario del Mercado Español, 1993, op.cit.; and LNE 27.7.97

⁴³ LNE 16.9.96

⁴⁴ LNE 8.8.97

⁴⁵ M C Alonso Antolín *et al.*, *Aspectos sociológicos de la emigración asturiana*, appearing in *Indianos*, Monograph of the *Los Cuadernos del Norte: Revista Cultural*, Caja de Ahorros de Asturias, Oviedo, 1984, page 80.

population). The growth between 1960 and 1997 had been most notable in Gijón (120%), the city where Bable has the most penetration of the top three centres. Contrariwise growth had been lowest in the city least friendly to Bable, Oviedo, with a growth figure of 56.7% over the period.

As to why Gijón has been more Bable friendly than Oviedo, it may well be the result of an infrastructure issue inasmuch as transport links between the rural and mining areas were developed first with the former given its location on the coast. Between 1839-42 the *carretera carbonera* [coal road] was built between Sama de Langreo and Gijón. This route was converted to a rail link in 1856. Gijón and Pola de Lena were connected by rail in 1874.⁴⁶

The second category - mining *cuencas* – the eight in the top 25 being Mieres, Langreo, Siero, San Martín del Rey Aurelio, Cangas del Narcea, Aller, Lena and Laviana declined from 28.4% of the region's population in 1960 to 21.5% in 1997. As will be seen later, the mining *cuencas* have been an important zone for the maintenance and promotion of Bable.

The third category - other provincial centres – consists of fourteen counties in the top twenty five. Their combined population declined from 20.9% of the regional total in 1960 to 16.9% in 1997 with only two, Navia and Llanera registering growth over the period (12.1% in each case). In the sociolinguistic context, these centres have generally been less significant than the mining zones in terms of the survival of non-Castilian languages. The one exception has been Navia, located in the Astur-Gallego language

⁴⁶ A Terron Bañueles, *La enseñanza primaria en la zona industrial (1898-1923)*, Principado de Asturias, Oviedo, page 43.

zone; in this town there has been a reasonable level of local interest in the maintenance of this non-Castilian language.

The trend of decline showed itself more dramatically in the fourth category – the remaining 53 counties - which declined from 22.1% of the region’s population in 1960 to 12.3% in 1997. As with the mining *cuencas*, this last group has also represented an important resource for the vitality of Bable.

Tables 2.3 and 2.4 chart the impact of population change according to language zone and also type of population centre.

Table 2.3: Categorisation of population change 1991—96 by language zone⁴⁷

	1991 Census	1996 Census	Change
Bable Central	934,818	936,796	+0.2%
Bable Occidental	57,514	55,247	-3.9%
Bable Oriental	41,187	38,213	-7.2%
Astur-Gallego	60,418	57,629	-4.6%

Table 2.4: Categorisation of population by language zone and population centre type

Lang. Zone	Population centre type			
	Top 3	Mining	Provincial	Rural
Bable Central	Growth	Growth 2 Decline 5	Growth 3 Decline 5	Decline
Bable Occ.		Decline	Decline	Decline
Bable Orient.			Decline	Decline
Astur-Gallego			Growth	Decline

Thus, on the basis of future numbers of potential speakers, the prognosis for Bable Occidental and Bable Oriental does not look good. The situation for Astur-Gallego seems somewhat ambivalent; while for Bable Central the outlook is more promising.

⁴⁷ LNE 8.3.97

The actual movement of people within the region will be a continuing phenomena as there is also latent migration – the desire to move which has not yet been effected because of perceived lack of opportunity to do so. For example, a survey conducted in 1997 in two of the mining centres found that 40% of residents of the mining city of Mieres expressed a wish to move to Oviedo or Gijón, while the figure for another mining center, Langreo was 28%.⁴⁸

2.2.3 External Migration

As discussed earlier, Asturian landholding patterns have been somewhat unique and centre around the family farmstead. The difficulty with this has been that, combined with the small average size of landholding, the family farm could only sustain a relatively static number of dependents. Any numbers in excess of that figure had to leave. As Mari Cruz Alonso Antolín *et.al* have stated:

Of this manner was how was produced a movement of “excess” sons with destinations of Hispano-America, Europe, or else to the foci of greater economic attraction (elsewhere) on the Peninsula, in search of other sources of income.⁴⁹ †

A sizeable emigration was the result over very many years. In the hundred years from 1835 to 1934, 330,000 Asturians emigrated to the Americas alone, the peak period being 1888 to 1930 when 270,000 left.⁵⁰ During the troubles of the mid to late thirties and the Second World War, the main movement was that of refugees (principally to Europe and South America). Between 1946-1979 the pace of emigration slowed, with

⁴⁸ LNE 29.5.97

⁴⁹ M C Alonso Antolín *et.al.*, *Aspectos sociológicos de la emigración asturiana*,, op.cit., page 77.

† *De esta manera es como se produce un movimiento de los hijos ‘excedentarios’ con destino a Hispanoamérica, Europa, o bien a los focos de mayor atracción económica de la Península, en busca de otras fuentes de recursos.*

⁵⁰ G Ojeda & J L San Miguel, *La emigración asturiana a América*, appearing in *Indianos*, op.cit., p 71.

just over 40,000 leaving for all overseas destinations (ie excluding other European countries) in that thirty three year period.⁵¹

The mass departures of the nineteenth century were not the result so much of calm decision-making on the part of each emigrant as due to desperation arising from poverty and hunger. An anonymous commentator writing in a mining journal in 1855 likened Asturias to Ireland and said that her children left because the region:

... scarcely has bread for its children and thousands flee from her in search of remote lands for the work that their own land denies them.⁵² †

2.2.4 Population movements with other parts of Spain

Figures of immigration and emigration between the communities of Spain over the period 1962 to 1990 reveal that Asturias continuously suffered a net loss through migration over the period. The figures of annual loss varied between 370 and 1174 in a sample of ten years spread over that period.⁵³ The autonomous communities of Castilla-León, Madrid and Galicia ranked first, second and third respectively as destinations for Asturian emigrants as well as being the first three places of origin for immigrants to Asturias. The economic powerhouse of Cataluña was the fourth ranked placed of destination, while the relatively poor region of Andalucía was the fourth ranked place of origin. However, it should be noted that contained within the net migration figures, especially during the 1960s, has been a substantial amount of population churn. For example in 1962 there were 2,066 arrivals into Asturias and 2,695 departures, and in

⁵¹ M C Alonso Antolín *et.al.*, *Aspectos sociológicos de la emigración asturiana*, op.cit., page 81.

⁵² Quoted in G Ojeda & José Luis San Miguel, *La emigración asturiana a América*, op.cit., p 69.

† *apenas tiene pan para sus hijos y huyen millares de ella a buscar en remotas tierras el trabajo que la suya les niega.*

⁵³ BANESTO 1993, op. cit, page 240.

1970 4,179 entered the region while 4,571 left⁵⁴ – a churn of 4,761 in 1962 and 8,750 in 1970. The consequence of this churn has been, notwithstanding the net migration loss over the period, an increase in the proportion of the Asturian population born outside the region – from 6.8% in 1950, it reached 14% in 1975.⁵⁵

2.2.5 Age profiles

The lower than average level of immigration and higher than average emigration, combined with reduced birth and marriage rates in Asturias have taken their toll on the demographic profile of the region. For instance the number of live births within the region each year has been exceeded by deaths since the 1980s.⁵⁶ As a consequence, Asturias is declining in its share of Spain's overall population. Asturias exceeded the percentage rate of loss of any other Spanish region over the period 1985-1996 (at -2.3% compared with + 3.1% for Spain overall).⁵⁷

Population transfers have been key to the skewing of the age profiles of most Asturian communities, as young people leave to find work elsewhere leaving their parents or now, more frequently, their grandparents behind. The marriage rate then declines in those areas, and subsequently so does the birthrate. Both these declines in Asturias have been exacerbating the falling national trend for each, which has been evident over the past two decades. A further result has been that pensions have come to generate an increasing proportion of the income of these declining areas.

⁵⁴ BANESTO 1993, op. cit., pages 237-240.

⁵⁵ G Morales Matos, *Evolución reciente de la población en Asturias*, op. cit., page 514.

⁵⁶ Instituto de Fomento Regional, *Investing in Asturias*, Principado de Asturias, 1991, p11.

⁵⁷ LNE 8.6.97.

On the income front, while in 1996 pensioners represented only about 20% of the population of the principal three cities of Oviedo, Gijón and Avilés,⁵⁸ in the mining *cuencas* they were 25% of the total.⁵⁹ Specifically, in terms of population statistics in the three mining centres of Mieres, Lena and Aller, there were in 1997 a total of 19,773 employed persons compared with 23,094 retired persons (including *prejubilados* [early retirees – those in receipt of redundancy payouts]).⁶⁰ In the mining valley of Quirós, where the average age of the population in 1997 had reached 65, it was reported that:

It is this sector of the population which is the only one which sustains the zone economically thanks to its pensions.⁶¹ †

In addition to the effect of population flows, has been the consequence of birth and marriage rates. Modern-day Spain, like a number of other European countries, is characterised by low marriage and birth rates. In Asturias the falls in these rates for the region have been greater than for the rest of the country. The Asturian birth rate in 1996 fell to 6.12/'000 compared with the national figure of 9.31⁶². And for marriages the rate in 1996 had fallen to 4.45/'000 for Asturias compared with 5.01 for Spain.

Reasons for the lower birth rate include a higher abortion rate in Asturias than the national average (the figures for 1996 being 9.7/'000 compared with the national figure of 5.1/'000).⁶³ The matrimonial situation is exacerbated by a higher divorce rate, which at 22.28% is the 3rd highest in country (where the national average is 16.4%).⁶⁴

⁵⁸ LNE 27.8.95

⁵⁹ LNE 27.8.95

⁶⁰ LNE 12.5.97

⁶¹ LNE 1.12.96

† *es este sector de población el único que sostiene económicamente la zona gracias a sus pensiones.*

⁶² LNE 21.4.97

⁶³ LNE 24.8.95

However, the declines have not been homogenous across the region; with lesser reductions in the top three centres and, by contrast, more marked falls in the smaller centres.

In two of the mining *cuencas* (Caudal and Nalón) the number of live births fell nearly 40% from a 1987 figure of 1477 live births to 891 in 1996.⁶⁵

A consequence of falling birth rates (leading to progressively fewer marriages later) has been the relative ageing of the population. This has been more dramatic in the smaller counties. In the region's smallest county - Yernes y Tameza - no wedding was recorded between 1987 and 1994; while in another county - Santo Adriano - there had been only one in the same period, and in the county of Pesoz there had been three.⁶⁶ As to births, Yernes y Tameza recorded its first birth in a quarter of a century in 1996⁶⁷ and in Pesoz there had been only one birth in 1994.⁶⁸

The figures for all but the top three centres accentuate these aging tendencies. In 1997, 19.62% of the Asturian population was over 65, a figure which is predicted to grow to 21.6% by 2005.⁶⁹

The rate of depopulation and the ageing profile of the region's inhabitants are important factors in considering the future of Bable, as until the 1980s, a mainstay of Bable's survival had been its strong rural penetration, and strong presence in mining centres.

⁶⁴ LNE 10.8.97.

⁶⁵ LNE 15.9.97.

⁶⁶ LNE 11.2.97.

⁶⁷ LNE 5.8.96

⁶⁸ LNE 15.5.95

⁶⁹ LNE 10.8.97

Figure 2.1: Age pyramids for 23 centres by linguistic zone

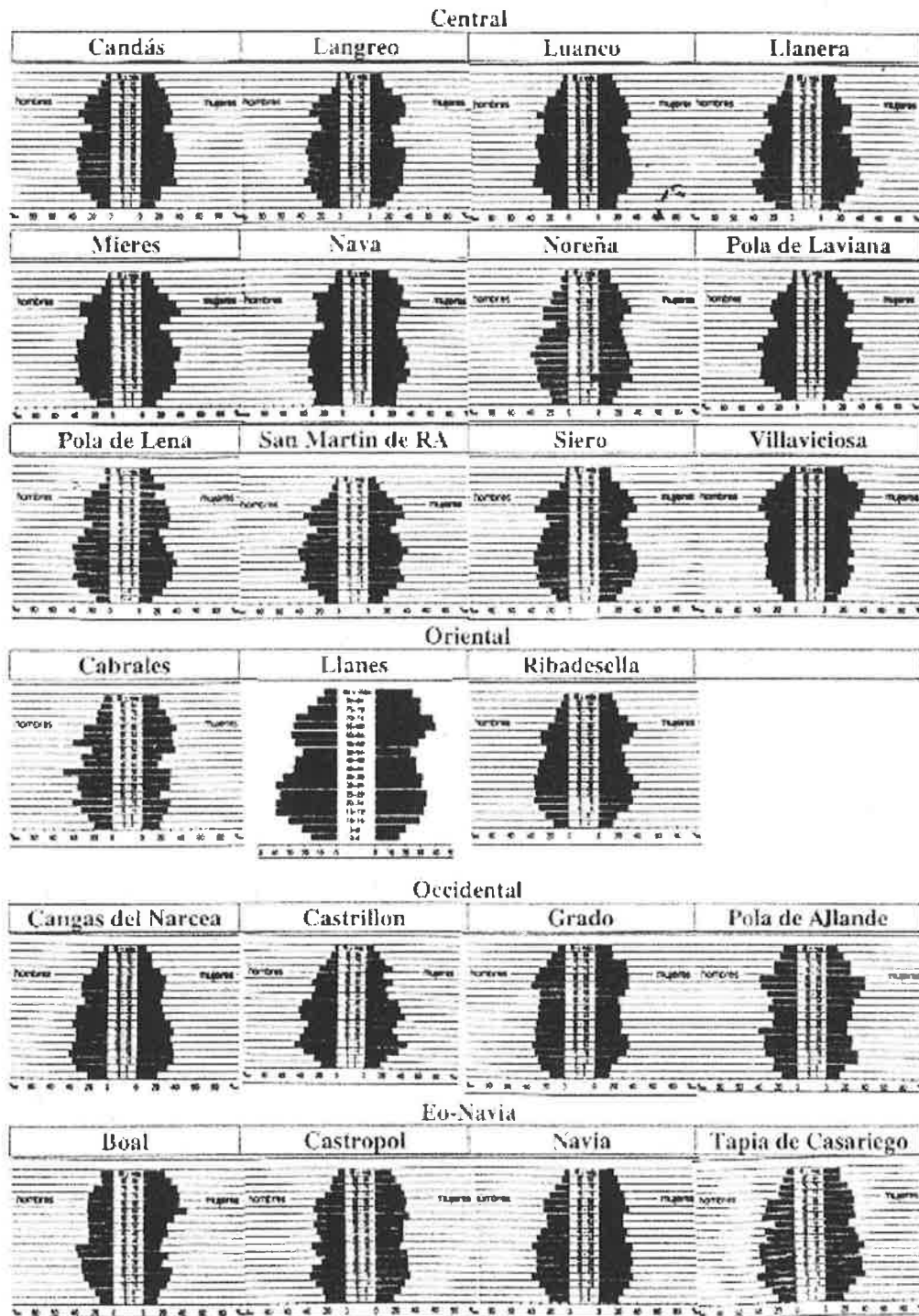


Figure 2.1⁷⁰ shows the age-pyramids of a number of the key urban centres in Asturias (excluding all the top three of Oviedo, Gijón and Avilés). They are categorised according to the linguistic zone in which they are located (the linguistic zones are shown in Map 1.2 on page 8).

The conclusion to be drawn from the age-pyramids of these twenty three centres is that not one of them in 1996 had a base for sustaining its current population into the future.

The impact of this on the viability of Bable is significant, especially in the context of where population loss is occurring. Also of interest for Bable is the impact of a growing proportion of the population having been born beyond the region's frontiers. The impact of both these demographic features upon the future of Bable is dealt with later.

The age pyramids can be examined in a number of ways, but the inevitable conclusion is that provincial Asturias faces serious population decline. There are variations within the twenty three centres depicted. These variations can be examined from the point of view of the language zone where each of the centres is located. Figure 2.2 locates the centres according to zone and the strength of the 15-19 age cohort as part of the total population of each centre.

The table postulates that the lower the proportion of a centre's population in the 15-19 age group the higher severity of population decline. The use of this age bracket as a key is based upon its significance in terms of potential future household formation.

⁷⁰ Information drawn from an LNE series on Asturian towns and cities published over the period December 1996 to September 1997.

Figure 2.2: Relative severity of population decline in 23 centres

<u>Bable Central</u>		<u>Bable Or.</u>	<u>Bable Occ.</u>	<u>Astur-Gallego</u>
<u>Mining</u>	<u>Non-mining</u>			
Lower severity of population decline				
Llanes				
Castrillon				
S. Martin RA	Llanera			Tapia de C
Langreo				Navia
Mieres				Castropol
Siero	Luanco	Cabrales	Cangas del N	
P. de Lena	Nava	Ribadesella		
P. de Laviana	Noreña		P. de Allande	
	Candás		Grado	
				Boal
	Villaviciosa			
Higher severity of population decline				

2.3 EMIGRATION

Miners were not the only sons of the land to be the product of rural overpopulation. The other famous sons of the land were the emigrants. Asturias was the birthplace of many emigrants to the Americas (in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) and to Europe post Second World War.

The significant levels of emigration, particularly in the nineteenth century, had more than an impact on the demographics and economics of the region (through remittances and the repatriated wealth of those emigrants who returned successful – the *Indianos*); the outflow of people and its causes embedded themselves in the psyche of the Asturians.

Casas de los indianos [houses of the Indians], built by those emigrants who returned wealthy, dot the landscape. These elaborate and ostentatious houses, previously symbols of the success of their builders, now often in a state of dilapidation, stand testament to the difficult socio-economic history of Asturias itself.

But many Asturians did not return. They and their descendants formed an Asturian diaspora which settled particularly in the Americas, but also in many other parts of the world. They did not return to build individual *casas de los indianos* but established collective *centros asturianos* in places all over the globe which have kept alive the remembrance of the *tierrina* [little land] they left.

Among those who left were many who would become noted literary figures writing in Bable. Xurde Blanco identified the names of nine writers who wrote works in Bable from Argentina and one each in Mexico and Venezuela.⁷¹

For those who remained behind, the emigration of friends and relatives, forced as it was by economic necessity, left behind its scars. These scars found expression in the culture from cartoon to theatre and poetry. A Bable language cartoon series appearing in LNE – *Constantino Turón* – Figure 2.3 shows an episode which summed up the feelings of those who remained.

⁷¹ X Blanco, *Notes pal estadiu de la lliteratura dende la Guerra Civil al Resurdimientu*, LLAA 68, September 1998, pp 125-6.

Figure 2.3: Episode of *Constantino Turón*

Constantino Turón

Guión: Montserrat GARNACHO
Dibujos: Sergio BANCES



[Translation from Bable: Boy - Grandfather, Will Aunt Manuela remember us? And is it true that in Buenos Aires they eat chicken and hake whenever they want? Grandfather – Much more than us! Pepín (my note: diminutive of Pepe). Grandfather (alone) – How silly a life, to be born for this, for nothing! Sixty three years already ... and it seems that it was only yesterday when my mother sang to me *The beautiful child* ... and when she died on me ... and when Rosina came.]⁷²

This chapter has dealt with economic and demographic features of Asturias. The following chapter examines what may be termed ‘Iconic markers’ – those features of Asturian life and culture with which the local population feels a particular identification.

⁷² LNE 15.1.98.

PART A – THE SETTING

CHAPTER THREE – SOME ICONIC MARKERS

Overview

The Asturian identity is a tapestry composed of many elements including Bable but also a number of emblematic or iconic components. I intentionally use the word *tapestry* rather than a word such as *inventory* as the elements impact on each other and form a whole through both the aggregation of their independent natures and also their interaction. Two quotes are indicative:

In its literature Bable is one motive more, an element that – (just) as the little land [*tierrina*], the barn [*hórreo*], the children [*neñes*; my note: Bable word used in preference to Castilian], the tamborine, Covadonga and other bagpipes [*gaitas*] – uniquely destined to touch the sentimental fibre of a public that ... participates now in those yearnings.^{1 t}

And:

The question is, then, the following: Is there an Asturian culture? There is undoubtedly so: the Asturian language, an Asturian culture. But not only the language: other social customs and of ideal type permit us to use the term Asturian culture in order to study the cultural and social facts that can be found in Asturias.^{2 t}

In this chapter some emblematic or iconic features that contribute to the appearance of Asturian culture are considered.

¹ J A Martínez, intro to 1978 edition of X Ll García Arias, *Llingua & sociedá asturiana*, Xixón, p16.

^t *En esta literatura el bable es un motivo más, un elemento que – como la tierrina, el hórreo, les neñes, el tambor, Covadonga y otras gaitas – únicamente se destina a tocar la fibra sentimental de un público que ... participa ya de esas añoranzas*

² R González Quevedo, *La cultura asturiana*, LLAA 38, 1990, page 132.

^t *(La cuestión ye, entós, la siguiente: ¿hai una cultura asturiana? Ye indudable que sí: la llingua asturiana, una cultura asturiana. Pero nun solo la llingua: otros vezos sociales y de tipu ideal permítennos usar el términu cultura asturiana pa estudiar fechos culturales y sociales que puen alcontrase n'Asturies.*

3.1 THE VIRGIN OF COVADONGA

The victory of King Pelayo over the Moors at Covadonga {B: *Cuadonga*} was not only the origin of the Gothic Myth referred to in the previous chapter but also an enduring belief in *Covadongismo*, the idealisation of what had occurred at Covadonga in 722 AD and its abiding effect on Asturias and its role in Spanish history.

Francisco González Prieto [Pachu'l Péritu], one of the *Nuevos Bablistas* poets, wrote a poem *La Virxen de Covadonga* [*The Virgin of Covadonga*]. Some indicative lines from the poem were:

Oh Virgin of the Battles!
The Captain of Asturias ...
To the omnipotent Queen,
The little and gallant one.^{3 t}

During Holy Week I observed penitents (mainly women) scale on their knees the couple of hundred stone steps to the small chapel of the Virgin built inside the mouth of the cave where legend has it Pelayo initiated the first successful resistance to the Moorish invasion of Spain. In 1996 the newspaper, *La Nueva España*, distributed medallions of the Virgin to its readers. Covadonga in the popular speech is referred to as the *cuña* [*cradle*] of modern Spain, and thus the Virgin of Covadonga becomes the mother of this perceived blessed concept.

In the time of Franco, Covadonga had very especial significance. It still does, but there has also been some revisionist thinking about the previously unassailable position given

³ F González Prieto, *La Virxen de Covadonga*, in E García Rendueles (ed), *Los Nuevos Bablistas (1925)*, reprinted ALLA, Uviéu, 1987, pp 189-190.

^t ¡Oh Virxen de les Battallés! / La Capitana d'Asturies ... / A la Reina onipotente, / La pequenina i galana.

to the Virgin of Covadonga. A key instance was the disparaging reference by the Nobel laureate José Camilo Cela who wrote in a column to the Spanish daily *ABC*:

If the Virgin of Covadonga '*ye pequeña y galana*' [is cutely little and beautiful] she is stuffed.^{4 t}

The reaction in Asturias was strong as a number of the selected letters to the editor considered in Chapter 14 attest. While Cela also made other comments critical of Asturians, particular offence was taken to the disparaging reference to the Virgin of Covadonga, whom they call affectionately by the diminutive *Santina* rather than *Santa*.

The affectionate use of the diminutive by Asturians is a theme returned to later, but its application to the Virgin of Covadonga was commented upon by a writer in LNE:

... amongst ourselves the Asturian diminutives: *Santín, Santina, Santinas* , are used always in a dear and familiar form not only to designate the popular image of Our Lady of Covadonga, but also the people of our villages call in an equal way with the same dearness and familiarity to other religious images of their devotion and even to persons of affection and friendship, though for all Asturians *La Santina* is always used for Our Lady of Covadonga.^{5 t}

3.2 ASTURIAS PATRIA QUERIDA

The Asturian regional parliament in 1984 embodied in statute (*Ley 1/84*) the status of this hymn as a regional anthem. Of unknown authorship, the hymn is often sung (in both Castilian and Bable, both versions being legally mandated), while the tune alone is

⁴ Cited in L142/064.

^t *Si la Virgen de Covadonga 'ye pequeña y galana', que se joda.* The phrase in quotation marks was a Bable statement often applied in Asturias to the Virgin and quoted in the original by Cela.

⁵ LNE/LNQ 27.9.95

^t ... *entre nosotros los diminutivos asturianos: Santín, Santina, Santinas ... son utilizados siempre de forma cariñosa y familiar no solo para designar a la imagen popular de Nuestra Señora de Covadonga sino que las gentes de nuestros pueblos llaman de igual manera y con la misma familiaridad y cariño a otras imágenes religiosas de su devoción e incluso a personas de su afecto y amistad, aunque para todos los asturianos la Santina por antonomasia es siempre Nuestra Señora de Covadonga.*

rendered equally as often. The popularity and esteem of the anthem has existed for many years, long before its formal adoption by the regional legislature.

The words of the anthem (in Bable, Castilian and English) are:

Bable	Castilian	English
Asturies, Patria querida Asturies de mios amores; ¡Ai!, quien tuviera n' Asturies En toes les ocasiones	Asturias, Patria Querida Asturias de mis amores; Quien estuviera en Asturias En todas las ocasiones	Asturias, dear fatherland Asturias of my loves; Who would be in Asturias On every occasion
-Tengo de subir al arbol, Tengo de coyer la flor, Y da-yla a la mio morena A que la ponga nel balcón	- Tengo de subir al arbol, Tengo de coger la flor, Y darsela a mi morena Que la ponga en el balcón.	I have to climb the tree I have to pick the flower And give it to my dark haired beauty who would put it on the balcony.
A que la ponga nel balcón, Que la dexede poner, Tengo de subir al arbol, Y la flor tengo coyer.	-Que la ponga en el balcón, Que la deje de poner, Tengo de subir al arbol Y la flor he de coger.	That she would put it on the Balcony That she could put it I have to climb the tree And the flower I have to pick

For a regional anthem, the words seem somewhat arcane. Yet such is the emotional pull and iconic value of the song, that the regional statute giving it official status said of it:

This statute has been mandated to recognise the will of the Asturian people, manifested in ostensible form and overwhelmingly in favour of the melody and text of the very popular song Asturias Patria Querida, whose resonance has reached beyond the limits of the region and of Spain.

Its profound symbolic value has come to articulate an anticipated dialectic of a people's hymn of identity, assumed over time with emotions of solidarity and respect for all the sons of our land^{6 t}

⁶ Ley 1/84, 27 April 1984.

^t *Se cumple este mandato estatutario al reconocer la voluntad del pueblo asturiano, manifestada de forma ostensible y mayoritaria en favor de la melodía y el texto de la popularísima canción "Asturias, Patria Querida", cuya resonancia ha traspasado los límites de la región y de España. Su profundo valor simbólico ha venido articulando una dialéctica anticipada de identidad pueblo-himno, asumida en el tiempo con emoción solidaria y respeto por todos los hijos de nuestra tierra*

Except at special times (such as Christmas and Holy Week), the musical refrain of the first two lines is played on the hour every day by the electronic bells of the clock tower overlooking *La Escandalera*, the focal point where the rebuilt Oviedo meets the old town.

3.3 MYTHOLOGY

It may be the result of their Celtic origins, or the remoteness of the Asturian valleys or some other unknown causes, but for whatever reason Asturias has had a mythological tradition distinct from and more extensive than most of the rest of Spain.

Roberto González Quevedo, while noting that some Asturian myths have corollaries in other regions, noted:

It is certain that in Asturias we find a country that conserves its mythology with great force, in comparison with other zones of Europe.⁷

Xuan Xosé Sánchez Vicente and Jesús Cañedo Valle in their book *Mitoloxía: Refraneru*

*Asturianu*⁸ [*Mythology: Asturian sayings*] made the point:

Asturian mythology yes, because it is a given in Asturias and because in part (but no more than in part) those beliefs remained, developed and were contained in our nation with characteristics separated from (those of) others, with their own richness; characteristics that ... (are) particular to the matrix of Asturian culture and identity.⁹†

The latter point, concerning the application of the particular matrix of Asturian culture and identity, has meant that external themes have been translated in ways uniquely

⁷ R González Quevedo, *Antropoloxía llingüística - cultura, llingua, etnicidá*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1994, p 180.

⁸ X X Sánchez Vicente & J Cañedo Valle, *Mitoloxía Refraneru Asturianu*, Editorial del Norte, Gijón, 1986.

⁹ Op.cit., page 110.

† *Mitoloxía asturiana sí, porque se da n'Asturies y porque'n parte (pero ná más que'n parte) eses creencies remanecieren, esporpollaren y caltviérense na nuestra nación con rasgos estremaos a otros, con bayura d'aspeutos propios; rasgos que ... de la peculiar matriz de la cultura y la identidá asturianas.*

Asturian. Thus, while the origins of the some of the myths have echoes elsewhere (in other Celtic traditions or even further afield in other cases), the stamp of the Asturian is nevertheless indelible due to the impact of the culture within which the traditions grew.

Sánchez Vicente and Cañedo Valle identified nine categories of Asturian mythological creatures:¹⁰

- Connected with springs and caves:
 - *Les xanes*_[25]: of very beautiful human form, sometimes very small.
 - *El Cuélebre*_[16]: snake of very large size (sometimes with wings).
- Connected with the sea:
 - *El Pataricu*_[*]: Giant Cyclops-like creature.
 - *La Serena*_[5]: Half woman, half fish; very beautiful.
- Connected with forests:
 - *El Mofosu*_[*]: semi-human plant being.
- Connected with clouds & thunderstorms:
 - *El Ñuberu*_[6]: human form.
- Connected with the mountains:
 - *Xuan de la Borrina*: accompanies a female dog and a female being, but whose own character is unknown.
- Connected with the hearth and human activity:
 - *El Trasgu*_[15]: Small-sized human of mocking character.
 - *El Sumiciu*_[*]: indeterminate form.
- Mythological beings connected with death:
 - *La Güestia*_[*]: collective noun, they are manifestations of people who are going to die; a nocturnal procession of troubled souls.
 - *El Güercu*_[*]: unknown form.
 - *La Guaxa*_[5]: unknown form.
- Mythological beings without function or predominant location
 - *El Diañu Burllón*: a devil who can adopt animal or human form.
 - *El Pasadiellu*_[*]:
- The childish fears of children:
 - Those that carry off children: *El Cocu*, *el Rampayu*, *el Rapéu*, *l'Home del sacu*, *el Farroncu* (type of *trasgu*), *la Caparrucia*. Those that eat them: *el Papón* (gigantic size, eyes of fire, enormous mouth, stomach a burning oven), *la Paparresolla* [one who takes the breath away], *la Zamparrampa*. Those that bring danger to them: *l'Home del untu* [one who sucks out fat], *el Chupasangres* [bloodsuckers].

Examining just four of these - *El Nuberu*, *El Cuélebre*, *Las Xanes* and *La Güestia* - reveals how the Asturian matrix has resulted in uniquely Asturian mythological characters developing from a range of sources (both autochthonous and external).

El Nuberu [*Cloudman*] is ancient being responsible for natural calamities; Miguel i Arrieta Gallastegui suggested that these beings (since there can be considered to be more than one) appeared to be:

The legitimate descendents of the makers of storms in the most ancient animistic cults.^{11 t}

El Cuélebre, a winged serpent is considered of Celtic origin but has universal parallels to dragon and griffin myths in other parts of the world. Additionally, it has syncretistically merged in Asturias with Christian metaphors such as in the case of the response people are said to make when they hear the noise of the creature moving in its cave:

Look, look! There is the *Cuélebre*, tied with chains that bound Saint Peter.^{12 t}

Les Xanes appear to have come onto the mythological stage only a millenium or so ago. These beings, very short, beautiful women who live in caves, are of uncertain origin, but Ramón Sordo Sotres has suggested that their legend grew from:

The women of the Moors who were left behind when they fled and that they were put in caves.^{13 t}

¹⁰ Op.cit., page 11 for general listing and subsequent pages through the book for descriptions.

¹¹ M I Arrieta Gallastegui, *Gentes y seres mágicos de la Mitología de Asturias*, Ediciones Trea, Gijón, 1995, page 49.

^t *los legítimos descendientes de los hacedores de tormentas de los cultos animistas más antiguos.*

¹² Op.cit, page 78.

^t *¡Mira, mira! Ahi está el cuélebre, atáu con unas cadenas que l'ató San Pedru.*

¹³ Op. cit., page 13.

^t *las mujeres de los moros que dejaron éstos cuando se fueron y que estaban metidas por las cuevas.*

La Güestia, the nightly procession of souls in torment, appears to be the Asturian version of a mythological tradition that is very widespread. Arrieta Gallastegui acknowledged as much when he noted the similarity of *La Güestia* to the English *ankou*, the French (and Haitian) *revenants*, the Chinese *k'uei** and the Hindu *pretas*.¹⁴

Whether truly autochthonous or derived from wider such traditions, Asturian myths have evolved their own unique characteristics, traditionally expressed in Bable. However, Sánchez Vicente and Cañedo Valle noted that though Bable was the *llingua d'orixe* [*language of origin*] for mythological stories, it has in recent decades been largely replaced by a process of *emisión en semicastellán* [*a Semi-Castilian emission*].¹⁵

This erosion of Bable has meant that it has largely been relegated to use in nomenclature, each of the mythic creatures keeping their Bable names (in some cases without Castilian equivalents) while the content of their stories is communicated in Castilian. This survival of Bable nomenclature has also been evidenced in the names adopted by some Asturian groups, such as:

Les xanines – a theatre and folkloric group

La xana – an animal protection association

Trasgu – a folk group

Güestia – a Gaita band (possibly an allusion to the *Grateful Dead*).

*Ayalga*** – publishing house.

* Dr Wong Siu Kit, of the University of Hong Kong and author of a work on Chinese mythology has indicated that this reference is probably to *Hue Yuan* or *return of the souls*.

¹⁴ Op. cit., page 148.

¹⁵ XX Sánchez Vicente & J Cañedo Valle, op.cit., page 13.

** Mythical treasure often felt to have been left by the departing Moors or also described as golden apples, such as, in our tradition, the pot of gold at the end of rainbow.

As mentioned by one writer of a letter to the editor, storytelling based upon the lore of mythology represented in the past an important means for communicating Bable from generation to generation as tales about *diaños, bruyes, güesties, xanes, xastres y fames* {C: *diablos, brujas, procesiones de los muertos, ninfas, sastras mágicas, hambres*} [*devils, witches, processions of the dead, nymphs, magical seamstresses, the hungers*] were told to young children.¹⁶

3.4 FOOD

Asturians, like the people from other regions of Spain, have developed a rich and varied autochthonous cuisine. The cuisine traditionally was based almost solely upon the ingredients of the region but, since the Civil War, has seen the adoption of some elements typical of other regions which had been previously decried in Asturias – such as olive oil (Asturians previously preferring instead the use of lard) and garlic. This depreciation was noted by Paco Ignacio Taibo in his work *Breviario de la Fabada* [*Short-takes of the Fabada*] when he wrote:

On occasions (someone) will destroy a white-meat fish with a fry of garlic; when such a thing is done there rises in the Asturian a tone of blame.^{17 t}

Amongst the most popular of Asturian dishes is the *Fabada*_[5] [a bean stew with blood sausage and *chorizo*]. The main ingredient of the dish, beans, are denominated with a Bable word – *fabes* – rather than a Castilian one – *alubias* – (or the more archaic *habas*) even by those who would never speak the vernacular. In 1843 Antonio Peláez Campomanes submitted a poem for publication in *La Risa* which said in part:

*Allubies! What are allubies? ...
Fabes, yes, fabes
we call these beautiful little things*^{18 t}

¹⁶ L211/181, male, Villavicoso

¹⁷ P I Taibo I, *Breviario de la Fabada*, José Esteban, Madrid, 1981, page 19.

^t *en ocasiones destroza un pescado de carnes blancas con un refrito de ajos; cuando tal cosa hace se advierte en el asturiano un tono de disculpa.*

It should be noted that the word is more frequently *fabes* in place of *fabas*, representing a morphological carry-over from Bable into Castilian. As Taibo noted:

For the Asturian *las fabes* are not *las fabas* but *les fabes*.^{19 t}

One letter writer (writing in Castilian) supported this by writing that *sonaría mejor diciendo ... fabes* [it would sound better saying ... *fabes*].²⁰

Cheeses are particularly prized in Asturias. With 28 artisanal cheeses, the region regards itself as *la mayor mancha quesera de Europa* [the best cheese region in Europe].²¹ Some of these cheeses carry Bable rather than Castilian names such as *Afuega'l pitu*_[15] [literally *choke the chicken*].

Like most things iconic in Asturias, cheeses have had esteem beyond their culinary utility and entered into the folk literature; examples such as this popular Bable song abound:

I gave to you a cheese
as a symbol of marriage.
The marriage was annulled:
I took the cheese back with me to the barn.^{22 t}

¹⁸ A Peláez Campomanes, in X Blanco *Notes pal estudiu de la lliteratura dende la Guerra Civil al Resurdimientu*, in LLA 68, page 127.

^t *Allubies! Que son allubies? Fabes, si, fabes llamamos, Á eses cosines guapes.*

¹⁹ P I Taibo I, *Breviario de la Fabada*, op. cit, page 109.

^t *Para el asturiano, las fabes no son las fabas, sino les fabes.*

²⁰ L031/141, male, Oviedo.

²¹ LNE 15.9.96

²² Quoted by X LL García Arias, *El Quesu d'Afuega'l Pitu*, LLA 61, 1996, p 150.

^t *Regaléstime un queisu / en señal de matrimoniu. / El matrimoniu foi nulu; / Vuélvime'l queisu al hurru.*

3.5 THE FIESTA

Asturias is noted for its fiestas. Each town has its own special festivals. Of one, the *Fiesta de los Bueyos* [*The fiesta of the cattle*], held in the little town of Campo de Caso in the Bable Central zone, a local resident, Marino, wrote:

There is not in Spain another festival such as this fiesta of Caso, not the Fallas of Valencia nor the Fair of Seville.²³

A 1993 guide to *ferías, fiestas, romerías y mercadillos* [*fairs, fiestas, pilgrimages and street/flea markets*] noted the significance of such events in the north of Spain:

From antiquity, since the first collection of the fruits of the land, the different families who formed a community, met to make festivities over a good harvest and to give thanks to Nature for the help they had received. This concept has evolved and been adapted through the different changes of civilisation, but always has had an element in common – the *fiesta*. The *fiesta* always is a reason for contact between the people who form a community.²⁴

The Guide provided brief details of such events in the northern littoral regions of Galicia, Asturias and Cantabria. The monthly spread of these is shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Monthly incidence of fiestas in the northern Spanish littoral

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Asturias	6	10	13	13	33	47	74	95	68	25	13	13
Cantabria	14	3	15	3	24	54	79	124	68	12	20	-
Galicia	18	10	12	11	37	75	86	143	71	22	18	27

Thus in 1993 a total of 408 events was held in the 78 counties of Asturias (or an average of 5.23 per county), compared with 416 in the 102 counties of Cantabria (4.08) and 530 in the 313 counties of Galicia (1.69). Whilst in all three regions, the majority of festivals was held in the summer months, Asturias had the highest percentage held in the other

²³ Marino was one of the people I interviewed, and his interview notes appear in the appendices. He gave me a copy of some poems he had written, one of which was to the Fiesta de los bueyos.

²⁴ A Vergara Jorge, *Guía Práctica de ferias, fiestas, romerías y mercadillos*, 1993, page 3.

nine months of the year – 47.1% (compared with 42.6% in Galicia and 38.2% in Cantabria).

It is noteworthy, however, that the table above only lists festivals considered to be of touristic interest. From personal observation and media reports, it is also apparent that there are many more festivals celebrated in Asturias than accounted for in the source document for Table 3.1. Some of these are celebrated in single localities, others shared with festivities in a number of places. For example, our family attended the *Fiesta de San Juan de la Mata* [*Festival of St John of the Bush*] held in Bueño, the ‘village’ of the managing director of *La Nueva España*; a festival held in honour of the patron saint of the village and therefore unique to that locality. Similarly location specific are festivals like the *Fiesta de Nabo* [*Festival of the Turnip*] held each year in a village in the county of San Martín del Rey Aurelio.

Festive activities of wider celebration include the *Xueves de comadres* [*Thursday of the neighbours* – though originally *comadres* was quite gender specific and meant *kinswomen*] with its associated distribution of *Bollu Prenao* [literally: *Pregnant Bun*] and bottle of *sidra* [*cider*], where collectives (be they fraternities, community associations or even companies such as LNE) a couple of times a year distributed a bun with a sausage-like filling and a bottle of cider to members or employees. Also lacking mention in the tourist listings, perhaps understandably, are the *Matanza del gochu* [*Killing of the pig*] celebrations which take place on the festival of San Martín in November each year in many localities in the Sella valley in western Asturias. Roberto González-Quevedo, in the English language summary to his paper *La cultura del gochu*

[*The culture of the pig*],²⁵ noted that through many generations the economic significance of pigs embedded itself in the culture:

Generation after generation every step in the rearing and operation of the pig are being regulated carefully along every year. The most relevant facts of the growing of pigs are ritualised in a very interesting form, especially in the *samartinu* slaughter feasts.²⁶

These events attract significant popular interest resulting in a large amount of media coverage.

For the purposes of this thesis two issues related to fiestas arise. The first is the relationship of the act of participating in fiestas to communalism and the consequent attitudes of those in power. The second is the issue of Bable usage in fiestas, and the seasonal impact upon Bable usage patterns.

With respect to the first, it is clear that over many centuries those in authority had ambivalent views concerning the celebration of many fiestas. The church for its part often queried the Christian credentials of such festivals as *Antroxu* {C: *antruejo* (ant.), *carnaval* (mod.)} [*Carnival*] noting that many of the traditional masks and costumes appeared to have pre-Christian origins. The state also had additional concerns at various times in history.

In 1523 the first of what Eloy Gómez Pellon referred to as *una larga serie de prohibiciones políticas* [*a long series of political prohibitions*] was initiated.²⁷ The most recent prohibition cycle started on 3 February 1937 when Franco's forces

²⁵ R González Quevedo, *La cultura del gochu*, Cultures #2, ALLA, 1992, Pp 191-209 & 222.

²⁶ Op.cit., page 222.

²⁷ E Gómez Pellon, *Las Mascaradas de Invierno en Asturias: Una perspectiva antropológica*, RIDEA, Oviedo 1993, p. 103.

prohibited Carnival in zones under their control so as not to distract the war effort. That prohibition outlasted the Civil War and was reinforced in the 1940s.²⁸

Official proscription occurred not only at the national level, but also at other levels of government. A local government order, telling as to real motivation, given by the authorities in the *concejo* [county] of Quirós in 1902, gave as reason for a local ban the need:

... not to raise offensive arms nor costumes which could ridicule the respectable classes.²⁹ †

Not all festivals were banned by those in authority, in other cases they were corporately absorbed, such as happened to *Jueves de Comadres* which, from about the 1920s became adopted by corporations in acts of goodwill towards their employees with the aforementioned distribution of *bollos preñaos* and *sidra*. Thus by the mid-1990s corporate entities such as LNE undertook such distributions to their staff alongside similar distributions by community associations to their members in nearby city plazas.

On the subject of fiestas and Bable, Padre Galo Fernán re-established the *Fiesta de la Regalina* [Festival of (Cape)Regalina] in the town of Cadavéu which mixed *la tradición relixosa cola cultura y la la llingua asturiana* [religious tradition with culture and the asturian language].³⁰

With respect to seasonal usage of Bable related to festivals, later evidence in this thesis notes the correlation of such usage patterns. There is evidence that amongst many non-

²⁸ Op. cit, p. 104.

²⁹ Op. cit, p. 103.

† ... no llevan armas ofensivas ni trajes que pueda ridiculizar a las clases respetables ...

³⁰ <http://www.asturies.com/asturianu/crono/cr1932.htm>

traditional users of Bable, festivals have provided an opportunity for identification with the language of their ancestors – a usage genre or modality. Yet such usage has also been isolated from wider usage patterns. The restrictiveness of this vinculation was commented upon by Milio Mariño (columnist with LNE) who was quoted at the launch of a book of stories he had written in the following terms:

The author of this story lamented that Asturian is only employed to write (only about) aspects connected to fiestas and popular customs when “I do not consider writing of Asturian traditions and the countryside other than doing it in Bable”.³¹ †

One respondent to the survey of teachers (Chapter 13) gave a statement of the type to which Milio Marino was expressing concern:

(I speak Bable) when we are all together as a family in some family fiesta.† [S041]

Similar marginalisation of the use of Bable may also reflect itself in the use of the vernacular to name groups associated with festivals (such as *Sociedá de Festeyos* [*Society of Festivities*]); with the self-same groups conducting their actual business in Castilian.

3.6 OTHER ICONIC MARKERS

***La Gaita* [Asturian bagpipes]**

Like their Galician and Basque neighbours, the Asturians have a traditional bagpipe dating from ancient times. The earliest record is in a church carving dating from the thirteenth century in Villaviciosa.

³¹ LNE 11/7/96.

† *El autor de este cuento lamentó que el asturiano sólo se emplee para escribir aspectos ligados a fiestas y costumbres populares, cuando ‘no concibo escribir de las tradiciones o del paisaje de Asturias sin hacerlo en bable.*

† *cuando tamos reuniós toa la familia en dalguna fiesta familiar.*

Whilst in Spain, bagpipes are characteristic of the north of the country, the linguistic effect has spread across the peninsula. The traditional Castilian word for bagpipes – *albogue* [from the Arabic *al boc*] – has long been in disuse, replaced by *gaita*_{40} [from the old Gothic *gaitis* – for *goat*]. In eastern Spain, the word *cornamusa* still survives in both the Catalan and Castilian of that region, though *gaita* is also recognised there.

The Asturian bagpipes share many features with the better known Scottish bagpipes, having a *fuella* [bag], a *vestiu* [outer cover], *punteru* [chanter], a *soplete* [blow pipe or mouthpiece] but only one *roncon* [drone] (as opposed to the Scottish three). The bag is made from either sheep or goat skin, and the timber used is either the autochthonous *boxe* {C: *boj*} [boxwood] or *ébanu* {C: *ébano*} [ebony], *granadillo* [blackwood] and *palo violeta* [jacaranda] from other parts of the world.

Before present times, the *gaita* achieved the height of prominence with *gaiteru* [bagpipe player] Llibardón who performed at the Paris World Fair of 1889 and cut the first ever recording of the instrument in performance.

After achieving this international prominence, the twentieth century saw the onset of a decline in both its popularity and the number of its practitioners. By the 1960s and 1970s it had nearly disappeared. It may be speculated as to why, by the mid-1970s, there were less than one hundred *gaita* players in all of Asturias. The coincidence of the timing of this decline with the closing years of the Franco era would not seem to justify pointing the finger at that regime, as folkloricism was esteemed by it provided there was no threat to national unity. The propaganda book *Asturias: España en Paz* [Asturias: Spain in Peace], published by the Spanish government in 1964 on the

occasion of the 25th anniversary of the victory of Franco's forces, contained a photograph of members of the *Organización Juvenil Española* [*Spanish Youth Organisation* – youth wing of the falangist JONS {*Junta Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista*}] in parade each holding a *gaita*, it being highly unlikely that any of them could actually play the instrument they carried.³² The cause may have been the perceived contradiction between the economic boom of the nineteen sixties and the perception of the *gaita* as the epitome of indolence as summarised in the refrain:

Haz esto y déjate de gaitas [*Do this and put down the bagpipes – in other words get on with things*]³³

Or it could have reflected a resistance to the regime. Writing over two decades after the end of the Franco era, one correspondent to the editor wrote that there was still a need *romper cola utilización fascista del baile y de la música tradicional* [*to break with the fascist utilisation of dance and traditional music*].³⁴

After a somewhat slow start in the 1980s, serious recuperation of *gaita* playing occurred in the 1990s there now being about fifty active bands in the region and others based around Asturian clubs in other parts of the world.

***Horreos* [Asturian barns]**

Just as the big red and characteristically-shaped barns of the North American prairies typify more than just midwest American agriculture but also are symbols of a wider cultural context, so too the Asturian *horreu* {*C:horreo*} is an icon of Asturias. So much so that smaller versions are now sold in kit form for erection at the rural holiday sites of many urban Asturians and even for export to the Asturian diaspora.

³² J M Mateu de Ros (ed), *Asturias: España en Paz*, Publicaciones Españolas, Madrid, 1964, page 86.

³³ M Quirós, *El libro de la gaita*, Asociación Cultural Linares, L'Entregu, 1993, page 46.

Whilst the oldest *hórreo* currently standing is only approaching an age of three hundred years, the Roman writer Pliny provided the first written record of the tradition of raised drying barns in the Asturian region.

The characteristics of the *horreo* and its larger sibling the *panera* are an enclosed but ventilated storage area positioned on top of columns containing anti-rodent slate collars. The enclosed area is surrounded by a verandah from which are hung strings of corn [*maíz*] for drying. In the undercroft wagons and other implements are stored.

***Madreñes* [Asturian wooden clogs]**

The high rainfall in the region and its terrain favoured the use of wooden clogs by those in the countryside. *Madreñes*_[58] [a derivation from *madera* the word for wood, from which the clogs are made] are not dissimilar to the better known Dutch clogs, except that they have three short legs on the underside and decorative carving on the top.

Unlike their Dutch equivalent, *madreñes* are still in common use in rural areas. Quite apart from their current usage, they are also icons of identity and there would hardly be an Asturian household which would not have a pair of the emblematic symbols. Though he was writing about a period in the late 1940s, the statement of Alonso Zamora Vicente reflected the rural Asturias I observed in the mid-1990s:

It is not only the village person who leaves home wearing the clogs in *les caneyes* {C: *caminos*} [*byways*]; the doctor, the priest and proprietor also use them.³⁵ ¹

³⁴ L301/253.

³⁵ A Zamora Vicente, *Palabras y cosas de Libardón*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1997, page 146.

Still used as work footwear in many parts of the country side, *madreñes* also have an iconic character as testified by a maker of the shoes speaking of his aunt's marriage:

My own aunt married (wearing) *madreñes*, some that my father had made.³⁶ ^t

Bolos Asturianos [Asturian bowls] and other autochthonous sports

Asturians share with many Europeans a passion for bowls, but unlike other regions of the continent where one form predominates (such as *Petanque* in France and *Bocce* in Italy), a number of forms exist in various regions of Asturias. Whilst the pins, rink layout and rules may differ within different parts of Asturias, the passion for bowls has long been a shared experience especially in rural areas. In the eighteenth century Xovellanos wrote that:

In the places and villages of Asturias of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were always bowling rinks.³⁷ ^t

With the popularity of the game over time has grown its own lexicon of Bable nouns (types of bowling games: eg *batiente* and *cuatriada*) and verbs (*armar* {C: *colocar los bolos*} [*to put bowls in the same place*]; and *birlar* {C: *lanzar*} [*to throw (as of a bowl)*])

The connection of *bolos asturianos* to Bable was underscored by the comments of a professor of physical education, Gerardo Ruiz Alonso, who said in an interview in answer to a question as to whether Bable or bowls should be taught in schools:

^t *No es solo el aldeano que baja de los caseríos sorteando los charcos de les caneyes ['caminos']; tambien las usa el medico, el sacerdote, el propietario.*

³⁶ LNE 15.03.97, quoting Fidel Lorenzo who, with his brother, makes 6,000 pairs of *madrenes* a year.

^t *una tía mía se casó de madreñes, con unas que mi padre les hizo.*

³⁷ cited in J G Ruiz Alonso, *Bolos Asturianos: modalidaes, técnica y estáu actual*, Alhora Llibros, Xixón, 1993, page 11.

^t *nos llugares y pueblos de l'Asturies de los siglos XVII y XVIII hai siempre una bolera.*

Asturian culture could be put (in schools): to practice and speak of traditional games in Asturian.^{38 †}

In addition to bowls, there are a number of other games and sports which have long been played in Asturias, many with equivalents in other parts of the country or world. Traditionally, the occasion of many competitions was at the end of *la esfoyaza* [the time of husking and tying strings of corn for drying]. In 1996 the first annual *Olimpiada asturiana de deportes autoctonos* [Asturian Olympiad of autochthonous sports]. Amongst the games in competition were: *Bolos*, *Llaves* [literally keys but actually a game of horseshoe throwing], *rana* [cow herding], *tiru cuerda* {C: *lucha de la cuerda*} [tug of war], *baltu* [heartbeat], *barra* {C: *lanzamiento de pesos*} [similar to shotput], *tiru al palu* [toss the pole], *tiru gües* [cattle wrestling], *gomeru* {C: *tirachinas*} [slingshot], and *llucha asturiana* [Asturian wrestling].

In 1997 *La Peonza* became the first group promoting *juegos populares* [popular games] registered in Asturias. Formed by a group of teachers from Corvera, the group also published a book of ninety such games.³⁹ Also reflecting growing community interest in such games, *La Nueva España* in the 1990s ran a series (written, partly in Bable, by Montserrat Garnacho) on childhood games – *¿Sales a jugar un poco?* [Are you going to play a little?].

Having dealt with certain iconic features of Asturian life and culture, the next chapter deals with aspects of Asturian sociology. Starting with an examination of education in the region, it then looks at the particular significance of social structures and responses.

³⁸ LNE 21.10.97

[†] P: *¿Bable o bolos nes escueles?* R: *Pondria cultura asturiana: prauticar y alar de xuegos tradicionales n'asturianu.*

³⁹ LNE 28.05.97

PART A – THE SETTING

CHAPTER FOUR – SOCIOLOGICAL ISSUES

Overview

Besides understanding the economic and geographical contexts as well as the historical and political influences which have affected Asturias, and the iconic or emblematic features of their identity, there is also need to explore in some depth some sociological issues. In this chapter some of these are considered.

Starting first with the institutional element of education, the chapter then explores the impact on identity of place, the traditional sense of community, the impact of the first industrialisation (namely mining), the role of resistance and the sense of alienation. From these are developed some thoughts on regionalist versus nationalist sentiments in the province, and the impact on social attitudes since the death of Franco.

All of these issues have their place in an analysis of the past and future of the vernacular language (and its dialects) of the Asturians.

4.1 EDUCATION

The nineteenth century saw the coming of mass education to Asturias. The language of instruction was notionally Castilian though the calibre of teachers in many rural schools resulted in less than effective transmission of a sound grounding in that language. Formal education did, however, erode the hold of illiteracy on the vast bulk of the Asturian population. And that illiteracy had provided a nurturing environment for Bable against the inroads of Castilian. Though literacy was not totally synonymous with

Castilian (as the *Nuevos Bablistas* [*New Bablists*] proved when they promoted Bable literature in the first part of the twentieth century – see Chapter Eight), it was, however, counter-productive to the maintenance and spread of Bable until the introduction of Bable courses in the 1980s.

In 1797, Asturias had thirty five schools rising by 1860 to 695 schools. By the census of 1900, Asturias ranked second only to León (of the then forty nine Spanish provinces) in terms of numbers of schools on a population basis. With its population of 627,069, it then had 1422 schools. Illiteracy had shrunk to 53.98% of the population, down from 64.85% in 1877 and 69.32% in 1860.¹ Asturian illiteracy rates were lower than the national average (where they had been 63.79% in 1900). The nearly ten percent gap between Asturian and Spanish illiteracy levels in 1900, however, narrowed to just over seven percent by 1920 (45% vs 52.23%).

It is noteworthy that the regional average figures masked internal differences; firstly, between the illiteracy rates in the cities compared with the rural areas (especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century) and secondly between cities (especially in the first quarter of the twentieth century). Though the levels of illiteracy in rural areas declined dramatically there were eight counties which still had illiteracy rates in excess of 70% by 1900.²

In the first two decades of the twentieth century the rural/urban divide became less well defined as illiteracy migrated to the mining and industrial centres carried by the rural

¹ F Canella y Secádes, *Historia de la Universidad de Oviedo*, Oviedo 1903, reprinted by the University of Oviedo, 1985, page 523.

² Op. cit., pages 885-6.

poor who went in search of work. Table 4.1 highlights the difference between these two periods of time with respect to six Asturian cities.³

Table 4.1: Changes in illiteracy rates for six Asturian cities

Zone/City	1877	1900	1920	Change '77-'00	Change '00-'20
Oviedo	53.03%	41.68%	39.76%	-11.35%	-1.92%
Gijón	56.46%	47.76%	50.68%	-8.70%	+2.92%
Avilés	30-50%	41.47%	40.80%	?	-0.67%
Aller	62.69%	49.70%	na	-12.99%	na
Langreo	62.84%	53.89%	52.10%	-8.95%	-1.79%
Mieres	68.12%	53.07%	59.04%	-15.05%	+5.97%

The shaded figures for Mieres and Gijón in particular show the effects of the city-bound migration of illiterates. The rural unemployed or underemployed, who would have been less likely to be literate than their employed compatriots, took their illiteracy with them to the industrial centres of Mieres and Gijón, hence the increase in illiteracy in those centres between 1900 and 1920 of 5.97% and 2.92% respectively. Notably both these centres continue to this day as relative strongholds of Bable.

The persistence of illiteracy in rural areas and the slower rate of improvement in the many of the industrial and mining centres was also affected by the quality (or lack thereof) of the education which was available. The poor quality of facilities was matched by that of those teaching within them. María del Valle Moreno Medina noted that the scarcity of proper school buildings:

Often obliged the teacher to conduct classes in the porticos of churches or in the undercroft of *hórreos*.^{4 t}

³ Op. cit, page 39 and A Terron Bañedos, *La enseñanza en la zona industrial (1898-1929)*, op.cit. p 292.

⁴ M del Valle Moreno Medina, *Historia de la Escuela Nacional Masculina de Oviedo (1844-1901)*, UGT, Oviedo, 1984, page 193.

^t *obligaba al maestro a impartir clase en los pórticos de las iglesias, o debajo de los hórreos.*

On the subject of teacher quality, there was a marked disparity in the capacity and interest on the part of the teachers employed for the purpose in different parts of the region. María Aurora Fernández Fernández,⁵ in her study of illiteracy in Asturias in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, cited the following example of teacher disinterest in a small rural school in Olloniego:

Such was the case with the teacher of Olloniego, who in the opinion of the locals was not providing the sought for education, since he lived in Ribera de Arriba and did not arrive at school at the proper hour, there being days when he entered at half past ten in the morning and left quickly in the afternoon in order to have time to return to his house before dark, and on days of rain and snow he didn't attend at all.⁶ †

Data on the disparity of teacher salaries indicates what must have been a cause of the wide variation in the capacity (and perhaps interest levels) of teachers. Salaries varied widely between schools. In 1870 those in the twelve *escuelas públicas superiores* [senior public schools], based in the larger centres, were earning between 1,000 – 1,566 pesetas a year; whilst primary school teachers in the same centres were receiving were receiving 625 – 1,100 pesetas a year and village schools were generally paying their teachers only 275 – 500 pesetas per year with some receiving as little as 125 pesetas.⁷ How did the pay rates of teachers, especially those in the villages, compare with other employment in the region? Fernández Fernández commented:

And we see that only the young lads working in the mines, in the factories or women at work could be considered equally recompensed with the teachers in the most discriminated locations.⁸ †

⁵ M A Fernández Fernández, *Analfabetismo en Asturias y sus relaciones con el movimiento obrero a finales del Siglo XIX (1870-1900)*, RIDEA, Oviedo, 1992.

⁶ Op cit., page 45.

† *Tal era el caso relacionado con el maestro de Olloniego, que en opinión de los vecinos no prestaba la enseñanza debida, ya que vivía en Ribera de arriba y no llegaba a la escuela a la hora debida, habiendo días que entraba a las diez de la mañana y su salida por la tarde la realizaba anticipadamente, a fin de tener tiempo para regresar a su casa antes de que oscureciera, y los días de lluvia o nieve no asistía.*

⁷ Op. cit., page 30.

⁸ Op. cit., page 31.

† *Y observamos que tan solo los muchachos en las minas, en las fábricas o las mujeres, se pueden equiparar en retribución a los maestros de los lugares más discriminados.*

Aside from the rate of remuneration, another limiting factor in terms of student achievement was the limitation of the educational goals of many schools, most particularly in the case of company schools. In 1900 the industrial enterprise *HULLERA* established a school for four hundred girls, daughters of company employees, which was:

For the young, a school divided into three sections under the leadership of Dominican nuns; where they learnt household management and accounts, kitchen duties, repair and making of clothes.^{9 t}

Little mention being made of more substantial pedagogical goals such as the imparting of *Castiliano con corrección* [grammatically correct Castilian].

That there was a very restricted vision (subordinated to work) in industrial centres such as Mieres as to what the outcome of education might be was also reflected in the attitudes of those in commercial or government authority with respect to the advancing of knowledge on the part of adults in that community. Of a proposal to establish a public library in Mieres it was said:

The intention (was) to establish in the town a public municipal library with the aim of helping the worker to access reading without prejudicing (him) in his daily tasks.^{10 t}

Education under Franco brought much more standardisation of curriculum and to some extent of teacher quality, the impact of both being to ensure a greater penetration of Castilian into the daily lives of all Asturians. However, the educational actions of the new regime were hardly undertaken for pedagogical motives rather, as Alicia Alted

⁹ A Terron Bañuelos, *La enseñanza primaria*, op. cit., page 159.

^t *para los jóvenes, una escuela dividida en tres secciones dirigidas por monjas dominicas donde aprenden la administración y contabilidad de la casa, labores de cocina, repaso de ropas y confección de vestidos.*

¹⁰ Op. cit., page 152.

pointed out, they were done for the purposes of *creating a cultural model to shape the behaviour of Spanish citizens, thus guaranteeing the regime's stability and permanence*.¹¹

Noting that the prime channel for achieving this purpose would be education, Alted wrote:

The regime's cultural apparatus was founded on two simple principles: the 're-Spanishification' and 're-Catholicization' of society. The exaltation of a seamless Spanish fatherland meant the persecution of all expressions of regional national identity, language in particular.¹²

The effect in regions such as Catalunya and the Basque Country was the proscription of formal education in the autochthonous languages. There had been no such official proscription, however, in Asturias where Bable was viewed more as a quaint remainder of a folkloric past rather than as an icon of regionalist identity and separatism. Nevertheless the effect there still had impact on the vitality of Bable. Factors identified above concerning poor teacher quality in many rural schools had actually provided some elements for support for the continuity of Bable. The educational standardisation of the Franco regime removed such support. As will be seen in the analysis of letters to the editor (Part C, Section 11.2), there arose in that time, the beginnings of anti-Bable attitudes within the school. The genesis of such attitudes was the perceived low status of Bable as a rural tongue which represented lack of sophistication. A columnist in LNE cited his own childhood experience as a Bable speaker:

¹ *(la) intención de establecer en la villa una biblioteca popular municipal, a fin de facilitar al obrero en acceso a la lectura sin perjuicio de sus cotidianas tareas.*

¹¹ A Alted, *Cultural Control*, in H Graham & J Labanyi (eds), *Spanish Cultural Studies: an introduction – The struggle for modernity*, OUP, Oxford, 1995, page 196.

¹² *Op.cit.*, page 197.

I, in class, scarcely spoke and preferred to pass (myself) off as a fool (*panguatu* they said in my house) and not respond to the teachers' questions so as not to suffer the flagellation of the tips of my fingers.^{13 t}

A correspondent to the editor of LNE echoed the same theme of the depreciation of Bable speaking in the classroom.¹⁴ As did another who spoke of a teacher, arrived from Castile, who:

... used to hit me because I was speaking Bable.^{15 t}

Whatever the motivation and effect of the educational developments of the Franco regime, one definite outcome was a huge reduction in illiteracy rates around the country. So that towards the end of the twentieth century the rate in Asturias, for example, had fallen to 1% of those over ten years of age.¹⁶ Though a report in 1996 that functional illiteracy amongst rural women could run as high as 60%.¹⁷

Country areas within Asturias still appear to have had a somewhat slower effect from the increased quality of education due to reduced stays at school; possibly exacerbated by closure of many small schools, forcing children to travel further away for education.

As noted by one interviewee, Angel:

Until ten years ago we were *incomunicaos* [*isolated*], the outside influence were the *escuelas* [*schools*], though children didn't stay as long as previously.¹⁸

This was echoed by a correspondent to the editor who commented upon his use of the Bable for *schools* instead of the Castilian:

¹³ LNE 2.10.97.

^t *Yo, en la clase, apenas hablaba y prefería pasar por tonto (panguatu, decían en mi casa) y no responder a las preguntas del maestros antes que sufrir la flagelación de las yemas de los dedos.*

¹⁴ L192/443, male, Mieres

¹⁵ L146/410

^t *llegó pegarme porque hablaba en bable.*

¹⁶ LNE 13.6.95.

¹⁷ LNE 1.11.96

¹⁸ Interview notes with Angel.

... and I say *les escueles* {C: *escuelas*} because they are *antigües* {C:*antiguas*} [*old*]; from when Bable was spoken.^{19 t}

4.2 THE ASTURIAN VILLAGE

Early in our time in Asturias, our children commented on the significance of the “village” in the lives of their friends. Though we lived in the capital city, Oviedo, and though most of their friends had been born there, our children would often hear their friends talk of *mi pueblo* [*my village*]; they also noted that their friends would spend a number of weekends a year and almost always a portion of their annual school holidays in their “village”.

The village of each, though not their own particular birthplace, was often the birthplace of at least one of their parents and certainly that of one of their sets of grandparents. Their visits then were to accomplish what my children would have expressed as “to visit our grandparents”; but there was also a broader sentiment than family implicit in such visits.

Survey data conducted in Asturias and Catalunya in the nineteen seventies confirmed the greater tendency of Asturians than Catalans to identify with village or city ahead of province or region. In answer to the question – *Of what part of Spain are you a part?* – 59.6% of Asturians said ‘town or city’ compared with 46.8% of Catalans. While on the other hand only 22.5% of Asturians answered ‘region’, compared with 40.3% of Catalans.²⁰ This greater tendency of Asturians to think ‘village’ rather than ‘region’ would be a factor in the argument of whether it is Bable or bables that is/are spoken in the region.

¹⁹ L299/306

^t *y digo 'los escueles' porque son 'antigües'; de cuando se hablaba el bable.*

²⁰ P de Silva Cienfuegos Jovellanos, *El regionalismo asturiano*, op.cit., pp 45-6.

James W Fernández McClintlock, in his essay *About 'moradas vitales': a microethnographic essay on Essence and Provenance, and other vectors in the negotiation of identity in Asturian village life*,²¹ wrote about the concept of *moradas vitales* [vital living areas] a term first coined by Américo Castro.²² He described them as a *vital source of identity* and indicated that three questions are contained within:

In asking **who** these villagers are, we ask with **whom** or **what** they identify, whom or what they are **like**.²³

Fernández McClintock noted that, in contradistinction to African fieldwork he had done *where location was often only incidental to identity by kinship*, in Asturian villages:

Kinship and location are in marked tension with each other ... For one thing these villages and their associated fields and meadows have been in existence in the same site for hundreds of years in most cases easily more than a millenium. Locality has great historical weight. People say this is "my" or "our" villages Such geocentric identity formation by location in space is very strong and must be negotiated along with kinship.²⁴

He further noted the sense of physical location is qualified by that which gives "likeness" to the individual. Thus he wrote:

It can apply to anything from a courtyard to a church or a bar, or a mill, where people, the homebody [*casariegu*], the barfly [*borrachu*], the churchmouse [*beata*], come to be known through their predominant association with one or another or several of these congregation sites.²⁵

To these locational and kinship links are also added occupational and class links.

The Spanish philosopher, José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) coined the doctrine of *perspectivism* [*perspectivismo*] based upon his view, as Jorge Gracia stated, of the

²¹ J W Fernández McClintlock, *About 'moradas vitales': a microethnographic essay on Essence and Provenance, and other vectors in the negotiation of identity in Asturian village life* in *Cultures: Revista Asturiana de Cultura* 2, published by ALLA, Uviéu 1992, pp 59-105.

²² A Castro, *España en su historia*, Buenos Aires, 1948.

²³ Op.cit., page 66.

²⁴ Op.cit., pp 69-70.

²⁵ Op.cit., page 72.

*metaphysics of vital reason [razón vital] and his perspectival epistemology.*²⁶ This view was summarised in Ortega y Gasset's statement:

*Yo soy yo y mi circunstancia [I am I and my circumstance].*²⁷

As Gracia put it:

There is a dynamic interaction and interdependence of self and things. These and the self together constitute reality.²⁸

For the Asturians, place (and also their iconic emblem) become vectors of identity. Thus, in the case of our children's friends, 'village' had become a vector in their negotiation of identity, a part of their reality, even though they had neither been born nor lived substantial periods of their lives in their respective villages. Indeed, though not unknown elsewhere in other Spanish regions, press references to people in Asturias very often contain in brackets both the locale and the year of their birth.

This perception of the rural by the urban is in contrast to that felt in other urban centres in Spain. The passage of generations has clearly put a greater distance between city and country, especially in such centres of Spanish intellectual life as Madrid and Barcelona. The rural portrayals of Spanish literature confirm this distance. As José Álvarez Junco wrote:

Unwritten cultures and politically marginalized sectors of the population offer historians no recourse to their favourite sources: documents. Nowhere is this difficulty more evident than when we try to penetrate the closed world of rural Spain. There are of course literary accounts, for peasant life had from the middle of the nineteenth century appealed to the *costumbrista* and 'realist' novelists, generally conservative in attitude ... Both groups shared an image of the rural world as dormant, passive, and inward-looking, where the rhythm of life was punctuated by the tolling of church bells: a symbol of the parish priest's influence

²⁶ R Audi (ed), *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, 2nd edition, Cambridge UP, Cambridge, 1999, page 637.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ ibid.

on rural inhabitants' consciences, but also the continued operation of traditional agricultural cycles.²⁹

In other words, literature from much of Spain has cast a deprecatory yet somewhat awed view of the rural context. In Asturias, however, familiarity has not deemed the rural world 'closed' or impenetrable but rather as almost a core value.

The gift of the *aldea*

God gave it to he who desires it.³⁰ †

4.3 PAISANU – PAISAÑÍN AND OTHER RURAL SYMBOLS

The word *paisano* in Castilian can mean 'peasant', but more commonly means 'compatriot', taking its origin from the word *país*, the word for country.

There is something held in tension in the word *país* since the Castilian word signifies more than the concept of the nation-state. For example, it can also apply to regions within a country. Thus denominations such as *País Valencia* [*Valencia country*] and *País Vasco* [*Basque country*] do not for most Spaniards signify nation-states, but rather distinctive parts of the one nation-state, namely Spain.

This is not to suggest that *nation-state* allusions are always absent in such references however. The tension between autonomy and independence was hinted at by the Catalan government during the months surrounding the 1992 Barcelona Olympics when it sponsored a series of print advertisements inviting the answer to the question: *In which country would you place this point?* (the point being labelled Barcelona and

²⁹ J Alvarez Junco, *Rural & Urban popular cultures* by in H Graham et.al. *Spanish Cultural Studies: An introduction*, ed. OUP, Oxford 1996, pp 82-3.

³⁰ F González, *Poesias Asturianas*, IDEA, Oviedo, 1987, page 86.

which appeared on an otherwise blank page). The sequel advertisement (on the succeeding page), superimposed the same point on a map of Europe, contained the headline: *In Catalonia, of course.** The political starkness of this statement was more strident in English language publications where *country* has much clearer *nation-state* significance than in Castilian.

At another level the word *páis* is related to a number of words, just as the word *country* in English is related to *countryside* in addition to referring to a *nation-state*. Similarly in Castilian there are words like: *paisaje* [*countryside*] and *paisajista* [*landscape painter*].

Paisano thus has both the *compatriot* about it as well as the *peasant*. One correspondent to the editor noted that there was something unique about Asturian usage of the term:

... 'paisanos' (as we say in Asturian) ... but, clearly, not all people are 'paisanos'.³¹

Thus *paisano* in Castilian looks more to the *compatriot*. While the Asturian sense of *paisano* is more closely aligned with countryside (*peasant*) than with country (*compatriot*). Asturian dictionaries ally the following words with *paisano* and its Bable equivalent *paisanu*:

XXSV 1988– *hombre, campesino* [*man, countryman*]
JN 1989 - *campesino, labriego* [*country man, worker*]
VdA 1987 – *campesín* [*countryman*]

A number of dictionaries also made reference to a *paisano* being someone not in uniform, ie someone not associated with authority.

¹ *El regalú de aldea / Dios lu déa quien lu desea..*

* An example of this ad duet appeared in the *International Herald Tribune* of 17 July 1992. The text of the second half also contained the statement: *This is where Barcelona is, in Catalonia, a country in Spain with its own culture, language and identity.*

³¹ L277/318.

There is also in Asturias a high interchangeability between *paisano(u)* and *aldeano(u)* [*person from a village*]. This interchangeability is even higher between the diminutive *paisañín* and *aldeano(u)*.

Exploring the issue by examining some *vocabularios* [*vocabularies*] published by ALLA, based on lexical research in various communities in Asturias, there are found some interesting definitions related to the concept of *paisano*, such as from Veiga:

Paisanamente [literally - *peasantly*] is given the meaning: *vulgar, familiarmente* [*common, familiarly*]³²

contrasting with one from Riosa:

Ser paisano [literally - to be a *paisano*] is given the meaning: *ser persona formal, ser persona de fiar* [*to be a formal person, to be a person to trust*]³³

Thus has developed a type of imagined rural idyll based on hearth and community with *paisano(u)*, *paisañín* [284] and *aldeanu* [24] joining other words in special lexicon of rural identity which is shared even by Asturians living in an urban context.

Among other words in that special lexicon are: *quintana*[14] and *llariega*[74]. These Bable words, more than their Castilian equivalents (*casería* and *hogareño*) both have special significance in Asturias and are used more widely than their literal meanings would merit. The first, *quintana*, refers to the farmstead and is thought to be of Roman origin. Ramón Prieto Bances gave what could be considered a literal description of the Asturian *quintana*:

¹ 'paisanos' (como decimos en asturiano) ... pero claro, no todos las personas son 'paisanos'.

³² J A Fernández Vior, *Vocabulario da Veiga*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1998, page 228.

³³ F Álvarez Fernández- Novo, *Vocabulariu de Riosa*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1998, page 130.

The Asturian country house is the family patrimony par excellence in the manner of saying that the country home is the conjunction formed by a house, a stable, a barn, one or two orchards, agricultural land and a piece of mountainside^{34 t}

To this literal translation has been added an overlay of more figurative significance in the spirit of ‘home is where the heart is’. Thus when *quintana* now appears it is often used to communicate more than the literal meaning. For example, *La Nueva España* chose the title *La Nueva Quintana* as the masthead for the weekly supplement on Asturian cultural and heritage which it has produced with regional government support.

The choice by the newspaper of the name *La Nueva Quintana*, which also carried the subtitle *Paginas Asturianistas* [*Asturianist pages*], may have been a clever allusion to regionalist sentiment (counterpoised with the nationalist flavour of its own name), but more probably, harkened back to an earlier publication, *La Quintana*, produced in the 1880s in a period described as a *brillante primavera asturianista* [*shining Asturianist spring*].³⁵ Thus was born the linkage between a word of rural provenance and Asturian identity.

Likewise the word *llariega* [*of the hearth*] has come to have greater significance than its literal meaning evidenced by its use in such phrases as *llingua llariega* [*language of the hearth* – ie Bable]. This conjunction of the word with *llingua* alludes to the means by which most acquired their knowledge of the language – at home, around the hearth. But it does not only refer to language learning during the first years of childhood

³⁴ R Anes Álvarez, *El Campesinado en la Edad Moderna*, H de A III, page 494.

^t *la casería asturiana es el patrimonio familiar por excelencia” de modo que “decir en Asturias una casería es decir el conjunto formado por una casa, una cuadra, una panera, uno o dos huertos, tierras de labor y un pedazo de monte.*

³⁵ Statement attributed to J I Ruiz de la Peña, quoted in the 14/6/95 edition of *La Nueva Quintana* in LNE of the same date.

(*mamándola* [suckling it] as cited by one of the conference attendees in Chapter 13³⁶; and *llingua que mamos* [language that suckles us]³⁷) but also to the Asturian rural tradition of language-sharing through story telling around the hearth on winter nights, or during occasions of shared work (eg husking the corn – *la esfoyaza*).

The contention is that the idealised view of the rural in Asturias has gone further than farm and hearth, it has come to embody the virtues of communalism. This is consistent with the history of the region which through the centuries has seen the development of communal structures such as *foral* villages (villages under charter of self-government) and *mancomunidad* [commonwealth] where groups of villages combined together.

The further contention is that certain words – eg *paisanín* and *aldeanu*– symbolize both the rural idyll as well as a sense of community mixed with solidarity.

4.4 MINERU_[14]

In addition to the status of the peasant, that of the miner has played a significant part in the tapestry of Asturian identity. Though later the body of miners would include a minority of immigrants from other parts of Spain (and even, in recent years, from such foreign countries as Poland), in the initial decades the workforce was supplied entirely by the supernumerary rural population – that is those children of rural families for whom the small size of the average Asturian farm could no longer provide employment in agriculture. But, since they were sociologically and culturally rural in origin and outlook, miners were just as much ‘sons of the land’ as their siblings who remained to till the soil and herd the flocks.

³⁶ S062

³⁷ L253/230.

Perceptions of miners by others

José Antonio Mases³⁸ noted that nineteenth and early twentieth century writers identified miners as *coarse and quarrelsome drunkards and gamblers when they are not murderers*¹ In noting this, Mases explained that those writers:

ignore the authentic personality of the miner, whom they know only outside of the mine, in the tavern or in the street, but not at his coalface nor in his family environment.^{39t}

It was not only the coming of miners which was depreciated, but also the industry itself.

In his work *La aldea perdida*, the writer Palacio Valdés wrote:

From when the mineral exploitation of Langreo began I realised that our patriarchal way of life, our simple customs were going to perish.^{40 t}

Yet what actually resulted was not the destruction of a 'way of life' based upon the rural idyll nor a degradation of a workforce but the creation of an expanded Asturian identity which melded together the rural with the spirit of the miner.

The populations of the mining centres clearly brought with them the communal spirit of their rural relatives. In 1919 the *mancomunidad* [commonwealth] of mining town councils initiated the *movimiento municipalista* [municipalist movement], commenced publishing a periodical, *La Mancomunidad*, and issued a pamphlet, *Asturias Autónoma: propaganda regionlista asturiana*.⁴¹

³⁸ J A Mases, *Asturias en 100 palabras*, Ediciones Trea, Gijón, 1996, page 37.

¹ *son toscos, borrachos, jugadores y pendencieros únicamente, cuando no asesinos.*

³⁹ Op.cit., page 37.

¹ *toscas, borrachos, jugadores y pendencieros únicamente, cuando no asesinos. and Ignoraban la auténtica personalidad del minero, a quien conocían solamente fuera de la mina, en la taberna o en la calle, pero no en su tajo ni en su entorno familiar.*

⁴⁰ Quoted in J de Lillo Cuadrado *Asturias: una crisis permanente*, Ayalga Ediciones, Salinas, 1978, p296.

¹ *Desde que comenzó la explotación de las minas de Langreo, comprendí que nuestra vida, patriarcal, nuestras costumbres sencillas iban a fenecer.*

Mases indicated that a perception change about miners took place in the twentieth century largely as a result of their politicisation as they widened their concern from immediate industrial circumstances to the future of all in the region. This change was reflected in two paintings of mining action separated by nearly seventy decades. José Uria y Uria's painting – *Después de una huelga* [After a strike] - evokes a spirit of victimhood in its poignant and sympathetic, yet nevertheless introverted, portrayal of a slain miner, a victim of a strike of the late nineteenth century. Decades later, in Picasso's 1963 drawing based on a miners' strike against the Franco regime⁴² - *La lámpara de los mineros alumbra un camino de porvenir* [The miners' lamp shines a path ahead] – the message became extroverted conveying a sense of miners leading the struggle of the disempowered in the community.

Figure 4.1: Después de la huelga, J Uria y Uria



⁴¹ P San Martín Antuña, *Doctrina Asturianista*, op. cit., pp 43-44.

⁴² Paintings depicted by J Baron Thidigsmann, *Sociedad y Pintura asturiana Siglo XIX*, and F Erice Sebares, *La Franquismo en Asturias*, in HdA IV, op.cit., pages 124 and 887 respectively.

Figure 4.2: *La lámpara de los mineros ...*, P Picasso



Literature too changed from that expressed in *La aldea perdida*, with works such as *Atrapados* [*The entrapped ones*] by Asturian writer Dolores Medio reflecting a world of miners which was:

A world of work, heroism, poverty, suffering, rebellion and many other virtues and many other conflictive elements.^{43 t}

In his introduction to an edition of Albert Camus' play *Rebelión en Asturias* [*Rebellion in Asturias*], David Ruiz wrote of the rooting of much Asturian radicalism in the spirit of the mining zones:

Mieres, Sama de Langreo and La Felguera (were) the principal foci of irradiation. It was in these three nuclei where, during the dawn of the 5 October the machinery of rebellion was put in place, that was going to throw almost fifty thousand workers into the struggle for the realisation of a new world ...^{44 t}

⁴³ F Pajares, *Prologo to C Rubín, Diccionario Minero-Astur*, op.cit., page 9.

^t *este mundo de trabajo, heroicidad, penuria, sufrimiento, rebeldía, y otras muchas virtudes y muchos otros elementos conflictivos.*

⁴⁴ D Ruiz, *Introducción a Octubre de 1934*, op.cit., page 21.

^t *Mieres, Sama de Langreo y La Felguera como los principales focus de irradiación. Fue en estos tres núcleos en donde, durante la madrugada del 5 de octubre, se puso en marcha la máquina de*

For much of the twentieth century there have been times when solidarity with miners extended across a surprisingly wide section of both political and class divides. The deaths of fourteen miners at *Pozo San Nicolás* [*Saint Nicholas pithead*] in Mieres on 31 August 1995 unleashed a widespread regional grief. The overflowing attendance at the memorial service held at the cathedral in Oviedo was testimony to the fact that it was not just Asturian miners and their families who felt a profound sense of loss at the tragedy, but also a large and diverse portion of the region's populace.

During a period of intense industrial agitation in the mining *cuencas* in May 1997, representatives of three regionalist parties reflected not only the wider agenda implicit in the miners' strike action but also the resultant solidarity of many others in the community with that agenda of autonomy and self reliance. The three were quoted as saying:⁴⁵

I desire that the Asturian problem should be seen from Asturias.[†]
[Alfredo Pérez Argüelles, *Liga Asturiana* councillor in Aller]

More and more every time it is being realised that we could resolve our problems ourselves.[†] [Miguel Angel Díaz, *PAS* councillor in Pola de Lena]

We should apply our traditions at this time when others would impose (theirs) on us.[†] [Violeta Santapa, *Andecha Astur* councillor in Riosa]

4.5 LO NUESTRO AND LO COMÚN [THAT WHICH IS OURS AND THE COMMON]

The concept of community within the village or mining centre merits further investigation so as to understand better the way Asturians perceive the 'communal'.

la rebellion, que iba a lanzar a casi cincuenta mil obreros a la lucha por la realización de un mundo Nuevo ...

⁴⁵ LNE 7.5.97.

[†] *Deseo que el problema asturiano se vea desde Asturias*

[†] *Se dan cuenta cada vez más que nuestros problemas los resolvemos nosotros.*

While there is often a sense of idealisation of the rural (and even the mine) in modern, urban Asturias, the reality of life for the rural poor and mine workers had very often been harsh. The rural idyll certainly did not exist. Perception has often betrayed reality to the extent that at times both reactionary forces (such as Carlism) as well as forces for conservative change (such as during the era of Franco) played on the theme of the rural idyll as a means of achieving other objectives.

It is first necessary to understand the different stances which can be taken to the same setting. Fernández McClintlock contrasted the differing perceptions of Prieto Bances (which he summed up as seeing the rural community of the nineteenth century as *una familia grande* [a great family]) with that of García Fernández who portrayed an opposite view of Asturian rural life from the eighteenth century:

It was a society of extreme elements, from the rural hearth, where a class, the rural aristocracy, bled everything from the lowest classes and after that, not openly visible, but making use and abuse of the myths and symbols of family, religion and of patronage in order to obscure the theft and the misery in which the majority were buried.^{46 †}

In his analysis Fernández McClintlock used the device of testing the writings of the two against an Asturian aphorism:

Lo común ye de nengún [The common is of no-one]

[†] *Debemos aplicar nuestras tradiciones en vez de que nos impongan otros.*

⁴⁶ J M Fernández McClintlock, *Campos léxicos y vida cultural n'Asturies*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1996. Reference is made (on page 108) to J García Fernández, *Sociedad y organización tradicional del espacio en Asturias*, IDEA, Oviedo, 1976.

[†] *Yera una sociedá de elementos estremaos llarada de torgues, onde un estamentu, l'aristocracia rural, sangró de toes toes a los estamentos más baxos y, dende llueu, non a les clares, sinón faciendo usu y abusu de los mitos y símbolos de familia, relixión y padronalgu, p'anubrir el lladroniciu y, d'ello, la miseria na que sapozaron a la mayoría.*

He concluded that Prieto Bances interpreted this to mean *lo del común yera cosa de nengún y yera de toos* [that of the common was a thing of no-one and it was (a thing) of all] ; while he attributed to García Fernández the view that:

The idea of the community was of no-one still less of them, who took the power or the artfulness of the blood in its own interest.^{47 t}

However, Fernández McClintlock found both analyses unsatisfactory. He stated that these perceptions came from the *culture savant* [academic culture] and ignored *la cultura del pueblu* [culture of the people]. He acknowledged that both have derived from similar seminal aspects of *la idea primitiva de lo común* [the primitive idea of the common] but that their academic analysis had led them to diverging conclusions.⁴⁸

Fernández McClintlock himself concluded:

In Asturias there were many classes of common land, many modes of working for the common good. Only, as shown: we have in the nineteenth century, a system of sharing the gain called *comuña* and we have, in the twentieth century, disposed to want to bring forward in the Revolution of 1934 *la comuña asturiana*. But here, and very simply, I am going to talk no more of a system of working in common – of people helping each other – called *estaferia* [shared labour], and of a system of guaranteeing the common pasture of the cattle, *la derrota* [opening of untilled ground], long since thrown out elsewhere in Spain.^{49 t}

He analysed the perception from the local level of *lo común* in contraposition to a parallel idea of *el bien común* [the common good]. He found evidence of a local level suspicion that feared *lo común ye d'ellos y non de nós* [the common is of them and not

⁴⁷ Op.cit., page 108.

^t *lo de la comunidá yera de nengún sacante ellos, que tuvieron el poder o l'arteria de sangralo nel so propiu porgüeyu.*

⁴⁸ Op.cit., p109.

⁴⁹ Op.cit., p110.

^t *N'Asturies hubo munches clases de tierres del común, munches maneres de trabayar pal bien común. Sólo comu amuesa: tenemos en sieglu XIX, un sistema de llevar el ganáu denomáu comuña y tenemos, en sieglu XX, l'entamu de querer llevar alantre na Revolución del 34 'la comuña asturiana'. Pero equí, y mui cenciellamente, voi falar namái d'un sistema de trabayar en común – d'ayudase la xente uno a otro – denomáu estaferia, y d'un sistema de garantir la lliandadura común del ganáu, la derrota, mui esparvió n'España otra miente.*

of us].⁵⁰ In other words a myth of *lo común*. Yet this alienated sense of the common of the others (best described as the *common good*], led to a parallel shared or collective and reactive feeling amongst the dispossessed.

This concept of ‘our-ness’ or shared experience was revealed in a survey conducted in 1996 by the *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* which found Asturians second ranked amongst different Spanish groups (after Andalucians) in the index of feelings of fellow kinship.⁵¹

Which brings the special place of the possessive pronoun *lo nuestro* [ours] into focus.

Lo nuestro

Jacques de Bruyne, a member of the *Real Academia Español*, in his work *A comprehensive Spanish Grammar*, after describing the standard grammatical meanings of the possessive adjectives also noted:

Forms like *lo mío, lo tuyo, lo nuestro, &c* can nevertheless also have a completely different, figurative meaning. These expressions may allude to behaviour or a state of affairs of which the person addressed is assumed to be informed. These neuter (hence vague, general) terms are also used euphemistically and avoid more precise words or expressions which might call up unpleasant memories or allude to difficulties (they) may (also) refer to a typical or characteristic aspect of someone’s attitude or lifestyle.⁵²

It is the latter usage (with respect to the first person plural possessive adjective) that is of most interest in considering the Asturian situation.

⁵⁰ Op.cit., p111.

⁵¹ LNE 27.1.97.

⁵² J de Bruyne, *A comprehensive Spanish Grammar*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford 1995, page 187.

In their book *Villaviciosa y su progreso*, Victor Vallín Martínez and Gerardo Fernández Moreno unintentionally gave examples of such use of the first person plural possessive adjective, such as:

..
-X, whose sound is so us

I speak of 'we' because imperceptibly though very logically it links us and roaming through the domain of this Central Bable, perhaps also to be he that with greater loyalty comes conserving the characteristics of origin, but there is no doubt that it is principally to be ours, of our own county.⁵³ †

The relative significance of *our* and *ours* in Bable is also supported by comparative lexical frequency analysis. Using the analysis of one million Bable words in *Diccionariu de frecuencies léxiques del Asturianu* of Fernando Cuetos et.al.⁵⁴ and of 1,014,000 English words in 1989 by Knut Hofland and Stig Johansson,⁵⁵ provides an interesting difference in the comparative incidence of possessive pronouns between the two languages. Table 4.2 gives the information in tabular form. The data is portrayed diagrammatically in Figure 4.1.

The figures show a marked difference between English practice and that in Bable with respect to utilisation of possessives. In English first person (singular and plural) possessives represent only 14.6% of all personal possessives; whereas in Bable the percentage is 92.1%. Contrariwise, third person possessive pronouns represent 80.2% of English possessive pronoun usage, contrasting with only 4.87% in Bable. Only the

⁵³ V Vallín Martínez and G Fernández Moreno, *Villaviciosa y su progreso*, originally published 1928, reprinted Ediciones la Oliva, Villaviciosa, 1993, page 185.

† X, cuyo sonido ¡tan nuestro! and

Hablo de nosotros porque insensiblemente aunque muy lógico ello hétenos y discurriendo por el terreno de este bable central, quizá también por ser él el que con mayor fidelidad viene conservando los rasgos de origen, pero no hay duda que principalmente por ser el nuestro, el propio de nuestro consejo

⁵⁴ F Cuetos et.al., *Diccionariu de frecuencies léxiques del Asturianu*, Estaya Pedagógica 11, ALLA, Uviéu, 1997.

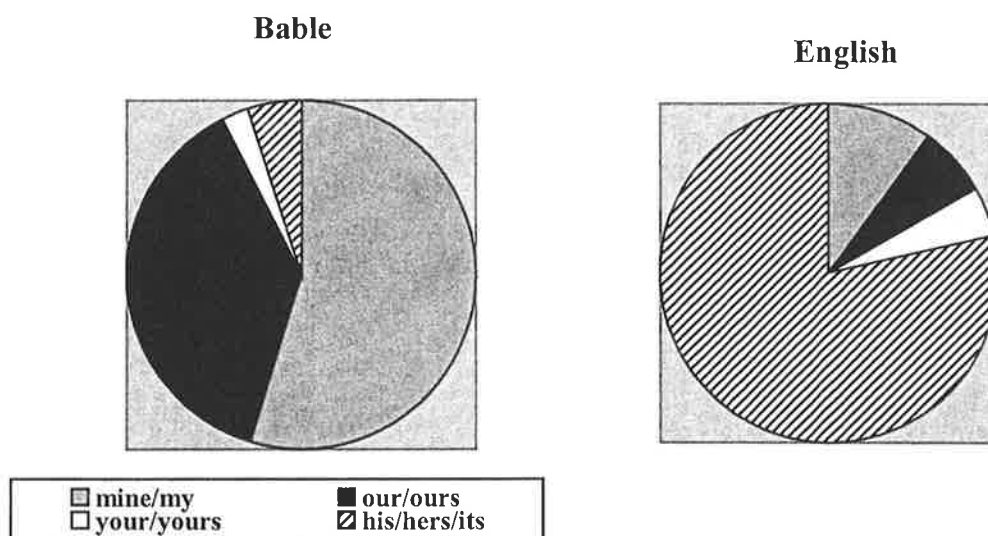
⁵⁵ K Hofland & S Johansson, *Frequency analysis of English vocabulary & grammar*, OUP, Oxford, 1989.

figures for second person possessive pronouns were approximately comparable between the two languages.

Table 4.2: comparative incidence of possessive pronouns in Bable & English

Possessive pronoun	Bable		English	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Mine, my	2,563	54.48%	1,879	10.10%
Your, yours (sg & pl)	127	2.72%	856	4.59%
His, hers, its, theirs	228	4.87%	14,670	78.72%
Our, ours	1,759	37.61%	1,231	6.61%

Figure 4.1: comparative incidence of possessive pronouns in Bable & English



The contexts in which this extensive use of the first person possessive is applied is explored in the chapters on research (Thirteen to Fifteen).

4.6 RESISTANCE & ALIENATION

Perhaps arising from the strong individualism characteristic of their Celtic origins, the Asturians have, from the earliest recorded times, maintained a spirit of resistance to perceived oppression, or the threat of it. Writing in the second century AD, Dio Cassius

noted the strength of the resistance of the Astures to attempts by Augustus to occupy the region:

Augustus himself waged war upon the Astures and upon the Cantabri at one and the same time. But these peoples would neither yield to him, because they were confident on account of their strongholds, nor would they come to close quarters, owing to their inferior numbers and the circumstance, that most of them were javelin-throwers, and, besides, they kept causing him a great deal of annoyance, always forestalling him by seizing the higher ground whenever a manoeuvre was attempted, and lying in ambush for him in the valleys and woods. Accordingly Augustus found himself in very great embarrassment ...⁵⁶

The resistance of the Asturians to the Moors at Covadonga may well have annealed among them a kingdom and united a people but it did not bring passive submission of subjects to their revitalised monarchy. Maria Jesús Suarez Alvarez⁵⁷ noted an unsuccessful rebellion by *servios* [*serfs*] during the reign of King Aurelio, only five decades after the victory of King Pelayo. The rebels were, in the opinion of A Barbero and M Vigil, neither slaves nor freemen but:

Local peasants who continued being subjected to the nobility and the church.^{58 t}

In 1132, after the amalgamation of the Kingdom of Leon with the Kingdom of Castille, Asturian resistance crystallised in the form of an uprising against Alfonso VII led by González Peláez. The rebellion lasted five years until it was finally put down in 1137.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century saw the Asturians twice play a significant role of resistance. Napoleonic France invaded Spain in 1808 to install a satellite monarchy in the person of Fernando VII. France reinvaded in 1823 to defend that monarch. The region of Asturias has prided itself that it led the resistance to the 1808

⁵⁶ Dio Cassius, *Roman History Book LIII*, tr. E Cary, Loeb Classical Library, Harvard UP, Cambridge (Mass.) reprinted 1994, pages 259-261.

⁵⁷ M J Suarez Alvarez *Asturias en la Epoca de la Monarquía Asturiana*, HdA II, pp 293-308.

⁵⁸ *Op.cit.*, page 305.

invasion, being the first Spanish province to declare war against Napoleon. With that resistance came the establishment of a proto-national Spanish government in the form of the *Junta Suprema de Gobierno del Principado de Asturias y Consejo Soberano de Asturias y León* [*Supreme Junta of the government of the Principality of Asturias and Sovereign Council of Asturias and León*]. This government did not so much see itself as a regional authority but as a kind of government-in-exile:

The Junta General of this province, in which resides the sovereignty until such time as circumstances would permit the resumption of the legitimate monarchy of Fernando VII.^{59 †}

A nineteenth century Carlist, Guillermo Estrada Villaverde [1834-1894], spoke of the movement's aim to defend *les llibertats tradicionals* [*the traditional freedoms*].⁶⁰

Yet the Junta did not always defend the interests of all Asturians as it:

... would continue being, until its disappearance in 1834, an instrument of the oligarchies for the defence of its interests; if those coincided with those of the *común*, all the better, (but), obviously, it did not always happen.^{61 †}

The proletarianisation of the mining sector (the move from a rural workforce which also worked the mines to a landless mining labour force) led to a more clear delineation between miner and pit owner. The spirit of resistance which arose expressed itself by means of strikes. The first significant strike in Asturias took place in Gijón in 1901,

[†] *campesinos locales que van quedando sometidos a la nobleza y a la iglesia.*

⁵⁹ F Tuero Bertrand, *La Junta General del Principado de Asturias*, Ayalga Ediciones, Salinas, 1978, p 59.

[†] *La Junta General de esta provincia, en quien reside la soberanía hasta que las circunstancias permitan pueda resumirla el legítimo monarca Fernando VII.*

⁶⁰ Cited in *una hestoria con nome propiu*, an attachment to www.asturies.com.es accessed on 28.09.97. The use of Bable was not necessarily that of Estrada in the original but may have been translated from Castilian by the author of the site.

⁶¹ J Rodríguez Muñoz & M A González Muñiz, *Diccionario de Historia de Asturias*, Silverio Cañada, Gijón, 1991, page 183.

[†] *continuará siendo, hasta su desaparición en 1834, un instrumento de los oligarquías para la defensa de sus intereses; si éstos coincidían con los del común, tanto mejor, lo que, obviamente, no sucedía siempre.*

followed in 1911 by the first general strike and the revolutionary strike of 1917. In the period 1907-17 some 200 strikes were recorded.⁶²

The increasing politicisation of the strike instrument reached its apogee with *Octubre Rojo* [*Red October*] - the strike and subsequent march on Oviedo in 1934 (which was dealt with in Chapter One).

During the Franco regime the right to strike was not recognised in law; in addition, other avenues to protest were severely circumscribed. Asturians, however, more than other Spanish, availed themselves of what opportunities they could to express dissent. In 1947 a referendum was held to approve the Law of Succession. Asturians recorded the highest abstention rate of any region in Spain, with 23.15% not voting. Of those who did vote, Asturias recorded a 'yes' vote of only 67.5%, compared with 83.2% for Spain as a whole.⁶³ This level of local intransigence to the Franco regime had a public face in the strike of 1961 which attracted international attention.

Unlike the situation which confronted Catalan and Basque, there was no direct evidence of the need for overt resistance by supporters of Bable in the face of proscriptive actions by the Franco regime designed to favour of Castilian. Indeed, as is argued elsewhere, the Franco regime to a certain degree indulged Bable as a folkloric oddity. Notwithstanding such apparent tolerance, one of the most noted Bable writers of the era, Pachín de Melás (pseudonym of Emilio Robles Muñiz, author of many theatric

⁶² A Terron Bañuelos, *La enseñanza primaria en la zona industrial de Asturias (1898-1923)*, Op.cit. p 22.

⁶³ F Erice Sebares, *El Franquismo en Asturias*, HdA Vol. IV, page 877.

works in Bable) was one of nearly nine hundred people to perish in 1938 alongside other republican activists in *El Coto*, the jail in Xixón run by Franco's rebels.⁶⁴

The strike instrument was not solely focussed on industrial issues but also increasingly incorporated broader regional themes which themselves represented issues of resistance to power. Paralleling strike activity in the first decades of the twentieth century were activities to promote the autonomy of the region. The councils of Avilés, Oviedo and the *Mancomunidad d'ayuntamientos mineros* [*Commonwealth of mining councils*] voted for municipal and regional autonomy.⁶⁵ And in 1918 Alvaro Fernández de Miranda edited the bases for an autonomy statute.⁶⁶

Since the death of Franco the language of both strike action and autonomy calls has frequently been Bable.

Photo 4.1: Newspaper photo of miners' protest



Translation of banner (from Bable): *To defend the mining zones is to defend Asturias.*

⁶⁴ M E Ortega Valcárcel, *Ejecutados y fallecidos en la carcel del coto Gijón*, Azucel, Avilés, 1994, pp 15 & 94.

⁶⁵ LNE 12/7/95 (La Nueva Quintana supplement)

⁶⁶ A Fernández de Miranda *et.al*, *Doctrina Asturianista: aprobada por la Junta Regionalista del Principado 1918*, prologue by P San Martín Antuña, Nueva Asturias Fundación, Xixón, 1999, page 9.

Photo 4.1 is a photo from a newspaper report of a miners' protest (behind a Bable language banner) which took place in Mieres del Camino in May 1997.⁶⁷ The aim of the protest organising committee, 15-M, was in the words of one committee member, Ramón García Cañal, not to seek special privileges for miners but to identify with regional problems. He proclaimed that when it came to solidarity with others in the region:

To the miners and the people of the mining zones no-one can give lessons about solidarity.⁶⁸ †

Amongst other examples from the nineteen nineties of the use of Bable as the language of protest was a demonstration organised by the union umbrella body FETE-UGT (*Federación de trabajadores españoles / Unión general de trabajadores* [*Federation of Spanish Workers / General union of workers*]) under the banner *Pa ti esperanza ¡¡ya ta bien!!* [*For your hope – already it is well!*].⁶⁹ Another was a February 1998 demonstration by 300 local protesters demanding a national park in Picu Fariu {C: Peña Careses}, in the county of Siero; the demonstrators carrying a banner in Bable stating *Careses ye de toos* {C: *Careses es de todos*} [*Careses is for all*].⁷⁰ *

The character of Asturians as a resistant people has also reflected itself in opposition to conscription. According to the Carlos Martín Panicerres Estrada of the *Oficina del defensor del Soldado* [*Office of the Defence of the Soldier*], Asturias has the highest rate of those rejecting conscription [*la mili*] of any region of Spain.⁷¹ Again Bable has often been chosen as the language to express this opposition. As shown in Photo 7.3

⁶⁷ LNE 16.5.97.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

† *A los mineros y la gente de las Cuencas nadie les puede dar lecciones de solidaridad.*

⁶⁹ LNE 25.4.97.

⁷⁰ LNE 23.2.98.

(page 244), the graffiti language of the anti-conscriptionists has been Bable; likewise the names of two key groups of conscription opponents were in Bable – *Coordinadora Asturiana pola Insumisión* [Asturian Coordinating Committee for Draft Resistance] and *Coleutivu d’Insumisos presos en Villabona* [Collective of draft resisters imprisoned in Villabona].

Connection of language with dispossession

Llera found that 44% of respondents identified Bable (or Asturian as he used) as *lengua propia* [own language] of Asturias, compared with 19% identifying Castilian to be so; a further 35% indicated that both languages were in this category. Table 4.3 identifies those sub-groups of population which Llera found exceeded the province average (44%) of those nominating Bable as *lengua propia*; the table also lists some of the most significant sub-groups below that average.⁷²

Table 4.3: significant groups above and below the average rate of identification of Bable as sole *lengua propia*

Exceeding 44%	Not reaching 44%
Illiterates (92%)	PP voters (34%)
Nationalist/regionalist voters (90%)	Higher degree graduates (33%)
The young (77%)	Students (33%)
Non-middle school graduates (50-66%)	Middle class (30%)
Unemployed (60%)	University graduates (28%)
Lower middle class (56%)	
IU voters (53%)	
Native-born children of immigrants (50%)	
Housewives (49%)	
PSOE voters (49%)	

* It is of interest that while the language of the banner was in Bable and not Castilian, the Castilian toponym was used and not the Bable.

⁷¹ LNE 13.6.95.

⁷² F J Llera Ramo, *Los asturianos y la lengua asturiana: estudio sociolingüístico para Asturias –1991*, Principáu d’Asturies, Uviéu, 1994, page 57.

With the exception of the nationalist and regionalist voters, whose high support rate of 90% was predictable, the remaining figures correlated inversely very well with the possession of self-perceptions of power within the community. Thus illiterates, arguably the most disempowered, exhibited the highest rate of support for Bable whereas university graduates and the middle class exhibited the lowest levels of support amongst the categories listed. Thus those either feeling rejected by society or being ideologically rejectionist of mainstream society were more likely to be supportive of Bable.

Llera himself summed up the differences between those supporting Bable as the only *lengua propia* compared with those supporting Castilian as the only one in the following ways:

Bable only: *There is a relative populist and progressive factor*

Castilian only: *There is a clear factor of class and learning*^{73t}

A particularly interesting figure, surprisingly high in the circumstances, was the 50% support reported by native-born children of immigrant parents (ie those from non-Bable regions). The largest group of these children would be those of Andalucian parents who migrated to Asturias in the days when the local steel and coal industries still needed labour. That the children of these Andalucian parents showed 50% support for Bable is in marked contrast to the attitudes of the children of the same parentage in Catalunya with respect to Catalan. In the latter instance, the perception of immigrants to Catalunya has been that they have been the disempowered entering a region where their language (Castilian) was not the language of those in power (Catalan). These feelings were

⁷³ Op.cit., pp 57-58

^t *Hay un relativo factor popular y progresista and Hay un factor de clase e ilustración.*

reinforced by regional government education policies restricting access to teaching in Castilian.⁷⁴

This phenomenon of linking Bable (even at the most notional level of nomenclature) to opposition to the mainstream has continued to reflect itself in the many groups who have felt cause to be at odds with the powerful and mainstream opinion. Such groups have often chosen Bable names for their associations rather than Castilian, in what seems to be an identification of language with struggle and resistance. For example the following names of ‘green’ groups have been cited in LNE:

Ixuxu ‘Grupo ecologista’
Conceyu Ecoloxista d’Uviéu Arfueyu
Coordinadora Ecoloxista de Asturias
Coordinadora Ornitolóxica d’Asturies
Asociación ecologista ‘Freixo’ (Mieres)
Asociación Ecoloxista pola Defensa la Natura (Aedenat-Asturias)
L’arcu la vieya (Oviedo)
Colectivo Ecoloxista La Llavandera
Coleutivu Ecoloxista d’Avilés
Conceyu Ecoloxista de Xixón
L’Asociación Asturiana d’Amigos de la Naturaleza (Villaviciosa)
Cuelmu Ecoloxista Pésicu

Of these eleven groups, nine have names entirely in Bable while the remaining two have Bable appendages to their names (*Ixuxu* and *Freixo*). Relevant to the discussion on interference in Chapter Ten are the examples in the above list of names (*Ecoloxista de Asturias* – interference of Castilian into Bable underlined) and regional variations (*Colectivo Ecoloxista La Llavandera* versus *Coleutivu Ecoloxista d’Avilés*).

⁷⁴ LNE 30.12.94.

Not only did environmental groups tend to adopt Bable names, but they also used the language in some of their slogans. Photo 4.2 is of a protest organized by *Coordinadora Ecoloxista d'Asturies* against a waste incineration facility.⁷⁵

Photo 4.2: Newspaper photo of environment protest



Translation: The incineration of residues is not the solution. (note: only *nun ye* is characteristically Bable; the other words are part of the shared lexicon of Bable and Castilian)

In a more political vein, Bable has been the preferred language of nomenclature for radical groups in the 1990s. The group *SOS Racismu* was established in the 1990s as part of a growing national campaign against racism. The slogan of the group has been *Nun te metas col mio collaciu* [Don't you mess with my friend]. In 1997 a like-minded organisation, *Llar Solidariu* [Solidarity Hearth], organised the *Xornaes Antirracistes* [Antiracist Days]. At roughly the same time the former *Movimientu Comunista Asturiana* [Asturian Communist Movement] changed its name to *Lliberación* {C: *Liberación*} [Liberation]. Mention has already been made earlier of anti-conscription groups and their usage of Bable names.

⁷⁵ LNE 23.11.96.

Equally telling is the choice of Bable for the name of the Asturian umbrella organisation of Gays and Lesbians – *Xente Gai Astur y Lesbianas Feministas de Asturias* {C: *Gente Gai Asturiano y Lesbianas Feministas de Asturias*} [*Asturian Gay People and Feminist Lesbians of Asturias*]. The slogan for this group has also been written in Bable: *Ama comu quieras* [*Love as you would want*].

4.7 ASTURIANISM – REGIONALISM vs NATIONALISM

Asturias has had a number of expressions of regionalist sentiment over time. The *Partido federal republicana asturiana* [*Asturian Federal Republican Party*], for example, presented two draft autonomy statutes for the region, one in 1881 and another in 1931. Asturian regionalism has generally represented a coalition of interests bringing together *mozos d'estremaes tendencies* [*youths of extreme tendencies*] from widely differing perspectives in these coalitions⁷⁶.

Regionalist aspirations have been expressed in many parts of Spain, but the underlying features of the sentiments are not the same from region to region. In some parts of the country (such as the Basque country and Catalonia) there continue to be strong independence factions amongst those who would promote greater autonomy for their region. On the other hand, in regions such as Andalusia regionalism seeks to provide greater leverage for their area within the broader national context.

Similarly the relationship of regionalism to vernacular differs. In some cases language has been integral with autonomy/independence aspirations (once again the Basque Country and Catalonia being prime examples); while in others, notwithstanding the

⁷⁶ P San Martín Antuña, *Doctrina Asturianista*, op.cit., page 20.

respect given to the vernacular in their own autonomy statutes, there appears to be less vehemence in the vernacular connection (eg Valencia). In his work *El Regionalismo Asturiano*, former president of the region, Pedro de Silva Cienfuegos Jovellanos reported that surveys undertaken in the mid-1970s found that 30.6% of Catalans regarded their language as a *principal elemento de caracterización regional* [*principal element of regional characterisation*], while 23.2% of Asturians indicated support for a less strongly worded statement about their vernacular being of *tal carácter o forma de ser sus habitantes* [*such character or form of being (for) its inhabitants*].⁷⁷

Jorge Uria quoted Nicanor de Alas Pumariño on the capacity of regionalist movements to be different and for language to be of differing significance:

The reasons that animate our regionalism ought not to be the same that motivate the Basque, the Navarran, the Catalan. We do not have our own tongue nor do we live in a special way ...^{78 t}

He also cited a study (*Regionalismo – estudio general: el problema en Asturias*) by Sabino Álvarez Gendín, which appeared in 1932. The study was preliminary work which might have led to an autonomy statute at that time. On the subject of language, he had written:

We in the preliminary work of the regional statute for Asturias, are not establishing the coofficiality of languages, because we recognise that Bable is a romance (language) left behind, that is not spoken except by country people.^{79 t}

Such negative views of the role of Bable in the regionalist stance have not been the view of everyone. For example, Alvaro Ruiz de la Peña Solar, using the imagery of

⁷⁷ P de Silva Cienfuegos Jovellanos, *El regionalismo asturiano*, op.cit., page 45.

⁷⁸ J Uria, *Ideología y lengua durante el franquismo: el caso asturiano*, LLAA 18, 1985, page 28.

^t *Las razones que animan nuestro regionalismo no pueden ser las mismas que impulsan el vasco, el Navarro, el catalán. Nosotros no tenemos idioma propio ni vivimos un derecho especial ...*

⁷⁹ Idem.

recent decades, referred to the regionalism of Alas Pumariño and his *Liga Pro Asturias* as being *regionalismo descafeinado* [decaffeinated regionalism].⁸⁰

Asturianism does not cover one meaning. Adolfo Camilo Díaz wrote that:

It is Asturianism, in politically correct language, that is at the margin of those of the right and those of the left, of the nationalists and the internationalists, of those in favour of normalization and those against it ... and it is, at worst at the margin of the self same Asturianists.^{81 t}

Two contrary positions have been taken by those who would call themselves *Asturianista* – one is in essence a regionalist (ie a Spanish nationalist), the other an Asturian nationalist. The former seeks special recognition of Asturias as the founding region of modern Spain (ie the most Spanish of all Spain), the latter wants recognition of the uniqueness (ie the non-Spanishness) of Asturias. There have been instances of Bable usage by both, though this section examines the essential ideological characteristics of each rather than comparative language usage.

The former, the regionalist, has been phrased thus:

The chauvinism that Asturias was the primitive, independent Spain and all the rest was conquered land.^{82 t}

Linking the sentiment with linguistic identity, the national government delegate in Asturias, Fernando Fernández Noval (himself a native-born Asturian) was quoted in a newspaper article thus:

^t *Nosotros, en el anteproyecto de Estatuto regional de Asturias, no establecemos cooficialidad de idiomas, pues reconocemos que el bable es un romance rezagado, que no se habla sino entre la gente de campo.*

⁸⁰ A Ruiz de la Peña Solar, *La literature bable: hitos de una frustración*, op.cit., page 215.

⁸¹ A Camilo Díaz, LNE 1.3.95

^t *y ye que l'asturianismu, en llinguaxe políticamente correctu, yelo al marxe de les dreches y les izquierdes, de los nacionalismos y les internacionalismos, de les normalizaciones y les antinormalizaciones ... y yelo, a lo peor, al marxe de los mesmos asturianistes.*

⁸² L Castañón (ed), *Fabriciano González (Fabriciano) – Poesías Asturianas*, IDEA, Oviedo 1987, p. 12.

^t *el chauvinismo de que Asturias fue la primitiva España independiente y todo lo demás tierra conquistada.*

Bable is the very origin of Spanish, asserted Fernando Fernández Noval, because “as conveyed to us in the song of Covadonga, Asturias is the cradle of Spain”.^{83 t}

Amongst the current array of Asturianist political groups are representatives of both trends. Xulio ‘Xune’ Elipe Reposo, singer with the group *Dixebra*, member for the *Conceyu de Estudiantes Nacionalistes*, and *Andecha Astur* candidate in the local government elections of 1995, said of *PAS* that:

They are not nationalists, but regional folkloricists.^{84 t}

Through his own words some three years earlier, the leader of *PAS* acknowledged the regionalist tag, if not the folkloric, of such an assessment when he criticised *Pelayismo* [*Pelayism*, based upon the attributing of hyper-significance, in the Spanish national context, to the role of King Pelayo, first monarch of Asturias] and *Covadonguismo* [*Covadongism*, based upon the same process with respect to the victory of Pelayo over the Moors at Covadonga and its subsequent denomination as the ‘cradle of the Reconquest’]. He said:

I am not much interested in the figure of Pelayo as it has been interpreted by *Pelayism* and *Covadongism*, that historic myth that has been bound to us in order to give some noble origins to the Asturian monarchy. From the nineteenth century, the reformulation that was done to this historic episode has worked against Asturian history and given place to the construction of a hard and culturally disagreeable, centralist state. My Don Pelayo is a parable against historic manipulation.^{85 t}

⁸³ LNE 9.9.97

^t *El bable es el origen propio del español aseguró Fernando Fernández Noval porque ‘remitiéndonos a la canción de Covadonga, Asturias es cuna de España.*

⁸⁴ LNE 12/5/95

^t *El PAS no son nacionalistas; son regionalistas folklóricos.*

⁸⁵ LNE 2.5.93

^t *No me interesa tanto la figura de Pelayo como la interpretación del pelayismo y el covadonguismo, ese mito histórico que se han empeñado en transmitirnos para dar unos orígenes nobles a la monarquía asturiana. A partir del siglo XIX, la reformulación que se hace de este episodio histórico se hace contra la historia asturiana y da lugar a la construcción de un estado centralista, duro y desagradable culturalmente. Mi don Pelayo es una parábola contra la manipulación histórica ...*

This statement recalls the historiographic Castilianisation of the Visigothic influence in pre-1492 Spain referred to in Chapter One.

As to the label ‘folkloricist’, a co-partisan, Miguel Angel Díaz, then a newly elected PAS councillor in the mining town of Lena commented on the Asturianist cause that:

We want to break that topical image that we are chained only to the folkloric.^{86 t}

The new folk group *Nuberu* released a CD that had as its lead song *Ser Asturianu* [*To be Asturian*] whose first verse is:⁸⁷

Ser asturianu nun ye	[To be Asturian is not
dir con montera picona	to go with traditional mountain suit and
	cap
nin saber char bien la sidra	nor to know how to throw cider well
nin xubir a Covadonga	nor to climb to Covadonga]

The group, by this song, echoed the growing gap between old folkloricism and the new regionalism of Asturians.

The contrasting views of regionalists versus nationalists has also had its impact in the language domain with the consequent diversity of interpretation of the term *bablista*. In 1973 the I Regional Assembly of Bable [*I Asamblea Regional del Bable*] was convened which, in the words of Xosé Lluis García Arias, *se reunirán viejos bablistas y estudiosos del asturiano* [*brought together old bablists and scholars of Asturian*].⁸⁸

From this assembly arose *Conceyu Bable* [*Bable Council*] which:

⁸⁶ LNE 9.6.95

^t *Queremos romper esa imagen tónica que nos vincula sólo al folklore.*

⁸⁷ Nuberu, *Agua de fonte clara*, music CD, Fonoastur, Uviéu, 1996.

⁸⁸ X L García Arias, *La Llingua Asturiana*, ALLA 1995, page 15.

Signified a rupture with the immediate 'Bablism' in measure that it supposed a clear separation from the diglossic conception of the language.^{89 t}

From that point there grew a divergence within the camp of those who would call themselves defenders of Bable. Thus the terms *Bablistas* and *Asturianistas* no longer came to have unique definitions but now came to mean different things according the opinion of the person ascribing the labels.

4.8 THEMES OF RESURGENCE

Since 1975 two distinct trends of cultural resurgence have been observed. The trends are contradistinctive though there has been some interaction between them. The two trends are:

- A renewal of interest in the folkloric.
- The birth of new genres out of old idioms.

The first has not had a specific name, while the second has received such titles as *Surdimientu* [*Resurgence*] in the domain of poetry & narrative and *Nueu Canción Astur* [*New Asturian Song*] in song.

Concerning the first, the seeming vibrancy of the Asturian folkloric scene in the nineteen nineties has masked the fact that it represented a reborn scene which had come after a serious decline in interest in such matters in the fifties, sixties and early seventies. This decline occurred notwithstanding the high level of patronage offered by the Franco regime to the folkloric. As noted by one correspondent to the editor noted:⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Op.cit.

^t ... significaba una ruptura con el inmediato 'bablismo' en la medida en que suponía una clara separación de la concepción diglósica de la lengua.

⁹⁰ L052/088, writer was representative of a women's group.

The old regime did not prohibit the regional languages.

And gave as evidence the fact that a song and dance group touring Latin America sang in the vernacular:

In their own native languages: in Bable, in Gallego, in Catalan, in Basque, in Valencian, in Mallorquín.^t

However, there was clearly a decline in the popular interest in the folkloric, by the 1970s there were fewer than one hundred players of the traditional Asturian bagpipes – *gaitas* - the majority of those being older in age. Post-Franco that number grew over the next two decades to number in the thousands by the mid-1990s.

The resurgence in interest in Asturian folklore was not immediate, as late as 1982, the year of establishment of the now internationally-acclaimed folkloric group *Llan de Cubel*, there had been only two established folk groups in the whole of Asturias⁹¹ compared with the very significant number in existence by the nineteen nineties.

As part of this trend of renewal in interest has been the search for traditional forms in the cultural inheritance which could be reactivated. Indeed some cultural groups tasked themselves to find such abandoned forms. *Andecha Folclor d'Uviéu* [*Folkloric Collective of Uviéu*] has been called a *group of investigation and discovery of the folklore of the Asturians*.^t In 1995 the group reintroduced, as part of the traditional *foguera* {C: *hoguera*} [*bonfire*] of San Xuán, a dance (and its associated song in Bable) which had not been performed for fifty years.⁹²

^t *El regimen anterior no prohibió las lenguas regionales and en sus propias lenguas natives: en bable, en gallego, en catalán, en vascuence, en valenciano, en mallorquín.*

⁹¹ *Llan de Cubel dossier 94-95*, promotional booklet produced by the group in 1995.

^t *El grupo de investigación y divulgación del folklore asturianos.*

4.9 RELIGION

Asturias is a Catholic region by history (*vide* the special place of the Virgin of Covadonga). There has been a small number of Protestants consisting of an historic group based around a village in a remote rural part of the province (possibly remnants of Waldensians), and some communities of converts of recent decades, largely based in urban areas.

Notwithstanding this cherished tradition, church history in Asturias has seen periods of extreme division leading to violence against church property and religious personnel. In the troubled times of the early 1930s for example 147 priests, 48 religious and 22 seminarians died.⁹³

The Catholic church, like that in regions such as Catalunya and the Basque country, has not been monolithic. There have been conservatives and progressives amongst the clergy and religious orders. And both of these groups have had their own relationship with Bable.

Miguel Ramos asserted that a significant section of the Bable promoting group before the first world war were conservative clerics who used the vernacular as a means of engaging with the rural population promoting reaction amongst them.

There is some evidence to support this position. The following is an extract from an editorial to the second issue of the Bable language periodical *Ixuxu* published in 1901

⁹² LNE 25.6.95.

⁹³ S Alonso Fueyo, *Asturias: España en Paz*, op.cit., page 73.

which commented on a statement of a colleague that '*l lliberalismu yera un pecau* [*liberalism was a sin*]:

... and he had good reason (to say so), because that liberalism that Cánoves brought with the Constitution of 1876, breaking the Catholic unity; opened step by step the gates of Spain to all the venomous mushrooms, and they came from afar the worst of each house, to teach us to be evil-sayers, laggards, thieves, perverts, womanisers, drunks, bludgers, unbelievers, free-thinkers, protestants, jews, atheists, philosophers of the tavern, 'crousists', rationalists and sensualists ... Darwinists, ... pessimists, ... blasphemers, schismatics ... bourgeois socialists ... anarchists ... half-Catholics like Melquiades who burn a candle to God and another to the devil; and anticlerical clerophobes ... who all call themselves liberals of bad caste.^{94 t}

However, the Catholic clergy has also had some of its number align themselves with radical causes. Even during the Franco regime, albeit in its last decade, the priests of the mining *cuencas* aligned themselves with striking miners. The following was the opening of a joint statement they issued during the mining strike of 1970:

The priests and some lay people of the mining zones wish to offer to all men of good will a Christian and human reflection arising from the current situation in the mining sector which affects the whole community. We are moved to them and feel ourselves obliged to give a Christian judgement and thus to offer collaboration in the search of a just solution. We are facing a labour conflict that has come about from some just demands ...^{95 t}

⁹⁴ F González Prieto, *El lliberalismu*, in *Ixuxu* Vol 1, #2, 24 November 1901, page 1.

^t ... *I tenia muncha razón, porque aquel lliberalismu que trexo Cánoves co la Constitución del 76, rompiendo la unidá Católica; abrió de par en par les portielles de España á toes les setes venenoses, I vinieren del extranxeru los piores de ca casa, pa'nseñamos á ser maldicientes, pendencieros, lladrones, alcagüetes, muyeriegos, borrachos, folgazanes descreídos, llibrepensadores, protestantes, xudios, ateos, filósofos de tabierna, crousistes, racionalistes I sensualists ... darvinistes ... pesimistes ... blasfemos escomulgaos ... socialistas burgueses ... anarquistas ... católicos á medies como Melqiades que 'ncienden una vela á Dios I otra al diablu; I anticlericales clerófogos ... que toos se llamen lliberales de mala casta.*

⁹⁵ M A González Muñiz, *El Clero Liberal Asturiano*, Ayalga Ediciones, Salinas, 1976, page 111.

^t *Los sacerdotes y algunos seglares de las zonas mineras deseamos ofrecer a todos los hombres de Buena voluntad una reflexión humana y cristiana, partiendo de la situación actual del sector minero que afecta a toda la comunidad. Nos mueve a ello el sentirnos obligados a dar un juicio cristiano y ofrecer así una colaboración en la búsqueda de una solución justa.*

A final demographic note re the church concerns the same dilemmas facing the Catholic church everywhere, namely the lack of upcoming priests as older ones retire. In 1998 it was reported that there were 950 parishes in the province, and only 458 priests (down a hundred from eleven years earlier. The average rate of ordination over the period 1992 to 1997 was five priests a year; compared with a average of 14 dying each year.⁹⁶

The first four chapters have dealt with the Asturian setting. The next six deal specifically with Bable, starting with a chapter on its historical development.

⁹⁶ LNE 23.03.98

PART B – BABLE

CHAPTER FIVE – LANGUAGE – HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

5.1 GENERAL

Asturian [*Bable* or *Asturiano/o*] is a Romance language closely related to its neighbours, Castilian [*Castellano*] and Galician [*Gallego*]. It has had some Celtic and Visigothic influences; perhaps somewhat more than has been the case with Castilian. On the other hand, there have been relatively fewer Arabic influences than found generally in Castilian.

Though the language is mainly spoken in the Principality of Asturias there is also some contemporary use of its varieties in the Spanish provinces of Cantabria, Castilla y León and Zamora as well as in the Portuguese town of Miranda do Douro, contemporary remainders of the maximum reach of medieval *Astur-Leonés*, parent to the Bable of today.

There are three principal varieties (or dialects) of Bable which are called:

- *Bable Occidental* (spoken in the western portion of the province, between approximately Río Nalón and Río Navia)
- *Bable Central* (spoken in the central, and most populous, zone located approximately between Río Sella and Río Nalón)
- *Bable Oriental* (spoken east of the Río Sella).

In addition *Astur-Gallego* (also referred to as *Gallego-Astur*) is spoken between Río Navia and Río Eo in the westernmost part of the province.

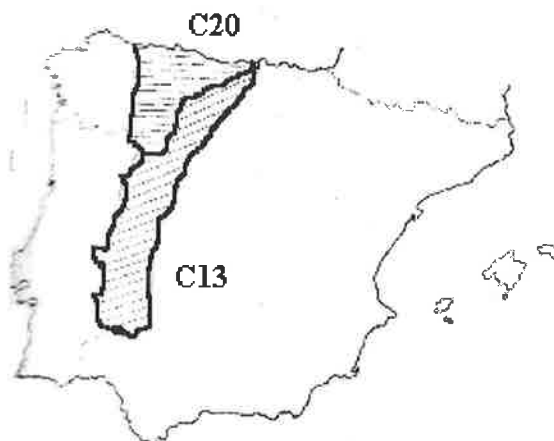
Map 5.1 shows the geographic reach within Asturias of each of these variants. The three varieties of Bable are all also spoken in some neighbouring regions (with Bable Occidental having the greatest geographical reach beyond Asturias).

Map 5.1 – Current Bable dialect domains within Asturias



The combined current reach of Bable compared with its maximum achieved in about 1200 AD is shown in Map 5.2.¹

Map 5.2 – Extent of Bable – 1200 AD & current



The earliest documentary evidence of the language so far identified has been the 1155 AD document, *Fueru d'Avilés* – a royal charter of rights granted to the town and townspeople of Avilés. Other early documentation, also of official nature, include the *Fueru de Campumanes* [1247] and *Fueru d'Uviéu* [1295]. The first known evidence of a written literary work in the language (as opposed to a work of the oral tradition) is a *romance*[poem] entitled *El Caballo* [the horse] by seventeenth century poet Antón de Marirreguera (1605 – 1662). There are in existence also other works from the later part of that century by Francisco Bernaldo de Quirós (1675 - 1710) as well as some *villancicos* [carols] of anonymous authorship.

5.2 NAME OF THE LANGUAGE

There are three terms in current usage referring to the romance language of the Asturians to which must be added a couple, more historical, references. Today, the following terms are currently used: *Bable*, *los Bables*, *Asturianu(o)*^{*} and *Llingua Asturiana*; this is in addition to the two historic terms: *Astur-L(l)eonés* and *L(l)eonés*.^{**}

It should also be noted that there is also the Romance language of the westernmost zone of Asturias referred to by the following terms: *Gallego-Astur* or *Astur-Gallego*. This has variously been considered a dialect of Gallego [Galician] and alternatively as a hybrid between Galician and Bable. One writer has even proposed the name of *Gallego-*

¹ A Zamora Vicente, *Dialectología Española*, Gredos, Madrid, 1970 (2nd ed), cited in *La Llingua Asturiana*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1995, page 10.

^{*} *Asturianu* and *Asturiano* are variants from the Occidental & Central dialects in the first instance and the Oriental in the latter. In Castilian the word *Asturiano* would be used.

^{**} *Lleón* is the Bable variant of the toponym *León*, similarly *Lleonés* is the Bable version of *Leonés*.

Castellano out of his belief that such was its current status – a form of Galician now hybridised by contact with dominant Castilian.²

The Romance language of the Asturians has been named as a result of two processes: historical identification and legal denomination. Alongside which we may also consider the treatment lexicographers have accorded to the language.

Identification in history

The first recorded reference of a name being given to the language of the Asturians was that of Carlos Benito González Posada (1745 – 1831), who also constructed the first dictionary of the language. In 1794 González Posada wrote:

The Asturian language which there they call *vable*^{3 t}

The following is a sample of further references to Bable by various other notable Asturians since the seventeenth century. In each instance the word or phrase chosen to name the language has been highlighted in bold:

- **1790:** Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744 – 1811): who wrote about *nuestro dialecto llamado comúnmente **bable*** [our dialect commonly called Bable] and who authored the essay *Apuntamiento sobre el dialecto de Asturias* [Noteworthy points about the dialect of Asturias] written for the Academy of History as part of its *Diccionario geográfico* project.
- **1839:** José Caveda y Nava (1796-1882): he published *Colección de poesías en dialecto asturiano* [Collection of poems in the Asturian dialect] – the first book published in Bable.
- **Mid C19:** Manuel Fernández de Castro (1834-1905): he wrote *Torna al **bable** del doma la Imaculada* (undated)
- **1878:** Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo: *el dialecto **bable*** [the Bable dialect]

² L077/115. The writer, Juan Castañeira Fernández, noted that *la oficialidad del castellano así como su enseñanza obligatoria en las escuelas, hicieron surgir el gallego-castellano* [the officiality of Castilian thus with its obligatory teaching in schools, has given rise to Gallego-Castellano].

- **1879:** Gumersindo Laverde Ruiz: he wrote *Apuntes léxico-gráficos sobre una rama del **dialecto asturiano*** [*Lexico-graphical features about a branch of the Asturian dialect*]
- **1886:** Fermín Canella y Secades(1849-1924): he wrote about *el llamado **bable*** [*the so called Bable*] and *El bable (dialecto Asturiano)* [*Bable (the Asturian dialect)*] and in 1903 referred to *voces y locuciones del **bable** ó **dialecto asturiano*** [*the voices and locutions of Bable or the Asturian dialect*]⁴
- **1896:** Juan María Acebal (1815-1895): *Vocabulariu **asturianu***.
- **1898:** Julio Somoza (1848-1940) *Ensayo de un vocabulario **bable** o dialecto de los naturales de Asturias*.
- **Late C19-early C20:** José García Pelaez (aka Pin or Pepín de Pria) (1864-1928): he wrote but did not publish *Dicionariu **bable***.
- **1906:** Atanasio Rivero: he wrote of *nuestro **bable dialecto*** [*our Bable dialect*]
- **1912:** José Aniceto González (1866- ?): he wrote *Diálogo y poesías en castellano y en **dialecto asturiano** para los catecismos de las fiestas de Navidad*.
- **1925:** José García Peláez (aka Pin de Pria) (1864-1928), *Diccionario del **bable** del Centro y Oriente de Asturias*.
- **1946:** Antonio García Oliveros (1900 – 1985) *Ensayo de un diccionario **bable** de la rima*.

Legal denominations

The Asturian autonomy statute (*Ley Organica 7/1981, de 30 Diciembre, de Estatuto de Autonomia para Asturias* [*Organic Law of the Autonomy Statute for Asturias*])⁵ used the term *el bable* and acknowledged the existence of *las variantes locales* [*local variants*].

The statute of the *Academia de la Llingua Asturiana* (*Decreto del Consejo Pleno 33/1980*) uses the following terms: *las variedades lingüísticas del bable, el bable, las zonas lingüísticamente asturianas, la lengua asturiana* and *la llingua asturiana*.

³ R d'Andrés, *Llingua y Xuiciu: VII Premiu d'Ensayu 'Máximo Fuertes Acevedo'*, Colección Documentos, Principau d'Asturies, 1998, page 111.

^t *Idioma asturiano que allí dicen vable*.

⁴ F Canella y Secádes, *Historia de la Universidad de Oviedo*, op.cit., page 3.

By 1984, the term *Asturiano* was used in preference to *Bable* in the law establishing the hymn for the region – *Asturias, patria querida* [*Asturias, beloved fatherland*] – (*Ley 1/1984, de 27 abril, por la que se establece del Himno del Principado y se regula su uso* [*Law for the fixing the Hymn of the Principality and regulating its use*]).

In 1998, the Asturian regional parliament passed the *Ley del uso y promoción del Asturiano* [*Law on the use and promotion of Asturian*] which introduced the term *Asturiano* for the first time into a statute which dealt in whole or in part with language management. However, even here there was only a singular use of *Asturiano*, (appearing in the title), elsewhere, in the text of the law, the term *Asturiano/Bable* was used.

Castilian dictionary definitions

In 1884 Apolinar Rato Hevia de Argüelles wrote a letter (in *Bable*) to the president of the *Real Academia Española* that was *suplicándole la inserción en la duodécima edición de diccionario de la misma de varias voces del bable* [*supplicating for the insertion in the twelfth edition of (RAE's) dictionary of various Bable words*].⁶

The 1970 edition of the *Diccionario de la lengua Española* of the *Real Academia Española*⁷ [RAE] gave the following definition:

Bable: (onomatopoeia. babble, of confused speech) m. dialect of the Asturians. ^t

⁵ BOE # 9, 11.01.1982, quoted in *Leyes Políticas Autonomicas* (page 163) in the *Civitas Biblioteca de Legislación* series, Editorial Civitas, Madrid 1989.

⁶ Cited in X L I García Arias, *Carta de 1884*, LLAA 23, 1987, page 131.

⁷ RAE, *Diccionario de la lengua española*, Madrid 1970, pages 217 & 247.

^t *Bable: (de la onomat. Babl, del habla confusa) m. dialecto de los asturianos*

The 1992 edition of the same dictionary dropped the reference to *babble, of confused speech* but added a definition to *Asturiano*:

Asturiano: 3. Said of the Asturian variety of the romance Astur-Leonese dialect.^{8 t}

Alternatively, the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* of 1930 defined the origin of the *Bable* as being from the Latin *fabula* (indicating it was later corrupted to *babla*).⁹

Martín Alonso, in the *Enciclopedia del Idioma*, included this as one of a number of possibilities:

Fabula, bable, or perhaps onomatopoeia (word) to indicate the confused and stammering speech of rustic persons. (Also the) dialect of the Asturians.^{10 t}

Juan Corominas and José Antonio Pascual have disagreed with the *fabula/habla > bable* thesis, stating that for etymological reasons this thesis was *sumamente improbable* [totally improbable].¹¹ At the same time, they opined that *bable* was becoming a generic identifier of a non-literary language:

Some recent authors ... have employed (the term *bable*) in the sense of a common dialect of whatever region without literary use.^{12 t}

Bable dictionaries

Bable/Asturian Dictionaries provide a range of definitions. The earliest known dictionary of Bable, *Diccionario de Algunas Voces del dialecto Asturiano*¹³ [*Some voices of the Asturian dialect*], was a hand-written document undertaken in 1788 by

⁸ RAE, *Diccionario de la lengua española*, RAE, Madrid 1992, pages 217 & 247.

^t *Asturiano*: ... 3. Dicese de la varieda asturiana del dialecto romance asturleonés

⁹ *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 1930, page 41.

¹⁰ M Alonso, *Enciclopedia del Idioma*, Aguilar, Madrid, 1958, page 606.

^t '*fabula*', *habla*, o tal vez sea onomatopeya para indicar el habla confusa y balbuciente de los personas rústicas. *Dialecto de los asturianos*.

¹¹ J Corominas & J A Pascual, *Diccionario Crítico etimológico castelano e hispánico*, Vol. I, Editorial Gredos, Madrid, 1980, page 444.

¹² Idem.

^t *algunos autores recientes ... lo han empleado en el sentido de dialecto vulgar de cualquier region, sin empleo literario*.

¹³ C González de Posada, *Diccionario de algunas voces del dialecto asturiano 1788*, reprinted Biblioteca de Filoxía, Uviéu, 1989.

Carlos González de Posada. The only reference to the name of the language appeared in the title (viz. *Asturiano*); there was no reference to the term *Bable*.

The *Diccionario gramática Bable* (1891) of Apolinar de Rato y Hévia¹⁴ gave the following:

Bable, f. Word by which is designated the Asturian speech, whose traces are found, according to P M Feijóo, in all the territory which comprises the old Lancia and the dominions of the kings of Asturias, something more extensive than the extent of the bishopric of Oviedo. This word is very old and I am inclined to believe that its significance comes from ‘to babble’, then having given origin to Romance, that which they spoke, as time went by, they came to believe that what remained of the language of Asturias they babbled, or as it were they were expressing badly from the beginning their Romance tongue. Similarly we find in French there is *babiller* and in English *bable* [sic], they signify the same, to chatter, to speak, and with these dictions conform with those of the stammerers, *brebutiens*.^{*15 t}

This dictionary also referred to *Bable*, by whose name is known the Asturian dialect^{16 t}

Another early Asturian language dictionary, *Primer Ensayo de un vocabulario Bable*, a work edited by Julio Somoza between the years 1896-1901¹⁷ contained the following entry:

¹⁴ A de Rato, *Diccionario gramática Bable*, 1891, reissued (ed Ramón de Rato), Editorial Planeta, Barcelona, 1979, pp 72-73.

* I have been unable to find the meaning of the last two words.

¹⁵ Op.cit., pp 72-73.

^t *Bable*, f. Voz con que se designa la fabla asturiana, cuyas trazas se encuentran, como dijo el PM Feijóo, en todo el territorio que comprendía la antigua Lancia y las dominaciones de los reyes de Asturias, algo más extensas que el obispado exento de Oviedo. Esta voz muy antigua y me inclino a creer que su significado viene de balbucear, pues habiendo dado origen al romance, los que hablaban éste, teni éndose por más adelantados, debieron de creer que los que se quedaron con la lengua de Asturias balbuceaban, o sea que expresaban mal el principio de su romance. Así encontramos que en F. *babiller* y en I. *Bable*, significan lo mismo, charlar, hablar, y que estas dicciones se confirman con las de *balbuties*, *brebutiens* [note: the latter word has proved untranslatable].

¹⁶ Op. cit., page 11.

^t *el bable*, con cuyo nombre se conoce el dialecto asturiano

¹⁷ J Somoza, *Primer Ensayo de un vocabulario Bable*, originally edited between 1896 and 1901; republished, with notes by Álvaro Arias Cabal, by ALLA as part of the *Llibreria Llingüística* series, Uviéu 1996.

Bable = name which is given to the Asturian dialect. A word of unknown etymology though it sounds like the French *babel* and the English *babble* that would merit it as a silliness or a chatter.^{18 t}

Interestingly, the entry in this same dictionary for the word *asturianu* had *fanega asturiana* (or an Asturian grain measure) as its meaning.¹⁹

In the introduction to this dictionary, reference was made to another statement by Somoza (in *El carácter asturiano*):

Bable is not even a dialect. It is a conjunction of dialects, where (according to its situation) dialectical forms of the surrounding provinces predominate – that is Galician, Bierzano, ~~montañes~~ ... there exists in the Principality a variety of sub-dialects or jargons; ...^{20 t} [note: crossing out appeared in the original manuscript] and

Bable. Dialect (decadent form) by transition, relaxation (through strange influences or degeneration).^{21 t}

In the *Diccionario General Español-Asturiano* (1983) of Lorenzo Novo Meir,²² apart from the use of the word *Asturiano* in the title of the dictionary, the lexicographer referred to *el habla asturiana*, *la lengua asturiana*, *nuestra lengua vernacular* and *las hablas asturianas* and the speakers as *los astur-hablantes*.²³

¹⁸ Op.cit., page 116.

^t **Bable** = nombre que se da al dialecto asturiano. Voz de etimología desconocida, aunque suena como la francesa *babel* y la inglesa *babble* que tanto valen, como *jerigonza* ó *charla*.

¹⁹ Op. cit., page 114.

²⁰ Op. cit., pp 19-20.

^t *El bable no es ni siquiera un dialecto. Es un conjunto de ellos, donde (segun su situación) predominan las formas dialectales de las provincias limitrofes – es el gallego, el bierzano, el ~~montañes~~ ... existen en el Principado variedad de sub-dialectos ó jergas; ...*

²¹ Op.cit., page 20.

^t *Bable. Dialecto (forma decadente) por transición, relajación (por influencias extrañas .: degeneración).*

²² L Novo Meir, *Diccionario General Español-Asturiano*, Asturlibros, Gijón, 1983.

²³ Op.cit., pp i-iii.

Finally, the *Castellán-Asturiano Dicionariu* published in 1987 by a local newspaper - *La Voz de Asturias*²⁴ - apart from the use of the word *Asturiano* in the title, also referred to *el bable* in the introduction.

While the *Diccionariu de la Llingua Asturiana*, (1989) by self-avowed Asturianist Xuan Xosé Sánchez Vicente)²⁵ provided the following simple definition:

Bable, m Bable, Asturian Language.^{26 t}

The introduction of the same dictionary also contained references to *llingua asturiana* and *asturiano*.

The *Diccionariu Basicu de la Llingua Asturiana* (1984) by F Ferreiro et. al.²⁷ contained the following two entries:

Asturiano: noun & adjective. The language of the Asturians. Synonym: Bable.

Bable, noun The Language of the Asturians. Synonyms: asturiano, llingua asturiana.^{28 t}

The *Diccionario de Los Bables de Asturias*, (1989) by J Neira & M R Piñeiro,²⁹ defined Bable thus:

Bable is then, equal to Bables, a group of speeches or functional languages with a very precise geographic localisation.^{30 t}

²⁴ La Voz de Asturias, *Castellan-Asturiano Dicionariu*, Oviedo, 1987.

²⁵ X X Sánchez Vicente, *Diccionariu de la Llingua Asturiana*, GH Editores, Gijón, 1989.

²⁶ Op.cit., page 87.

^t **Bable**, m Bable, lengua asturiana.

²⁷ F Ferreiro et. al, *Diccionariu Basicu de la Llingua Asturiana* , Ediciones Trea, Xixón, 1st ed. 1984, 3rd ed. 1995.

²⁸ Op.cit., pp 65 & 73.

^t **asturiano**: n. y ax. La llingua de los asturianos. Sin. bable. & **bable**, n. La llingua de los asturianos. Sin. asturiano, llingua asturiana

²⁹ J Neira Martínez & M^a del Rosario Piñeiro, *Diccionario de los Bables de Asturias*, RIDEA, Oviedo 1989.

³⁰ Op.cit., page 15.

^t *El bable es pues, igual a bables, grupo de hablas o lenguas funcionales con una localización geográfica muy precisa.*

The *Diccionariu Temáticu Asturianu* (1991) of Ramón d'Andrés³¹ contained no definitions, nor did it refer to *Bable*, but did use the terms *asturianu* and *l'asturianu llingua*.³²

Surveys

In addition to these dictionary definitions, two surveys, one conducted in 1985 by SADEI³³ and the other in 1991 undertaken by Francisco J Llera Ramo,³⁴ included some questions as to the denomination of the language of Asturias.

The SADEI study surveyed 1500 Asturians; of these 1,190 (or 79.33%) proffered an opinion concerning the name of the language with the remainder either not answering or indicating that they did not believe such a language existed. Of the 1,190 who indicated a name, 898 were from the Central zone, 188 the Occidental and 104 the Oriental (refer to page 114 for description of these zones). The survey found the following:

- 68.66% of those who believed that there is a distinctive “mode of speaking” (*modo de hablar*) opted for the name *Bable*, with 27.31% selecting *Asturiano*.
- Men (71.33%) were more likely to choose the name *Bable* than women (66.18%).
- Residents of the Central zone (76.88%) were the most disposed to the name *Bable*, compared with the Occidental (58%) and Oriental (55.56%).
- Centre/Right voters (88.27%) were more likely to choose the name *Bable* than supporters of the Left (73.94%).
- Urban residents (75.92%) chose the name *Bable*, ahead of inhabitants of rural towns (59.92%) and residents of the countryside (48.06%).

³¹ R d'Andrés, *Diccionariu Temáticu Asturianu*, Alborá Llibros, Xixón, 1991.

³² Op.cit., page 8

³³ SADEI *Asturias – Tercera Encuesta Regional*, 1985, report published by Servicio Publicaciones of the Principado de Asturias, Oviedo, 1985.

³⁴ F J Llera Ramo, *Los Asturianos y La Lengua Asturiana: Estudio sociolingüístico para Asturias - 1991*, op.cit.

- Those under 25 (74.15%) were more likely to choose the name *Bable*; the support for this denomination then declined with each older age group, falling to 60.35% for those over 59.³⁵

A further question related to *Bable* in the SADEI survey found that 72.07% identified *Bable* with *la llingua asturiana* while 16.34% responded that they identified it with Castilian; (it should also be noted that a further 2.2% identified *Bable* as *una jerga inventada* [an invented jargon]).³⁶

In the Llera survey the perceptions of 1300 respondents were sought as to the terms *Bable* and *Asturian*. Table 5.1 provides a translated version of the data reported from the survey.

Table 5.1: Arguments for saying “Asturian” and “Bable” are distinct terms³⁷

Propositions	n = 1300			
	Yes	No	NS	%
Asturian is what is spoken normally	72	24	4	100
<i>Bable</i> is ‘closed’ or ‘primitive’ Asturian	66	27	7	100
<i>Bable</i> is artificial and invented Asturian	22	66	12	100
<i>Bable</i> is the Asturian of the central zone	12	71	18	100

Llingua llariega

Before closing the subject of what the language may be called, reference should be made to the term *llingua llariega* which literally translates to *language of the hearth* or less literally *birthplace language*. The use of this descriptor of the language is not

³⁵ SADEI, op.cit. pp. 147-150.

³⁶ Op cit., page 151.

³⁷ F J Llera Ramo, *Los asturianos y la lengua asturiana: estudio sociolingüístico para Asturias*, op.cit. page 60.

infrequent.³⁸ In its use there is the significance of familiarity similar to another occasional usage - that of metaphoric reference to the language being learnt through the breast (*mamándolo* [*suckling it*]).³⁹

Dialect of what?

Depending on the definition of the word *dialect*, it can be said that every language is or has been the dialect of another. There is then the question: of what is Bable a dialect - Latin or Castilian? From a linguistic point of view it would seem clear that Bable is a dialect of Latin and not of Castilian. The same can be said of any Romance language.

Yet there have been writers who have described Bable as a dialect of Castilian. Indeed it has not just been people from the Peninsula who have thought thus. Glanville Price while noting opinion differences, clearly chose a side when he was categorising European languages for his work, *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe*. He wrote:

I am well aware that there are those who will quarrel with the decision to recognize, say, Scots and Gascon as separate languages from English and Occitan respectively, and, on the other hand, those who will object to the fact that the speech-varieties such as Asturian, Norman, Schwyzertüütsch and Valencian are considered as forms of Spanish, French, German and Catalan respectively.⁴⁰

Why might such writers have done this? Two justifications have been proposed:

- Bable and modern Castilian both derive from (and are therefore dialects of) Old Castilian.
- Bable, through the process of interference, is becoming a dialect of Castilian (or of both Old Bable and Castilian). Such a form of Bable has sometimes been called Asturian.⁴¹

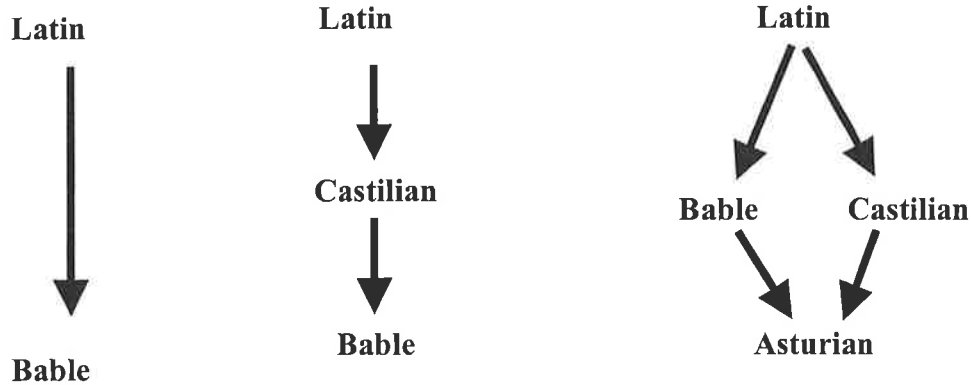
Diagrammatically the various opinions could be indicated thus:

³⁸ L061/215.

³⁹ L253/230 and S062.

⁴⁰ G Price (ed), *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe*, Blackwell, Cambridge, 1998, page xii.

⁴¹ Interview notes with Anselmo.



With respect to Bable being considered a dialect of old Castilian, a comment from an Asturian man on an audiotape, *Di-ylo n'asturianu* [*Say it in Asturian*] produced by the Asturian Ministry of Education, captured the sentiment:

Man, that is what you could say, that it is old Castilian which we speak here.⁴² †

The view is not supported by historical linguistics. It has been acknowledged by such noted Spanish linguists as Rafael Lapesa and Menéndez Pidal that there existed a separate dialect of Latin - *Astur-Leonés* - alongside Cantabrian (the precursor of modern Castilian, which it became as it spread from the neighbouring region of Cantabria southwards with the advance of the Reconquest). However, the similarities between many current usages and words in Bable with those in old Castilian at least offer some support for this view.*

With respect to the second point, the respected Asturian philologist, Lorenzo Novo Meir pointed to the existence of a corpus of words that could be considered *asturianismos*, or

⁴² Serviciu Publicaciones, *Di-ylo n'asturianu*, [audiotape] excerpt from community responses to what is Asturian. Principáu d'Asturies, Uviéu 1990, Side B 5:00.

† *Home, eso es lo que te digas es castellán antiguo que hablamos aquí.*

Castilian words whose usage is typical of Asturias. This phenomenon he considered grounds for asserting a degree of dialectal relationship between Bable and Castilian. He wrote:

(There are) asturianisms collected by the Royal Spanish Academy in its dictionaries, voices common to both languages, nowadays in disuse in Castilian, but still living in Asturian, which implies ... a dialectalism on the part of the second in relation to the first.⁴³ †

Two types of Castilianisation confront languages such as Bable. The first targets the person and is evidenced by the loss of mother tongue as Castilian becomes an individual's principal language of communication. The second targets the language itself – the dialectilising of a language which had previously been a recognised separate tongue. Thus, in what W M Entwistle called *the conflict of dialects*,⁴⁴ a language such as Bable (an L1 in an L2 dominant situation) confronts two front lines – the personal (revolving around the choices the individual makes with respect to language use in each of the communication domains) and the linguistic (concerning the impact on the very nature of a language itself by its contact with a dominant other). The first can be categorised as ‘interference’, the second as ‘dialectilisation’ or ‘creolisation’.

Jesús Neira, noted Spanish linguist who has written much on the *Bables* of Asturias, picked up this theme of the Castilianisation of the Asturian language (though, it should be noted, he has taken issue with the categorisation of Bable as a language) in the sense of Bable becoming, though not having been, a dialect of Castilian. He wrote:

The apparent deformations (Asturianisms) that (Asturian speakers) suffer in their mouth do not impede their being understood by persons who speak (Castilian)

* This issue is further explored in Section 5.6.4.

⁴³ L Novo Meir, *Diccionario general Español-Asturiano*, op.cit., page 11.

† (hay) asturianismos recogidos por la Real Academia español en su diccionario, bien a voces comunes a ambas lenguas, hoy en desuso en la castellana, pero vigentes en la asturiana, sin que ello implique ... dialectalismo por parte de la segunda lengua en relación con la primera.

⁴⁴ W M Entwistle, *The Languages of Spain*, op.cit., pp 224-5.

correctly. The Asturian, such as is realised (in the speech) of these speakers, has converted itself for them and for their speakers, into a true dialect of Castilian ... Paying attention to historical criteria ... Asturian is not historically a dialect of Castilian, nor is it medieval Castilian ... However, the pressure of Castilian over many centuries could have impeded certain speeches acquiring their own characteristics. Castilian particularities in the lexicon, morphology or phonetics had penetrated into them. In this manner, as we have just said, there has come to pass the sense of (the speeches) being varieties of Castilian in the linguistic consciousness of the speakers though they were not originally.^{45 t}

In terms of considering the relationship of Bable to Castilian, some attention should be given to the differences between the two. The following bilingual text, from *Tardes de 1977* [*Afternoons of 1977*], by writer Humberto González (a writer of the *Surdimientu*),* is indicative of the relationship:⁴⁶

Bable

Encegoláu nos más testerudos acesmos caminé comu una solombra pente aquella fame d'esistir, deprendiendo a pronunciar ensin regles la palabra Amor, durante l'aguiyáu dominiu de los llabios. Por embargu, el tiempu de nós morrería nun vienres de xuliu, impropriamente fríu, mientres el coche reconocía los asuraos quilómetros del regresu.

Castilian^t

Absorto en los más testarudos acechos caminé como una sombra ante aquellas ganas de existir, aprendiendo a pronunciar sin reglas la palabra Amor, durante el excitado dominio de los labios. Sin embargo, nuestro tiempo moriría un viernes de julio, inesperadamente frío, mientras el coche reconocía los extrañados kiló de regreso.

⁴⁵ J Neira Martínez, *Bables y Castellano en Asturias*, Biblioteca Julio Somoza – Temas de Investigación Asturiana, Gijón, 1982.

^t *Las aparentes deformaciones que en su boca sufre el castellano no impide que sean comprendidos por las personas que lo hablan correctamente. El asturiano, tal como es realizado en estos hablantes, se ha convertido para ellos y para sus oyentes, en un verdadero dialecto del castellano ... Atendiendo a un criterio histórico ... el asturiano no es históricamente un dialecto del castellano ni es tampoco castellano antiguo ... No obstante, la presión del castellano a lo largo de muchos siglos pudo impedir que determinadas hablas adquiriesen rasgos propios. Particularidades castellanas en el léxico, morfología o fonética fueron penetrando en ellas. De este modo, como acabamos de decir, han pasado a ser sentidas como variedades del castellano en la conciencia lingüística de los hablantes, aunque no lo fueran originariamente.*

* the word means *resurgence* and refers to a literary movement of the 1970s – this is detailed further in Chapter Eight.

⁴⁶ J A Cilleruelo (ed) *Nórdica: Última Poesía en Asturiano*, Universos, Llibros del Peixe, Gijón, 1994, pp 112-3.

The 51 words in the Bable text as compared with the fifty in the Castilian text bear differing degrees of similarity/dissimilarity to the Castilian words, as can be seen in the following categorisation of the Bable words in relation to their Castilian equivalents:

<u>Very Different</u>	<u>Different</u>	<u>A little similar</u>	<u>Quite similar</u>	<u>Same</u>
<i>Encegoláu</i> [*]	<i>Solombra</i> [126]	<i>Nos</i> [2072]	<i>Testerudos</i> [*]	<i>Más</i> [5845]
<i>Fame</i> [83]	<i>Deprendiendo</i>	<i>Acesmos</i> [6]	<i>Comu</i> [4722]	<i>Caminé</i> [*]
<i>L'aguiyáu</i> [*]	[114]	<i>Esistir</i> [210]	<i>Aquella</i> [654]	<i>Una</i> [8660]
<i>Impropiamente</i>	<i>Pente</i> [136]	<i>Ensin</i> [1687]	<i>D'</i> [14522]	<i>A</i> [19506]
[*]	<i>Nós</i> [341]	<i>Por embargo</i>	<i>Regles</i> [15]	<i>Pronunciar</i> [9]
<i>Asuraos</i> [*]		[127]	<i>L'</i> [5414]	<i>La</i> [34744]
		<i>Morrería</i> [259]	<i>Dominiu</i> [53]	<i>Palabra</i> [115]
		<i>Nun</i> [12462]	<i>Llabios</i> [139]	<i>Amor</i> [265]
		<i>Quilómetros</i> [*]	<i>El tiempu</i> [1305]	<i>Durante</i> [107]
			<i>Vienres</i> [55]	<i>De(x 3)</i> [44500]
			<i>Xuliu</i> [*]	<i>Los(x 2)</i> [14446]
			<i>Fríu</i> [102]	<i>El (x 2)</i> [11739]
			<i>Mientras</i> [313]	<i>Coche</i> [253]
			<i>Regresu</i> [5]	<i>Reconocía</i> [10]
10%	8%	16%	28%	38%

The conclusion therefore is that there is a high degree of similarity between Bable and Castilian. Even though the ratios in this piece may vary from a similar analysis of another piece, two statements could be made regarding any instance of Bable and Castilian versions of the same piece:

- (1) a significant majority of all words will be the same, quite similar or a little similar in any comparison of Bable and Castilian versions of the same text; and
- (2) a significant minority of all words will be different in such a comparison.

^t *Absorbed in the most stubborn spyings I walked as a shade before those wishes to exist, learning to pronounce without rules, the word Love, during the excited sway of the lips. However our time died one Friday in July, unexpectedly cold, while the car faced the estranged kilometers of return.*

These statements being so, a precondition for those pursuing the maintenance of Bable as a language must be the acceptance of this high degree of relationship rather than attempting to deconstruct it with artifice.

5.3 DIALECTS

In Chapter Six the issue of the *Bable or Bables* debate is dealt with. This focuses on the subject of whether indeed there is a language which can be called *Bable* or rather just a family of varieties under the umbrella word *Bables*. However, and notwithstanding the polarity of views on this question, as noted in 5.1, there has long been acceptance of the existence of three broad varieties of *Bable* – *Bable Occidental*, *Bable Central* and *Bable Oriental* – and more recently of the separate identity of *Astur-Gallego-Astur* (also known as *Gallego-Astur*).

In addition to these four broad groupings of dialects, there are also identified sub-dialects of Bable both within and without Asturias. The most notable of these are discussed below, with a samples where available.

5.3.1 *Pixuetu*

Pixuetu is the speech spoken in the fishing village of Cudillero {B- Cuidieru*}. Cudillero is located in the eastern part of the Bable Occidental zone.

* With the transposition of the initial ‘i’ Cuidieru may be an example of metathesis from Cudillero (refer to Section 6.1.6 re the significance of metathesis in Bable).

Pixuetu

San Pedru, tú que pecasti / peixes en maris lejanus / ya visti al nuastru Señor / por arriba'l agua andandu / seguru non si ti diou / el casu que aquí tuviamos / un jabalí, ¿güisti tú? / unus pixuatus 'pescarun' / peru nun piansis que'n monti / nin con fusil disparandu / que'l pescador de Cuideiru / nunca usou armas de fuau / ya que'l gochu salvajau / taba n'el agua andandu.⁴⁷

Standard Bable^t

San Pedru, tú que pecaste / piascas en mares lejanos / ya viste al nuestru Señor / por arriba'l agua andandu / seguru non si ti deu / el casu que aquí tuviemos un jabalí / ¿güeyasti tú?.unus pixeutus 'pescaran' / peru nun piensos que'n monte / nin con fusil disparandu / que'l pescador de Cuideiru / nunca usáu armas de fueu / ya que'l gochu salvajáu / taba n'el agua andandu

This piece was from a *pregón* [oration] given as part of the traditional *L'Amuravela* festival held in Cudillero/Cuideiru in honour of St Peter. In it the essential differences can be traced back to different spelling reflecting differing accents. That is not to say that there are not also words which are radically different between the Pixuetu form of Bable and standard Bable (for there are a number though they tend mainly to be related to fishing such as – *truel* [iron mesh basket with handle], *chicadera* {C: *cucharón de achique*} [bailing ladle], *soboga* {C: *chopa*} [a variety of fish, *teleosteo marino acantopterigos*], *lloucha* {C: *brotola de fango*} [a type of fish – *phycis blennioides*], *cabriella* {C: *barbada*} [type of fish – *helicolemus dactylopterus*]); however, these words are not what might be termed 'mainstream', but rather idiosyncratic to that community and its fishing history.

La Amuravela is a festival unique to the region, its name is a word which doesn't appear in any of the Bable dictionaries cited in this thesis. It literally means *furl the sails* and appears to have its origins in the festivities that were associated with the fishing

^t *Saint Peter, you who fished for fish in faraway seas, who already saw our Lord walking on the waters, not sure if it was your God. In the case that here we had a wild boar, did you see it? Some Pixuetos 'fished' but not the food from the mountain nor with shots firing, that the fisher of Cuideiru never uses fire arms since the saved pig was on the water walking..*

fleet furling their sails when they came into port. Another word not present in Standard Bable and which represents a practice or custom of the *pixuetos*, is the *mareaxis* which is the name used for conversations on the *muelle*, *en el bar*, *en la calle y en el hogar*] and would appear to be derived from *marearse* [*to be sea sick*].⁴⁸

Emilio Barriuso Fernández noted that fishing argots, such as Pixuetu, differ from other languages principally on the basis of lexicon rather than grammar, syntax or morphology.⁴⁹ He also noted that such *lenguas especiales no son, pues, dialectos* [*special tongues are not, then, dialects*] since they do not offer *un sistema lingüística propiamente dicho* [*a self-evident linguistic system*].⁵⁰

From a sociolinguistic perspective (as opposed to the linguistic) and given the declining numbers of fishing in fishing communities, however, Barriuso Fernández expressed interest in the theme of:

Up to what point (do) non-mariner speakers of a fishing locality know and use the language of the sea.⁵¹ †

5.3.2 *Vaqueiro*

Vaqueiro is the speech of the semi-nomadic *Vaqueiro* [*cowboy*] people of the Bable Occidental zone, who traditionally moved their stock between winter and summer pastures (the latter called *braña*). Of uncertain origin, this group now numbering less

⁴⁷ Cesáreo Marqués, in his *pregón* [oration] at the traditional *L'Amuravela* sermon, LNE 30/6/95.

⁴⁸ J O Sánchez Fernández, op.cit., page 193.

⁴⁹ E Barriuso Fernández, *La lengua marinera*, op.cit., page 33.

⁵⁰ Op.cit., page 35.

⁵¹ Op.cit., page 40.

† *hasta que punto los hablantes no marineros de una localidad de pescadores conocen y emplean la lengua del mar.*

than four hundred have maintained a distinctive speech characterised principally by accent differences, but also with some lexical differences.

<u>Vaqueiro</u>	<u>Standard Bable^t</u>
<i>Fírite, miou tcheite, fírite</i>	<i>Ferite, mi lleite, ferite</i>
<i>Nu petcheyo d'un castrón</i>	<i>Nun pelleyu d'un castrón</i>
<i>Sácame mucha manteiga</i>	<i>Sácame muncha mantega</i>
<i>Pa ir hasta Vichayón</i> ⁵²	<i>Pa ir hasta Villayón</i>

As with Pixuetu the differences in the example chosen are all connected with pronunciation rather than differences in word etymology. Maria Catedra Tomás noted the significance of pronunciation differences by quoting a Vaqueiro dictum:

He who can't say [tšejt'e], [tšjino] [i] [tšana] is not from the *braña*.^{53 t}

The highlighted words in Bable being *lleche* [milk], *llinu* [flx] and *llana* [wool]. It appears, however, that the differences between this dialect and Bable must be more than simply phonetic, for Catedra Tomás also quoted a Vaqueiro who commented on the Bable of adjacent villagers:

The villagers also speak Asturian, but (it is) completely distinct from Vaqueiro.^{55 t}

.5.3.3 Mirandés – Lhéngua Mirandesa

Mirandés – Lhéngua Mirandesa, - is the dialect of old Astur-Leonés still spoken by up to 15,000 people in the Portuguese town of Mirando do Douro (and a surrounding 300 km² area)⁵⁶ near what was historically the southernmost reach of Astur-Leonés.

^t *Make, my milk, make it in a goat skin take out much butter to go to Villayón*

⁵² F Feo Parrondo, *Los Vaqueiros de Alzada: Estudio geográfico de un grupo marginado*, Biblioteca Académica Asturiana, Oviedo, 1986, page 87.

⁵³ M Catedra Tomás, *La vida y el mundo de los vaqueiros de alzada*, Centro de investigaciones sociológicas & Siglo Veintiuno de España Editores, Madrid 1989.

^t *El que non diga [tšejt'e], [tšjino] [i] [tšana] non é de la braña.*

⁵⁵ Ibid.

^t *Los aldeanos también hablan el asturiano, pero (es) completamente distinto al vaqueiro.*

Mirandés

Nua manhana de 1 més de Agosto, la cotobia fui a regar la huôrta i al guiar un suco ancuntrou un sapo. Bendo-lo culs uôlhos mui relhamposos, la cotobia dixo-le:

“Ai que guapos uôlhos tenes!”,

“Son para te ber”, arrespundiu’l sapo.

An seguida la cotobia preguntou-le:

“Quieres-te casar cumigo?”,

“Si, si quiêro!”,

“Anton bamos para casa”⁵⁷

Standard Bable^t

Nuna mañana de 1 més de Agosto, la jardinera fui a regar la güerta y al guía un sucu alcontró un sapu. Viendo-lo cualus güeyus mui rellamposus, la jardinera dixo-le:

“Hai que guapos güeyus tenes!”,

“Son para te ver” respondiôle el sapu.

En seguida, la jardinera preguntó

“Quieres te casar conmigo?”,

“Si, si quiero!”.

“Entós vamos para casa.”

In this instance, while most of the differences are related to pronunciation and not etymology, one word – *cotobia* – presented a difficulty. I could find no reference to it in any of the Bable dictionaries consulted. I have ascribed the Bable word *jardinera* to it from the sense of the passage (a female person watering in a patch of vegetable garden) and a guess at the etymological root being from one sense of the word *coto* [a farm enclosure].

5.3.4 Other local dialects

There are a number of local dialects in Asturias known generically, in the case of the Bable Occidental zone, as *faliella*. One such was cited by one of the correspondents to the editor of LNE who spoke of the speech of his village, Llaciana (which is actually located just south of the Asturian border in the province of León), stating that there

⁵⁶ C Martins, *A vitalidade de lingua minoritárias e atitudes linguísticas: o caso de mirandês*, in LLA 62, 1997, page 7.

¹ *One morning on August 1 the lady gardening was watering a vegetable patch and at the end of the garden saw a frog. Seeing it, whose eyes were very sparkling, the gardener said to it: ‘What beautiful eyes you have!’*, *‘All the better to see you with’* replied the frog. *The gardener then asked: ‘Do you want to marry me?’*, *‘Yes, yes I do’*, *‘Then lets go to the house’*.

⁵⁷ 28/9/98 From the internet page: www.eb2-miranda-douro.rcts.pt/mirandes.htm – piece written by Valter Raposo, sixth grade.

parllen una faliella del astur-occidental [they speak an Astur-Occidental speech] which he said was called *Paḷḷuezu*.⁵⁸ Map 5.3 charts the speeches which have been identified by lexicographers in Asturias.

Map 5.3: Locations with published lexicons



In the case of some, the lexicographers commented upon the lexical diversity of the region, as in the following two examples:

Alto Aller: Considered as a whole, this dialect is difficult to contain within the classification of Bable as established by Menéndez Pidal in his *Dialecto Leonés*, which is commonly accepted.⁵⁹ †

Cabranes: Asturias is a dialectal world in which the Bable of old has been fragmented, acquiring distinct characteristics in each district. The soil, that does not know the plain, left these villages isolated and in then the speech became closed and took its own forms, since there didn't exist communication which could bring uniformity.⁶⁰ †

⁵⁸ L131/065.

⁵⁹ L Rodríguez-Castellano, *La variedad dialectal del Alto Aller*, (1952), reprinted IDEA, Oviedo, 1986, pp28-29

† *Considerado en conjunto este dialecto, resulta difícil encuadrarlo dentro de la clasificación del bable establecida por Menéndez Pidal en su 'Dialecto leonés', comúnmente aceptada.*

⁶⁰ M Josefa Canellada, *El Bable de Cabranes*, originally published in *Revista de Filología Española*, Madrid 1944, reprinted by ALLA, Uviéu, 1996, page 7.

† *Asturias es un mundo dialectal en el que el bable antiguo ha ido fragmentándose, adquiriendo caracteres distintos en cada comarca. El suelo, que no conoce lo llano, deja a los pueblos aislados y en ellos el habla se encierra y toma formas propias, al no existir la comunicación que trae consigo la uniformidad.*

On the other hand the ALLA in issuing its *Preseo* series of local lexicons indicated that this was being done from an inclusive view of Bable (as opposed to the exclusive view which supports disparate bables):

... to achieve a lexical corpus that guides the reaching of the best of possible dictionaries of the language.^{61 t}

5.3.5 Jargons

Less developed than the local dialects of Bable are the *xergas* [*jargons*], often occupationally-based, spoken in different parts of Asturias. These jargons are no more than special lexicons superimposed on the lingua franca of the zone. Examples of such jargons are the *Xiriga* [the word being a local variant of *xerga*] of the tilemakers [*tamargos*] {C: *teyeros*} of Llanes (in the Bable Oriental zone), *Tixileira* [*'tilerese'*] of the tilemakers of Ibias (in the Astur-Gallego zone), *Mansolea* [*walking shoe*] of the itinerant shoemakers of Pimiangu, Ribadedeva (in the Bable Oriental zone) and *Bron* [not translatable but it might be an abbreviation of *bronce* or 'bronze'] of the coppersmiths of Miranda, near Avilés.

Describing Bron, José Manuel Feito could also have been describing all such jargons when he said:

What then is Bron? As all jargon tongues is it the conjunction of non-technical words, used by a social group which is more or less coherent.⁶²

The only jargons for which written examples were found were *Bron* and *Xiriga*; a poem in the first and some quoted speech in the second. J M Feito, in his paper, provided a

⁶¹ Unattributed cover note to M A García Lado, *Vocabulariu de Quirós*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1996.

^t ... p'algamar el corpus léxicu qu'empobine a la igua del meyor posible de los diccionarios de la llingua.

⁶² J M Feito, *En torno al bron*. Paper delivered to I Asamblea Regional del Bable, November 1973. Proceedings published by Editora Nacional, Madrid, 1980. p 202.

number of examples of Bron poetry in his paper delivered to the I Asamblea Regional del Bable held in 1973. The *Bron* poem below was obtained from the internet: ⁶³

<u>Bron</u>	<u>Standard Bable^t</u>
La matina ya estrampia sus ansieras Por el frache y solicio verdosero, Los mundarros esgolman del fritero, Las cornelas desuñen sus llaneras	La mañana ya esparce sus regueros Pol fríu y solitariu prao, Los borrios salen de la cuadra Les vaques dexan sus llaneras

Carlos Rubiera cited some *Xiriga* speech he had heard spoken by a tiler from Llanes.

With Bable translations a three of examples appear below:⁶⁴

- Manchuria, zancañeru; que'l qu'ascode verbea chisin maya*
{B: *Trabaya, compañeru; que'l que muncho fala pocu come*}
[*Work, comrade; he that talks much eats little*]
- Verbea xidu, que'l pelaguxu aparóse tamargu*
{B: *Fala con más cuidáu, que'l guardia civil tamién fue tamargu*}
[*Speak carefully, he that is a Civil Guard was also a tiler*]
- Costubu, llárgame un cascosu de yayu*
{B: *Amigu, échame un vasu vinu*}
[*Friend, pour me a glass of wine*]

Though no examples of *Tixileira* were encountered, word lists were found for both *Xiriga* and *Mansolea*. The following table gives examples of some words in each and their Bable equivalent:

<u>Xiriga⁶⁵</u>	<u>Mansolea⁶⁶</u>	<u>Bable</u>	<u>English</u>
Aroga		Agora	Now
Llea	Llea	Ella	She
Drama	Alorame	Madre	Mother
Rieta		Tierra	Earth
Doto	Dotu	Too	All

⁶³ www.mrbt.es/~miranda/dbron.htm . The previously cited paper by Feito contains examples of Bron poetry on pages 205-207.

^t *The morning already pulls its rivulets through the cold and solitary field, the pigs leave their pen and the cows leave their pasture.*

⁶⁴ cited in A García, *Lliteratura Asturiana nel tiempu*, Principáu d'Asturies, Uviéu, 1994, pp 172-3.

⁶⁵ *Diccionario de xiriga* in www.orienteasturias.com/llanes/especiales/xiriga/diccio.htm

⁶⁶ *Jerga Mansolea* in www.ctv.es/USERS/pimiango/jerga.htm

Verbear	Garlear, verbear	Falar	To speak
Ñarama		Mañana	Morning
Esffia	Uzmaya	Leite	Milk
Llargar		Mercar	To sell
Mayar	Mocar	Xintar	To eat
Tamargu	Tamargu	Teyeru	Tilemaker

An interesting feature in some of the words in the list is the occurrence of dramatic metathesis – *Llea* in both for *Ella*, likewise *Doto/Dotu* for the Castilian *Todo* {B: *Too*}, which seems unlikely to have been the outcome of natural language development. It is possible therefore that part of the etymological development of both *Xiriga* and *Mansolea* came from a desire of their speakers to maintain a degree of communication secrecy from those not of their occupation (perhaps like schoolyard Pig Latin or Cockney Rhyming Slang). It also could be that the first grammarian of Castilian, Antonio Nebrija, may also have thought there was an intentional connection. He noted that:

Metathesis is when letters are transposed, such as they speak in *girigonça* [literally *jargonese*].^{67t}

It is also possible that some other words (such as *verbear*) may have their high differentiation from both Bable and Castilian explained by such deliberate manipulation. Indeed, José Ignacio Gracia Noriega, a LNE columnist, noted that emigrants from Llanes who went to Mexico that they:

Demanded that their dependents speak [*verbearan*] {B: *falaran*} {C: *hablaran*} the *xiriga* so that, communicating between themselves, they could not be understood by their clients.^{68 t}

⁶⁷ A de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, 1492, reissued Editorial Centro de Estudios Ramón Areces, Madrid, 1989; page 227.

^t *Metathesis es cuando se transportan las letras, como los que hablan en girigonça.*

⁶⁸ LNE 27.9.95.

^t *exigían a los dependientes que ‘verbearan’ (hablaran) la ‘xiriga’ para que, al comunicarse entre ellos, no los entendieran los clients.*

The jargons have limited lexicons, indeed Ramón Melijosa Cuevos, a lexicographer of *xiríga* identified only about seven hundred words after some years of research.⁶⁹ However, notwithstanding the limited lexicon and the apparent limited domains and genres of the language, *xiríga* at least appears to have been passed down through more than just the tradesmen who were its original authors. Again citing Melijosa:

On the maternal side, all my ancestors, natives of the parish of Pría, have been expert tilers by family tradition, and it was in fact my mother ... who from when I was little had taught me some words of *xiríga*.⁷⁰

Available evidence seems to suggest that these argots are dying. One person, Juan *el teyeru* [*the tiler*] interviewed in the *Caleyes con oficiu* series in LNE made this comment about the *xiriga* of Llanes:

Xiriga, it was the language that was (which) we spoke between ourselves of our professional things, but then, it has also died.⁷¹ †

5.3.6 Astur-Gallego

This thesis, for the most part, focuses on Bable and not the speech spoken between the Navia and Eo rivers, Astur-Gallego. This latter language has been referred to as a hybrid between Gallego and Bable; indeed the region between the two has been referred to as a linguistic Mesopotamia.⁷²

At this point, however, it is worth noting the extent to which it is a distinct language from Bable. This uniqueness was recognised in the 1998 legislation for the promotion of Bable by the insertion of a separate section on Astur-Gallego.

⁶⁹ Op.cit.

⁷⁰ Op.cit.

⁷¹ LNE 17.7.94

† *La xiriga, ya llingua que year no falábamos entre nosotros de les cosas nueses profesionales, pues igual, ya muerre tamién.*

⁷² LNE 31.10.94.

The uniqueness was underscored by a question and answer sequence with Xuan Pertierra, a lawyer, concerning language use at home:

Q: How do you speak to your son, in Asturian, or in Castilian?

A: If he is with his mother, in Castilian, because she is from Tapia and doesn't speak Central Asturian; if we are alone, in Asturian.⁷³ †

5.4 SUBSTRATES – CELTIC/IBERIC

José Manuel González, member of RIDEA and the *Real Academia de la Historia*, noted that:

The linguistic aspect was not uniform as to how it can be deduced that the modern distribution of dialects spoken (in Asturias) originated, in final analysis, from the pre-Roman languages.⁷⁴ †

He also made three points concerning the substrate of Bable:

- The traditional Asturian languages are nothing other than Latin learnt by the indigenous peoples descended from the protohistoric population, modified through time.
- The language of the protohistoric Asturians did not disappear entirely ... many of their elements passed with Latin to Romance. The foundation of sounds or linguistic elements of protohistoric origin, conserved by the traditional speeches of the Asturian region, constitute the pre-Roman or pre-Latin substrate.
- The linguistic pre-Roman substrate of Asturias is not ... an homogenous layer, but heterogeneous, formed by the diverse linguistic elements or materials of diverse provenance.⁷⁵

He then identified some words from two elements of this diverse substrate⁷⁶:

⁷³ LNE 18.11.97.

† ¿Cómu-y fala al so fiu, n'asturianu o en castellan? – Si ta la so ma, delante, en castellan, porque ella ye de Tapia y nun fala asturianu central, si tamos solos, n'asturianu.

⁷⁴ J M González, *Antiguos pobladores de Asturias: Protohistoria*, op.cit., p 40.

† No era uniforme en el aspecto lingüístico según se desprende de la distribución moderna de los dialectos hablados en ella, originados, en último término, en las lenguas preromanas.

⁷⁵ J M González, *Antiguos pobladores de Asturias: Protohistoria*, op.cit., pp 123-4.

⁷⁶ Op. cit, pp 125 & 128. With the exception of *sapiego*, these words also appear (along with many others) in X Ll García Arias, *Contribución a la gramática histórica de la lengua asturiana y a la caracterización etimológica de su léxico*, Uviéu, 1988, page 175.

Origin	Bable	Castilian	English
Basque	Cabarra [*]	Garrapata	Gnat
	Carraspal [*]	Terreno pedregoso	Rocky terrain
	Cueto [35]	Cerro	Hill
	Sapiego [*]	Especie de encina	Type of holm oak
Celtic	Bringa [*]	Mimbre	Osier
	Camba [*]	Pieza curva del arado	Curved piece of plough
	Candamo [*]	Rama seca	Dry branch
	Güelga [31]	Sitio húmedo y valdío	Swamp

Diego Catalán has also stated that there were potentially other elements in the substrate than those most often noted (Celtic and Iberic), believing that the appearance of similar linguistic phenomena in isolated locations across the entire northern reach of Spain into southwestern France was evidence of:

The existence, in an undefined epoch, of an unknown substrate language that would extend along the entire Cantabrian litoral from Gascony to Galicia.^{77 t}

A final point to be made about the substrate of any part of Spain, but particularly Asturias, relates back to the issue of the duration of impact. The Celtic/Iberic period, unlike the Roman, Visigothic or Arabic cannot be delineated by historico-political events which commenced or terminated it. On the contrary there is substantial evidence to suggest that there was an extensive period of co-existence between the Celt/Iberics and the later occupiers (particularly Roman). The survival to this day of the Basque language is proof sufficient of this contention for that part of the country; but there are also historical commentaries that suggest such co-existence occurred in other parts of the country over substantial periods of time.

In support of this point, Paul M Lloyd noted:

⁷⁷ D Catalán, *Lingüística Íbero-Románica*, Editorial Gredos, Madrid, 1974, page 285.

^t *La existencia, en una época indeterminada, de una lengua desconocida de substrato que se extendería por toda la franja cantábrica desde Gascuña a Galicia.*

The period in which the native languages of the north ... were finally replaced by Latin is one still wrapped in mystery. Romanisation, which included the adoption of Latin as the general language of all persons, had been rapid in the urbanized south and in the Levant, but we have no certain knowledge of when the rural areas also adopted Latin ... It is quite likely that in other (non-Basque) northern areas the indigenous languages remained in use until the beginning of the Middle Ages.⁷⁸

In a similar vein, George Borrow, writing in 1842, suggested evidence of the durability of some pre-Roman language groups as a result of isolation. He related an encounter with a traveller in Castille.

One thing is certain, that yonder, far away to the west, in the heart of those hills, there is a wonderful valley, so narrow that only at midday is the face of the sun to be descried upon it. That valley lay undiscovered and unknown for thousands of years; no person dreamed of its existence, but at last, a long time ago, certain hunters entered it by chance and then what do you think they found, Caballero? They found a small nation or tribe of unknown people, speaking an unknown language, who, perhaps, had lived there since the creation of the world, without intercourse with the rest of their fellow creatures, and without knowing that other beings besides themselves existed! Caballero, did you never hear of the valley of the Batuecas?⁷⁹

This example was not from Asturias, it referred to another part of Spain, a mountainous region more accessible than many of the remoter reaches of the Asturian sierras. And though undoubtedly the story had grown through the generations, undermining the accuracy of the detail, it at least indicated that there must have been instances of communities isolated from the mainstream over long periods of time.

Xosé Lluís García Arias endorsed this point re the isolation of remote Asturian valleys:

In the Asturian case it is probable that we find ourselves facing a fitting situation bringing us close towards understanding what could have been the latinisation; perhaps the Asturian fragmentation, favoured by the isolation of many of its valleys.^{80 t}

⁷⁸ P M Lloyd *From Latin to Spanish*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia 1987, page 174.

⁷⁹ G Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, reprinted by Cassell & Co, London, 1908, page 113.

⁸⁰ X L García Arias, *Contribución a la Gramática Histórica de la Lengua Asturiana y a la Caracterización Etimológica de su Léxico*, Biblioteca de Filoloxía Asturiana, Uviéu, 1988, page 174.

The tradition of believing there have been groups of people ‘out of time’ persists in Asturias to this day. During my time there I heard references to the people of Tarna being descendents of Jews who had escaped the 1492 expulsion order by retreating to the remote high reaches of the Nalón Valley.⁸¹ Similarly, the semi-nomadic Vaqueiros of Alzada have variously been referred to as descendents of a pre-Roman people, fugitive Roman slaves, a Visigothic or Germanic people, the descendents of Moorish remnants trapped after the southward progress of the Reconquest left them isolated from their compatriots, or an isolated group of *Maragatos* (from the Zamora region) amongst other possibilities.⁸²

5.5 STRATUM

5.5.1 The Latin stratum

Bable is regarded as a Romance language; alternatively, it is often referred to as a dialect of Latin. Both of these statements are meant to identify the prime importance of Latin in the formation of Bable compared with other linguistic inputs. But there are two issues to be dealt with in considering the Latin effect on Bable as compared with other hispanic Romance languages. Firstly, what type of Latin and, secondly, over what period of time was Latin able to have an impact and how profound was that impact?

With regard to the first – what type of Latin – it is clear that the term *Latin* actually covered a group of ‘speeches’ not just looked at from the point of view of the passage of time (Early Latin, Late Latin, the Mozarabic romance vernacular or the Classical Latin

¹ *El caso asturiano es probable que nos encontremos ante una situación idónea para acercarnos por buen camino a lo que pudo ser la latinización; acaso la fragmentación asturiana, favorecida por el aislamiento de muchos de sus valles.*

⁸¹ Interview notes with Raimond.

⁸² F Feo Parrondo, *op.cit.*, pp 124-128.

constructed in the Middle Ages), but also from the perspective of any one point in time (concurrent dialects, geographically co-located languages affected by interference from Latin). The diversity revealed by each of these analyses confirms that when Latin was taken to different parts of the Empire, it was not a linguistic unity but a diversity which was transported.

As to the second, the length of Roman rule varied in different parts of Spain. Roman contact with Spain began at the start of the Second Punic War in 218BC. During the second century BC the majority of the country came under Roman rule, simultaneous with the colonisation of northern Italy and preceding the occupation of northern Gaul. However, Roman suzerainty of northwest of Spain would not occur until much later (by 19BC in the case of Asturias). Thus the Mediterranean and Andalucian portions of Spain would ultimately be under Roman control for between six and seven centuries. The northwest, including Asturias, would experience Roman rule for only a little over four centuries until the Suevi invasions, followed by the Visigothic, prised the region from Roman control.

In addition, the extent of the Latin imprint was not only determined by the type of Latin introduced and its longevity of contact, but also the settlement patterns. Penny notes that the eastern and southern cities of Spain were populated by speakers of *the prestige norm (of Latin spoken by) upper class Rome*⁸³; these people were largely colonists and soon represented a significant proportion of the populations of the regions they settled. The consequence was that these speakers of the Latin-norm influenced the indigenous population in those regions of Spain in a reasonably short time to forsake their own

⁸³ R Penny, *A History of the Spanish Language*, op.cit., page 6.

languages.⁸⁴ In the eastern and southern zones of Spain where the indigenous population was soon outnumbered by the Roman colonists, the Latin-norm soon became the *lingua franca* as locals abandoned, by the end of the first century AD at the latest, their own languages.⁸⁵

Roman settlement in other locations was not only shorter, but less intrusive. On the subject of the variable impact of Latin during the Roman occupation, Paul M Lloyd stated:

In the north, on the other hand, the situation was rather different. The most northerly areas had not been a highly civilized region under imperial and Visigothic rule. Roman culture had reached there, but it was undoubtedly somewhat attenuated by the lateness of its penetration ... The north was, in general terms, marginal with respect to Roman culture and can be considered to have been only half-Romanized in contrast with other parts of the peninsula.⁸⁶

In Asturias, for example, the Roman presence was much less that of colonists (with the exception of gold miners who displaced local settlers in places such as Castro de Coaña) than of administrators and military personnel. Their Latin was therefore that of the garrison not of the urban elite. Furthermore, there is the suggestion that the garrisons were not necessarily even drawn from Latium (the part of Italy in which Rome was situated) but may well have come from other areas of Italy. Indeed, more than one writer has noted that there is evidence that garrisons sent to the northern reaches of Spain were often made up of Osco-Umbrian speakers. The city of Huesca (in Aragón) is claimed to take its name from the Oscans who were its first residents when it was a Roman garrison town.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ P Lloyd, op.cit., page 174.

This difference between the Latin stratum of Asturias compared with other parts of Spain led the unnamed writer of the entry on *Bable* in the 1910 edition of the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* to write:

Appreciably it can be seen very clearly the mark of the Latin precedence in its words that are disfigured from the linguistic evolution of Castilian.^{87 t}

The same writer offered the following examples of Bable words closer to Latin than exist in Castilian:⁸⁸

<u>Latin</u>	<u>Bable</u>	<u>Castilian</u>	<u>English</u>
Massa	Masera [7]	Artesa	Trough
Penna	Peñera [*]	Cedazo	Sieve
Pessulare	Peslar [64]	Cerrar [33]	To close
Vespertilio	Esperteyo [22]	Murcielago	Bat
Mustella	Mustuliella [*]	Comadreja	Weasel
Fodio	Fesoria [19]	Azadón	Large hoe
Frangere	Afrellar [*]	Romper con violencia	Break violently

5.5.2 Oscan/Umbrian

Pursuing this theme, J P Mallory wrote of the Osco-Umbrian language which existed *down the spine of Italy* in early Roman times and indicated that there is uncertainty amongst linguists as to whether both it and Latin derived from the same Proto-Italic or Indo-European or whether *they represent independent developments ... which have gained similarities through long-standing contacts*.⁸⁹ He transcribed inscriptions in each which appeared on an Iguvium tablet dated to about 200BC⁹⁰:

⁸⁷ *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, José Espasa é hijos editores, Barcelona, 1910.

^t (es) *apreciable por dejar ver muy á las claras la marca de procedencia latina en sus vocablos, que va desfigurándose con la evolución lingüística en el castellano.*

⁸⁸ Idem.

⁸⁹ J P Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archeology and Myth*, Thames & Hudson, London 1991, page 90.

⁹⁰ Author's translation: Commence this ceremony by observing the birds/ those from in front and those from behind. Before the Trebulam Gate/ sacrifice three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius. Present grain

Osc-Umbrian

este persklum aves anzeriates enetu
penaies pusnaes preveres treplanes
luve krapuvi tre buf feitu arvia ustentu
vatuva ferine feitu heris vinu heri puni
ukriper fisiu tutaper ikuvina feitu sevum
kutef pesnimu arepes arves

[My highlighting]

Latin

hanc caerimoniam avibus observatis
anticis posticis. Ante portam Trebulanam
Iove Grabovio tres boves facito, grana
Ostendito,
victimas in tabulato facitio, sive vino sive
potione,
pro arce Fisia, pro urbe Iguvina facito.
Formulam clare precator tostis granis.

We will see later (in Chapter Six), that Rebecca Posner proposes that there is a similarity between a grammatical feature of Abruzzese and Bable which may derive from a common Oscan ancestry. Whether that may or may not be so, the above pieces in Osc-Umbrian and Latin provide some interesting possible links with Bable at the very least at a lexical level.

In the Osc-Umbrian piece three different words (*este*, *feitu* and *ferine*) and words ending in *-u* have been highlighted. The word *este* appears both in Bable and Castilian as do minor variations of *ferine* (*farina* and *harina* respectively – though with a meaning change from *grain* to *flour* in each instance). The word *feitu* appears close to the Bable *fechu* (and is exactly the same as the *feitu* of Astur-Gallego, Galician and Portuguese). Whilst it also seems strongly akin to the Castilian *hecho*, this latter is claimed to have come from the Latin *factus*.⁹¹ The durability of the *f*- beginnings of those Bable words, where their Castilian equivalents have changed to *h*- may, therefore, be connected to some residue of the Osc-Umbrian inheritance.

offerings,/ Place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice with wine or with mead,/ for the Fisian mount, for the state of Iguvium. Pray each (portion) in a murmur with (offerings) of fat and grain.

⁹¹ *Diccionario Etimológico Español e Hispánico*, Espasa-Calpe SA, Madrid, 1985, page 221.

As to the frequency of *-u* endings in Osco-Umbrian (as opposed to the *-o* endings for the same words in Latin), this characteristic matches Bable whilst the Latin form matches Castilian.

5.6 SUPERSTRATES

5.6.1 Visigothic

The Visigoths appear to have left very little linguistic imprint on any of the languages of Spain, not even that of Asturias (where the continuity of their impact was of longer duration than elsewhere in the country). There were two reasons for this.

Firstly, the Visigoths had been significantly romanised during their period in Gaul and by the time they arrived in Spain they had almost completed the transition from being monolingual in their own tongue, through Latin/Visigothic bilingualism onto being effectively monolingual in Latin. As Rafael Lapesa pointed out:

The linguistic influence of the Visigoths on the hispanic romance languages was not very great. Romanised quickly, they abandoned the use of their language, which by the seventh century found itself in complete decay. There was not in Spain a bilingual period as long as that in France.⁹² ^t

The second factor is that the Visigoths never represented a significant percentage of the population. They came as invaders who, as Roman authority retreated, took over control of the local populations; but those local populations still remained numerically stronger.

⁹² R Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, Editorial Gredos, Madrid, 1981, page 118.

^t *La influencia lingüística de los visigodos en los romances hispánicos no fue muy grande. Romanizados pronto, abandonaron el uso de su lengua, que en el siglo VII se hallaba en plena decomposición. No hubo en España un período bilingüe tan largo como en Francia.*

Nevertheless, there was some absorption of Visigothic and other Germanic words into the language as the following table shows.⁹³

<u>Visigothic/Germanic</u>	<u>Bable</u>	<u>Castilian</u>	<u>English</u>
Biutelen	Bortelar [*]	Cerner	to sieve
Brikan	Abrecar [*]	Romper [50]	to break
Gaits	Gaita [51]	Albogue	Bagpipes
Rūkka	Roca [20]	Instrumento de hilar	spinning device
Speut	Espetar [18]	Clavar	to fasten, bang in

Probably more significant than any lexical impact, however, was morphological. William J Entwistle wrote of the *Visigothic platform* upon which vernaculars such as Bable were constructed. He spoke of:

The consensus of Spanish dialects which was the Visigothic platform, and which was represented quite closely to Mozarabic.⁹⁴

This resulted in the adoption of certain features of accent and word structure which were differentiated from developments on these fronts in Castilian. In this vein R Lapesa noted the possibility that the *ll* feature of Astur-Leonés (and also of Catalan) (eg *llingua* versus *lengua*, *llobu-lobo*, *lluna-luna* &c) came from the Visigothic presence.⁹⁵

Likewise the *-ei-* and *-ou-* diphthongs characteristic of Galician, Astur-Gallego and Bable Occidental have been cited as being of possible Visigothic origin.⁹⁶

And J B Trend noted the morphological contribution of *-engo* words from Visigothic – such as *realengo* [initially *royal domain* later *free, unattached*] and *abadengo* [*clerical domain*].⁹⁷

⁹³ Information drawn from various of the sources already cited.

⁹⁴ W J Entwistle *The languages of Spain ...*, op. cit, page 142.

⁹⁵ Op.cit., Page 127.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

5.6.2 Arabic

The duration of contact between Bable and Castilian over some eight centuries encouraged a lexical movement between the two. This can be particularly noted where Arabic words entered into Castilian and then flowed on into Bable (eg *azucar* [*sugar*]). However, there are some instances where the presence of words of Arabic origin did not complete that journey into Bable. The following table identifies some examples comparing Bable with mainstream Castilian:⁹⁸

<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Castilian</u>	<u>Bable</u>	<u>English</u>
Al arz	Alerce	Cembru [*]	Larch tree
Al baitar	Albéitar	Metrinariu [*]	Vet
Al boc	Albogue	Gaita [51]	Bagpipes
Ad dabba	Aldaba	Picaporte [6]	Doorknocker
Al garid	Alarido	Glayíu [49]	Shriek
Al midana	Almadana	Zutrón, futrión [*]	Sledge hammer for rocks
Al qatām	Alcotán	Ferlamicu [*]	Falcon-like bird
Al zaquiya	Acequia	Presa [18]	Irrigation ditch, gutter
Safi	Zafio	Patayu [*]	Coarse, uncouth
Salām	Zalema	Llagotearía [*]	Courtesy, reverence
Saqat	Zarracatin	Recatiador [*]	Small-time trader

The example of differential rates of adoption of Arabic words is even more noted in the comparison between the Andalusian varieties of Castilian with Bable. The following table provides some examples where Arabic source words penetrated the speech of Andalusia where the Moors remained for up to eight centuries but did not even make it as far as mainstream Castilian spoken elsewhere in the peninsula let alone to the Bable of Asturias.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ J B Trend, *Language & History of Spain*, op.cit., page 40.

⁹⁸ As per footnote #92.

<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Andalucian Castilian</u>	<u>Castilian</u>	<u>Bable</u>	<u>English</u>
Al ŷumma	Aljuma	Pinocha	Cuciayo [*]	Pine needle
Al muṣallà	Almocela	Jergón	Sergón [*]	Straw mattress
Mahrūm	Maharón	Holgazán	Folgazán [*]	Lazy
Raŷŷa	Racha	Vendaval	Vendaval [*]	Strong gale
Suquāt	Zocato	Zurdo	Zurdu [*]	Left-handed
Talbīña	Talvina	Gachas [18]	Faricos [*]	Porridge
Zāha	Zafar	Desenredar	Desenguedeyar [5]	Unravel

However, notwithstanding the above, there have also been some examples of Arabic words entering into the Bable lexicon where there either never were or currently remain no Castilian equivalents such as:

<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Bable</u>	<u>Castilian</u>	<u>English</u>
An-nazeha	Añaciar [*]	Ir de fiestas	To go to festivals
Horr	Zorra [*]	Sin cria	Infertile
Jabbaza	Zabarcera [*]	Revendedora	Hawker
Sarawil	Zarabuelles[*]	Calzones [14]	Type of shoes
Zardaján	Sarasa [*]	Percal	Fine cotton cloth

Commenting on this, Xosé Lluís García Arias stated that this may have been the result of Moors who stayed behind in Asturias after the defeat of their side at Covadonga. Alternatively, he suggested there may have been Arabic speaking officials (Moorish or Mozarabic) appointed to positions in the new kingdom's civil service.¹⁰⁰ Milio Cueto also proposed that some Arabic words were absorbed into Asturias, as with other parts of Spain:

For the cultural prestige which the Arab reigns of Hispania had.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ V García de Diego, *Diccionario Etimológico español e hispanico*, Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 1985, various entries.

¹⁰⁰ X L García Arias, *Contribución a la gramática histórica de la lengua asturiana y la caracterización etimológica de su léxico*, op.cit., page 253.

¹⁰¹ M R Cueto, *Manuel de llingua asturiana*, Llibros del Peixe, Xixón, 1994.

5.6.3 Mozarabic/Romance

There is very little information available concerning the form of Mozarabic from which Bable drew a linguistic inheritance. Mozarabic itself was a term coined for *those varieties of Hispano-Romance which had continued to be spoken in Islamic and ex-Islamic Spain*.¹⁰² Under Arabic rule the language was written with Arabic (and sometimes Hebrew) script rather than Roman and almost nothing survives of its corpus.

Given the lack of written material it is difficult to assess the impact of the Mozarabic of the Astur-Leonese region upon Leonese and its successor Bable. Again quoting R Penny:

Some have argued that ... Mozarabic exercised influence on the expanding northern languages, but the only clear evidence of such influence belongs to the field of vocabulary ... it is also likely that many Arabisms present in Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan (*and presumably Bable*) reached these languages through the mediation of Mozarabic.¹⁰³ [my note in italics]

Notwithstanding this uncertain and limited contribution of Mozarabic Romance, it is worth noting the views of Roger Wright about the relationship of Bable to this language and the very quality of the Romance of the region in those early centuries. Posing the question as to whether Asturian texts of the ninth and tenth centuries were in *barbarous Latin or written Romance*, Wright noted the references of a number of Spanish linguists who referred to the language in such terms as *clumsy latin, barbarous in style* and that the era was a *time of literary decadence*.¹⁰⁴

¹ *pol prestixu cultural que tuvieron los reinos arabes d'Hispania*, page 45

¹⁰² R Penny, *A history of the Spanish Language*, op. cit. page 14.

¹⁰³ R Penny, entry on Mozarabic in G Price (ed) *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe*, op.cit. p327.

¹⁰⁴ R Wright, *Early Ibero-Romance: 21 studies in language and texts from the Iberian Peninsula between the Roman Empire and the Thirteenth Century*, Juan de la Cuesta, Newark, Del. Page 135.

Contrary to such views Wright concluded that the language of Leon and Asturias in the ninth and tenth century was:

... a multifaceted, versatile and lively language, and we can call the language of their texts 'well written Romance'.¹⁰⁵

His conclusion was based on the reality that:

Early Romance, if and when it was written, had in practice no alternative but to exhibit ... more features characteristic of oral registers than are normally visible in the artificial texts of 'Classical' Latin. Such oral features are in themselves neither 'bad' nor 'decadent'. In oral contexts, every language has greater flexibility and more nuances than it has in writing ...¹⁰⁶

Wright's alternative interpretation of the character of Ibero-Romance offers much of value for contemporary consideration of the relationship of spoken bables, various orthographic versions of transcribed language and the concept of a normalised form of written Bable.

5.6.4 Frankish

A final superstrate may have been Frankish. Rafael Lapesa hinted at some Provençal influences in Asturian citing linguistic peculiarities in the *Fuero de Avilés* of 1289 AD, suggesting that the immigration of *monks, clerics, bishops, feudal lords and merchants*¹⁰⁷ brought various Frankish and Provençal influences. Lorenzo Novo Meir cited the following words from the *Fueru* as being of Provençal origin: *le don, altre, ambes* and *negún*.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Op.cit., page 152.

¹⁰⁶ Op.cit. page 141.

¹⁰⁷ in D Catalan, *Lingüística Ibero-Romanica*, op.cit. page 198.

[†] *monjes, clérigos, obispos, señores feudales y mercaderes.*

¹⁰⁸ L Novo Meir, *El habla de Asturias: comparada con las otras lenguas vernaculas hispanicas*, Asturlibros, Oviedo, 1980, page 28.

In addition, an examination of the *Diccionario Etimológico* reveals that one such introduction was the Bable *güetar* [*to spy on or watch*] from the Frankish *wahten*; while another was *teto* [*nipple*] from *titta*.

5.6.5. Relationship to Medieval Castilian

It appears that Medieval Castilian and the Bable of today had a closer correlation (at least lexical and syntactic) than is apparent today. Indeed there are some who believe Bable has a parent relationship to Castilian. A small dictionary published by the newspaper *La Nueva España* in 1970 was entitled *Primer diccionario de la lengua asturiana – madre del idioma español* [*First dictionary of the Asturian language – mother of the Spanish language*].

At a lexical level, for example, the following words appear in a dictionary of Medieval Castilian,¹⁰⁹ but either do not appear at all in recent editions of the RAE dictionary as being in current usage or do not appear with the same meanings (that is there has been meaning drift, or semantic shift, between Castilian and Bable since the Middle Ages):

<u>Medieval Castilian</u>	<u>Modern Castilian</u>	<u>Bable</u>	<u>English</u>
Escaecer	Olvidar [65]	Escaecer [287]	To forget
Manjar	Comer [120]	Manxar [*]	To eat
Pescanzar	Comprender [23]	Pescanciar [99]	To understand
Pescudar	Preguntar [161]	Pescudar [61]	To seek/ask
Prestar	Gustar [205]	Prestar [317]	To like

¹⁰⁹ J Cejador, *Vocabulario Medieval Castellano*, Visor Libros, Madrid, 1990, pp 183, 265, 305, 308 & 319

At a syntactic level, it has been noted that enclisis and proclisis existed in Medieval Castilian which is no longer the case with its present day successor. Bable on the other hand has continued with both practices.

The interview with Angel, from the village of Campo de Caso in the central zone, also noted another archaism from Medieval Castilian – the survival of *vos* for *you* {C: *tu* and *vosotros*} in certain respectful situations between children and parents.¹¹⁰

5.7 DUOLECT STATUS

In 1990 in an article in *Vox: Journal of the Australian Advisory Council on Languages & Multicultural Education*, I introduced the concept of *duolect* – a ‘twin language relationship’ between tongues.¹¹¹ In 1993 I further explained the concept at a short presentation in 1993 to a conference convened by *Instituto Cervantes* on the Teaching of the Spanish Language held at the University of New South Wales. I proposed that a *duolect* be taken to mean a ‘twin language’, one which is closer in similarity to one dialect than others derived from some original language. The term was designed to recognise this similarity yet at the same time remove the negative perceptions caused by the linguistically incorrect usage of the term *dialect* in reference to one language in relation to another sibling of the same the linguistic tree.

Thus both Bable and Castilian are *dialects* of Latin, but not of each other. Their relationship to each other is undoubtedly closer than that between other languages in the Romance dialect continuum and for good reason. The linguistic soils (or matrices) of both Bable and Castilian have had more similarity than say those of Romanian and Castilian. To use terms of familial relationship of each to their shared parent languages

¹¹⁰ Interview notes with Angel.

¹¹¹ L M F Arnold, *Languages of Spain – a causerie*, *Vox* #4 1990, pp 46-55.

– Mozarabic, and Vulgar Latin – and grandparent language – Latin - Bable and Castilian would be siblings, while Romanian (‘child’ of Daco-Rumanian or ‘Roman of Dacia’ and ‘grandchild’ of Latin) would be a cousin to them both. All three are dialects of Latin, but I would propose that Bable and Castilian be termed *duolects* of each other; in the same way Romanian, Moldavian and Arrumanian could be considered to be *duolects* of each other.

The purpose of this terminology was to remove the perception of *subsidiarity* between languages given that any ascription of inferior status to one language compared with another makes language planning more difficult.

This chapter has overviewed the historical roots and the dialectal variety of Bable. The next chapter examines some of its characteristics (including grammar and morphology). It also pursues the significance of lexical richness in the context of dialectal diversity.

PART B – BABLE

CHAPTER SIX – CHARACTERISTICS

6.1 LEXICON

It is not the purpose of this study to provide an exhaustive analysis of differential word usage between Bable and Castilian, rather to identify some examples by way of comprehending the lexical relationship between the two.

Implicitly lexicographers of interlanguage dictionaries recognise the uniqueness of languages by their work in mapping meanings of words and in the provision of translations. Bable lexicographers have done just this and in the process identified significant incidences of word difference between Bable and Castilian. Though admittedly a crude analysis, the statistics of word entries in their dictionaries provide some indicators of their understanding of the lexical depth of Bable. Table 6.1 records the number of entries (in most cases approximate) of the Bable dictionaries used in this thesis.

Table 6.1: Bable dictionary word entries

Dictionary	Year first written or published	Approximate number of Bable word entries
GdP 1788	1788	395
RAT 1891	1891	5,000+
SOM 1901	1896-1901	2,704
NOV 1983	1983	15,000+ (Cast>Bable)*
BAS 1984	1984	4,000+ #
XXSV 1988	1988	30,000
JN 1989	1989	32,000
ALLA 2001	2001	50,000+ #

* This dictionary only contained Castilian to Bable entries.

These dictionaries are Bable only.

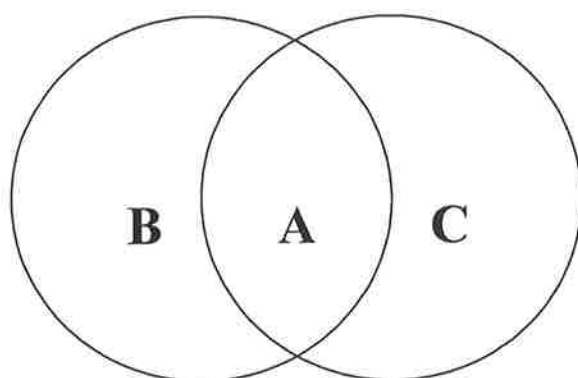
6.1.1 LEXICAL OVERLAP

Since both Bable and Castilian are Romance languages, and since they are both spoken in Asturias, it is not surprising that there is considerable lexical overlap between the two. Part of this overlap has occurred because of common features in the linguistic ‘soil’ or matrix from which they both grew; and part because of the dynamic of their being co-existent in the same geographic space. Later (in Chapter 10) the issue of linguistic interference/transference which also results from this dynamic is considered. But at this point, the focus is on the lexical impact of that co-existence.

Figure 6.1 below, diagrammatically (via a Venn diagram) represents the overlap of Bable and Castilian. The area “B” represents those words which are unique to Bable. These words will very often have Castilian equivalents, but the etymology of each will be distinct. Area “C” represents those equivalent, but etymologically different words in the Castilian domain. The size of the circles does not imply that the lexical corpus of each are of similar size. They are not. It has been said that Castilian has at least 83,500 words in its lexicon.¹ While Table 6.1 indicates a figure of about 50,000 words as being the lexical corpus of Bable. The area contained within the intersection of the circles B and C has been labelled A and represents those words which are either the same or similar in both languages. Their etymology may be the same or, to borrow a term from biology, they may be the result of convergent evolution.

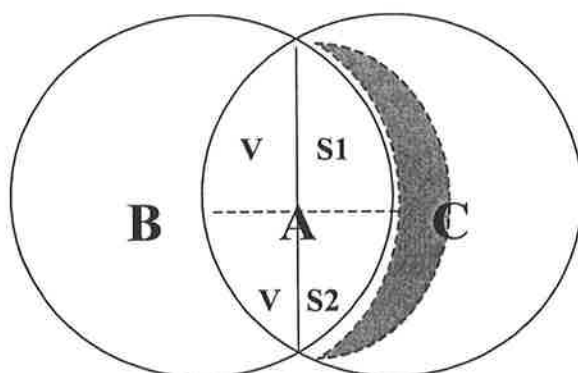
¹ The entry count indicated in the preface to the 1992 edition of the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*. In 1994, the newly re-elected director of the Academy, Lázaro Carreter, noted that there is *un ‘corpus’, un registro, constituido por cien millon de palabras* [a ‘corpus’, a register made up of one hundred million words] – LNE 3.12.94; this ‘corpus’ would include all forms (declined, conjugated &c) of base words.

Figure 6.1: Venn diagram relationship of Bable & Castilian



In this third area, we may consider that there are four distinct sub-groups. Two can be listed under the general heading of “variants” (that is to say Bable words that are variants of Castilian words); in the diagram below these have been labelled these V1 and V2. While the other two come under the heading of “same” – S1 and S2 below.

Figure 6.2: Categorisation of shared words/meanings between Bable & Castilian



The following eight words are examples of the categories in the diagram above:

- B** – *escaecer* [286] } [to forget]
- C** – *olvidar* [65] }
- V1** – *llobu* [219] (the Castilian equivalent being *lobo* [wolf]).
- V2** – *estaferiar* [*] [to work in common with neighbours in a village], the Castilian *estafar* [to swindle]
- S1** – *brotar* [*] [to sprout in both languages]
- S2** – *prestar* [316] (Castilian) – to lend; *prestar* (Bable) – to like.
- C (shaded area)** – *alevín* [*], *guapu(a)* [264]*

* The indicated frequency figure of 264 did not indicate how many of those usages were of the extended meaning used in Asturias.

For the purposes of the analysis V1 and S1 are words which share the same meaning in both Bable and Castilian; while V2 and S2 are those that have different meanings. Thus the diagram may be redrawn as in Figure 6.2. A fourth element, the shaded area in this figure, is dealt with in Section 3.1.2.

A study has not been done as part of this thesis as to the percentage of words which might be in each of the categories above. However, research conducted in 1987 provided some indicators as to the relative lexical strength in terms of actual usage of each category, at least with respect to oral communication in an urban setting. Concha Prieto undertook a study of conversation which had taken place in 1987 in a butcher's shop in Xixón/Gijón.² Two hours of conversation were recorded and then analysed. One aspect of the analysis was to examine the incidence of different word forms. The categories were:

1. Castilian words in Castilian form.
2. Castilian words in Asturian form.
3. Castilian words with common form.
4. Asturian words with Castilian form.
5. Asturian words with Asturian form.
6. Asturian words with common form.
7. Common words with Castilian form.
8. Common words with Asturian form.
9. Common words with common form.

The analysis then categorised the results above into the following groupings: Common words (Group 9 above – approximating the **S1** category in Figure 6.2), Indistinct words (Groups 7 & 8 above – approximating **V1**, **V2** & **S2** categories above), Castilian words (Groups 1 & 3 above – the **C** category above), Asturian words (Groups 5 & 6 – the **B**

category above), and hybrid words (Group 2). The percentages observed from the two hours of oral communication were:³

Common words (approximating S1)	68.8%
Indistinct (V1, V2 and S2)	11.6%
Castilian words (C)	10.1%
Asturian words (B)	8.5%
Hybrid words	1.1%

The figures above can only be indicative, however, as the setting was very particular (urban and amongst a closely defined group) and in a context of an expected high rate of interference between the two languages (as opposed to what might have been observed in a rural setting).

6.1.2 SEMANTIC SHIFT - EXTENSION OF MEANING

There are some other examples of interest which are suggestive of idiosyncratic usage of Castilian within Asturias. This is represented in Figure 6.2 by the area of shading within the C circle, symbolising a shadow cast by Bable over Castilian. This area can be taken to suggest the existence of an Asturian form of Castilian (or what Lorenzo Novo Meir referred to as *asturianismos* – vide page 135). This form would not consist of Bable words as such, but would be made up of:

- Castilian words used differently or in extended ways in Asturias compared with the rest of the Castilian-speaking domain. Examples are *guapo/u* and *alevin*, both of which are the subject of comment below; and
- Castilian words used more frequently in Asturias than elsewhere. An example of this would be *chigre*, a Castilian word for *tavern* used extensively in Asturias but rarely elsewhere.

The first category - extension of meaning - can also be labeled semantic shift. The first of the two examples is the word *guapu/a(guapo/a)*. In present-day usage, the most

² C Prieto, *Investigación sociolingüística na plaza'l sur de Xixón*, Principáu d'Asturies, Uviéu, 1991.

³ Op.cit, pages 22 & 25.

common meaning of the adjective *guapo/a* in Castilian is *handsome/beautiful*; these meanings also apply in Bable (the masculine form, *guapu*, being a V1 word, whilst the feminine, *guapa*, is an S1). However, an episode during a visit to Galicia in a meeting with colleagues where we were discussing different cities in Spain, revealed to me that a semantic shift has taken place with respect to this word. In conversation I happened to say:

¡Salamanca, qué guapa es!

To which I received the response:

¡Es obvio que vives en Asturias!

The response evoked good-natured mirth. My intent had been to say: “Salamanca, how beautiful it is!”. They had responded: “It is obvious you live in Asturias”. A non-Asturian speaker of Castilian would have said:

¡Salamanca, qué preciosa es!

What I had done was to reflect an extended use of the meaning of *handsome/beautiful* from persons to objects, a practice common in Asturias – and indeed identified elsewhere in Spain as being typical of that region. Photo 6.1 is an example of such a practice being followed even in government promotional material.

A second example of semantic shift is the noun *alevin*. Again this is not a Bable word (for instance none of the dictionaries used cited the word), and the extended sense in which it is used in the Asturian-domain of Castilian is not unknown elsewhere in its other domains. The Collins Spanish-English dictionary interpretation of *alevin* is *young fish, beginner, neophyte, novice*; the former being its standard usage in the bulk of the Castilian domain. However, in Asturias, *alevin* extends from the *fry* meaning (as in

salmon spawn) - well understood in this salmon-fishing region - to apply to young people (not dissimilar to *smallfry* in English), in particular to young sportspeople.

Photo 6.1 – Asturian Government tourism advertisement



Thus *La Nueva España*, in its weekly roundup of sporting results, includes coverage of results from teams in the *Alevín* category (8-11 years of age). The equivalent nomenclature in the rest of Spain, as noted for example in a sister publication in Murcia, is *Infantil*.

From both these examples a common element may be drawn – that of familiarity. The use of a personal descriptor (handsome or beautiful) to describe place, implies an intention of personalising the relationship of person to place. In a similar vein, the use of an animal (or in this case, fish) as a diminutive term of description carries with it the sense of familiarity just as *cubs* in English conveys a sentiment which *junior boy scouts* does not.

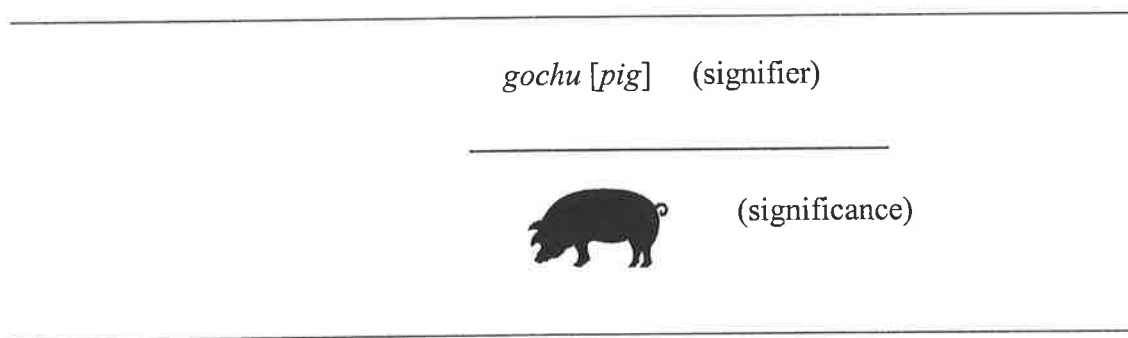
This desire for the familiar in relationships and networks is a recurrent theme in Asturias.

6.1.3 SIGNIFIER AND SIGNIFICANCE IN BABLE

In terms of considering whether there might be a construct to help understand semantic shift or meaning extension, Milio Cueto used a model which originated from the work of Ferdinand de Saussure. Saussure had proposed that there were two elements for any word which link the lexeme with the morpheme - he labelled these *signifier* and *signified* (Cueto for his part used the Bable words *significante* and *significáu*.)⁴ *Signifier* being the visual representation of the word (lexeme), and *signified* being the meaning (morpheme) given to that visual representation. I believe that *significance* is a

⁴ M R Cueto, *Manual de llingua asturiana*, op.cit., pp 75+.

more satisfactory word than *signified* and accordingly use it in subsequent application of Saussure's analysis. Cueto gave the following example:



The word *pig* in English need not only have the *significance* of the animal of that name, it has also been used in perjorative senses to refer to certain individuals or classes of human being. Where that has happened there has been extension of meaning, or semantic shift. An example of this semantic shift in Bable is noted on page 194.

As indicated above the words *guapo* and *alevin* are two examples of meaning extension. A further example in the Bable/Castilian relationship cited by Milio Cueto was *deber* [to owe – in this instance in the sense of *to be obliged*] which, again using the Sausurrian approach, he diagrammatically represented thus:

Bable	Castilian
<i>deber</i>	<i>deber</i>
<hr style="width: 100%;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>
<i>probabilidá</i>	<i>obligación</i>
[<i>probability</i>]	[<i>obligation</i>]

His suggestion was that in Castilian *deber* carries the sense of obligation – *debo que hacer* [*I must do ...*], whilst in Bable its sense is that of probability – *debo que facer* [*I am likely to do*].

6.1.4 DURABILITY OF LEXICAL FEATURES FROM THE STRATUM

Some lexical differentiation between Bable and Castilian has been the result of differences in the rate of change in each – or rather the greater tendency for ‘stalled’ lexical change in Bable compared with Castilian. Thus Sergio Marqués, president of the region in the mid-1990s stated his belief that:

Asturian proceeds from Castilian: what happened is that, isolated by the mountains, it didn’t evolve.^{5 t}

An instance of such differential rate of change for Bable and Castilian is evidenced in the word *facere* [*to make, to do*] inherited from Latin. In the case of Castilian, *facere* became *facer* in the Middle Ages and later *hacer*. In Bable, however, for the most part *facere* stalled at *facer*; though there have been some minor occurrences of it developing into *faer* and then *fer* in parts of the region.

A further example of the difference in durability of stratum features between Bable and Castilian is the maintenance of the Latin prefix *per-* (in the sense of *very*) in the former compared with its almost total disappearance from the latter. Latin had two meanings for this prefix - *by way of* and *thoroughly*. Both forms are seen in English in such words

⁵ LNE 9.9.97

^t *el asturiano proceda del castellano: lo que pasa, es que ‘aislado por las montañas, no evolucionó’.*

as *perforce* [by way of force] and *perfect* [thoroughly made]⁶ and *perfervid* [very fervid].

Thus the Castilian *muy mucho* [very many] translates to *permunches* in Bable. Likewise *muy guapa* to *perguapa* [very beautiful], *muy importante* to *perimportante* [very important] and *muy interesante* to *perinteresante*.

Milio Cueto, however, has noted that the exclusive use of *per* in this comparative sense has also often been evidence of *hiperasturianismo* [hyperasturianism]:

Unfortunately, many writers limit themselves to *per* and avoid other possibilities (which) are equally correct in Asturian... they thus commit *hiperasturianismos*.⁷ †

6.1.5 CASTILIAN BORROWING FROM BABLE

Commenting on why words from a substrate might survive a more dominant language moving into its domain, Milio Cueto noted that they may do so either because the dominant language has no equivalent, or because there is extensive existing social use of an earlier word which the new entrant cannot dislodge. In making this comment he noted not only the survival in Bable of the word *fabada* [a bean stew very typical of Asturias] but its passage across into Castilian (where it would more properly have been called *alubiada*). *Fabada* now exists as a word in Castilian throughout Spain.⁸

⁶ W Skeat, *An etymological dictionary of the English language*, 4th edition, Oxford Clarendon Press, reprinted 1978, page 442.

⁷ M R Cueto, *Manual de llingua asturiana*, op.cit., page 86.

† *desgraciadamente, muchos escritores limitense al per y escapan de les otres posibilidades igualmente correctes n'asturiano ... cometen asina hiperasturianismos.*

⁸ Op. cit., pp 43-4.

There are many other examples of Bable words being commonly borrowed into the Castilian spoken in Asturias. These words are not only spoken, but written, including in the print media. Sometimes their non-Castilian origins are indicated by the use of quotation marks, at other times the words are cited without any such degree of separation from the surrounding text. Examples of such are:

Afuega'l pitu [15] – {C: *ahoga del pollo*} - literally ‘choke the chicken’, the name of a cheese typical of Asturias.

Amagüestu [7] – Autumnal festival at which chestnuts are roasted – no equivalent word in Castilian.

Antroxu [29] – {C: *antruevo*, more frequently *carnaval*} – pre-Lenten festivities.

Argayu [12] - nearest Castilian word is *avalancha* – a small landslide, common in the geologically-young Asturian mountains.

Braña [12] – summer, mountain pasturage for herds – no equivalent.

El campanu [*] – first salmon of the season caught – no equivalent.

Fabes [40] - {C: *judías* or *alubias*} – a white bean typical of Asturias.

Güelu [136] – {C: *abuelo*} - grandparent

Guirria [*] – typical character of fiestas (eg New Year’s Eve) – no equivalent.

Oriciu [*] – {C: *errizo*} – sea urchin

Xana [25] – nymph of springs or rivers – no Castilian equivalent

Xiringüelu [*] – regional dance (type of Asturian barn dance) – no equivalent.

Figure 6.3 gives examples of a selection of headlines from *La Nueva España* which have included the words above. Of the twelve words in the selection, four relate to festivals and other communal activities (*Amagüestu*, *Antroxu*, *Guirria* and *Xiringüelu*), three relate to foods typical of the region (*Afuega'l pitu*, *Fabes* and *Oriciu*), three to unique characteristics of the region (*Argayu*, *Braña* and *El campanu*) with the remaining two relating to forebears (*Güelu*) and mythology (*Xana*). These words should not be considered as lexical interference so much as a desire to keep words of iconic value to Asturians.

Figure 6.3: Selected headlines from *La Nueva España*

Viernes, 30 de agosto de 1997

DISPONIBLE

NUESTROS MEJORES PLATOS

LA GASTRONOMIA ASTURIANA A TRAVÉS DE SUS MÁS DESTACADOS COCINEROS J. A. FIDALGO

Fabes con marisco

ORIENTE

El «campanu» de los vecinos

Manuel García pescó ayer en el Sella el segundo salmón de la temporada, que los ribereños consideran el único válido

LA NUEVA ESPAÑA 25

Cangas de Onís: «Amplista» de profesores y alumnos del Reconquista

Casi medio millar de alumnos matriculados en el curso 1996-97 en el colegio de Educación Infantil y Primaria Reconquista, en

Un «argayu» corta la N-634, cerca de Arriondas, durante dos horas

Las bajas temperaturas dificultan el deshielo en la veintena de puertos con cadenas y en las 47 localidades aisladas

Orlindo / Llanes. De una pedrada en la que la nieve y el hielo mataron cerrados los puertos de Ventana y San Esteban, mientras que arruina a la millonada de cadenas. Mientras tanto, permanecen incomunicados 47 núcleos de población rural en los concejos

El Centro de Madrid eligió a la xana y a las xaninas de esta temporada

Madrid, Madrid Press. El Centro Asturiano de Madrid eligió a la xana y a las xaninas de 1997 en una fiesta celebrada en la «Quinta Asturiana» el domingo pasado por la noche. El jurado estaba integrado por

Laura Manchaca Mesroder, viudas estas dos últimas del ex ministro Aurelio Menéndez, recibieron el título de «Xana» y «Xanina» de esta temporada figura también Teresa Ojeda, de

languista con vestimenta de Casa Marqués los ganadores han hecho sus a casa. «Xanina» y la ganadora son como «Fiesta del orís», que este año «Xana» se denomina quinta edición. Al que dice que es la máxima expresión de un homenaje que le tributa a este extraordinario nivel de situaciones cada temporada, especialmente en estos últimos años cada vez más

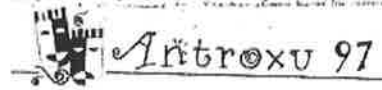


Baio Nalón

La Quinta Avenida afuega'l pitu

El popular queso de Morcín y Grado llega a las «delicatessen» de Nueva York

Grado, María ALONSO. «a'l pitu a casa». Costa de los El queso de afuega'l pitu, el comercializaciones. Francisco



Llega el Xiringüelu

Lunes, 29 de septiembre de 1997

La Fiesta vaqueira de la trashumancia, hermana menor de la de Aristébano, celebró ayer su decimá edición. Los propios vaqueiros participaron en el ritual de la Alzada desde Las Tablernas hasta la Casa'l Puertu. Los organizadores reclaman apoyo institucional para lograr mayor difusión

La braña recuperada

Los vaqueiros escenificaron su anual éxodo ganadero hasta la Casa'l Puertu

20 LA NUEVA ESPAÑA

ORIENTE

Viernes, 7 de enero de 1998

Hasta el «guirria» tiene que amoldarse a los tiempos modernos. Y eso que el diablillo de San Xaan de Belerío nació en el alba de la Historia. La fiesta del «guirria» de este año estuvo dominada por el debate sobre los parejas de hecho. La

tradición manda que tanto el «trasgu» del Año Nuevo como su corte de «guirria» sean mozos solteros. Durante la reunión preparatoria de la fiesta del «guirria», que los mozos celebran en Nochevieja, se discutía si podían ser

aguinalderos los varones que, aun no habiendo pasado por la vicaria o por el Juzgado, vivan en pareja. Al final, hubo votación. Y ganó el no. O sea, que, ante los ojos del «guirria», los «axuntaos», como se dice por aquí, están casados.

El «guirria» y los «axuntaos»

El encapuchado mitológico reapareció en Belerío con el Año Nuevo, tras debatir los

6.1.6 METATHESIS

Metathesis is the transpositioning of letters within a word. The example often given is the metathesising of the Old Gothic word *bryd* into the English word *bird*. A further example is in evidence on page 191, with the indication that the word *wasp* is still spoken in parts of England in its original pre-metathesised form – *waps*.

Previously quoted on the subject, the author of the first grammar of a modern Romance language, Antonio de Nebrija, in his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* noted the example of *diziendo por Pedro vino, drepo nivo* [*saying for Pedro vino, drepo nivo*].⁹

Metathesis appears to occur more frequently in Bable than in Castilian as the following list of words derived from two Gothic and nine Latin words indicates:

<u>Latin/Gothic</u>	<u>Castilian</u>	<u>Bable</u>	<u>English</u>
Gramen	Escondarse [17]	Engarmarse [*]	To hide
Haribairgon	Albergar	Abellugar [49]	Shelter (from rain)
Fibra	Hebra	Friba [*]	Thread
Frater	Fraile	Flaire [*]	Friar
Fundula	Funda [6]	Flunda [*]	Case, cover
Mano	Manosear	Masñar [*]	To handle
Nati	Nadie [26]	Naide [576]	No-one
Permittere	Permitir [107]	Premir [*]	To permit
Persona	Persona [200]	Presona [115]	Person
Revalgare	Rebargar [5]	Reblagar [17]	To stride
Tremulare	Temblar [8]	Tembrar* [*]	To fear

There is the possibility that metathesis has affected one of the few Celtic words related to mining to have survived into modern day Bable, the word *arrugia* [*cave-in*]. The Bable

⁹ A de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, 1492, op.cit. page 227.

* It may be that metathesis occurred relatively late to this word, as 1639 poem by Antonio González Reguera, *Pleitu ente Uviéu y Merida pola posesión les cenices de Santolalla* [*Dispute between Oviedo and Merida for the ashes of St Julian*] contains a version of *tembrar* closer to the original Latin: Line 20 – *que tremaba de pavor* – cited in XX Sánchez Vicente *Literatura relixosa: Entamu y Notes*, Conceyu Asturias, Xixón, 1983, page 8. Also one conference attendee (S010) noted *tremar* in answer to the request for ten Bable words.

word *argayu* [*small landslide*] may be etymologically derived, through a process of metathesis, from *arrugia*.*

The relatively higher incidence of metathesis in Bable may be the product of a stronger oral rather than written tradition for the language as well as the absence, until recent times, of an orthographic normalisation for such written usage which has occurred.

It also appears that there are two types of metathesis in Bable – which might be called ‘embedded’ and ‘fluid’. An ‘embedded’ instance of metathesis is one which is more resistant to change back to some unmetathesised version than a ‘fluid’ one. *Tembrar* would be an example of the former and *reblagar* and *presona* of the latter.

In their work *Diccionariu de frecuencies léxiques del asturianu* [*Dictionary of lexical frequency of Asturian*], Fernando Cuetos *et.al.*¹⁰ explored the incidence of Bable word usage in a series of publications (narrative, press, essays and theatre) over a nineteen year period (1977 to 1996). One million words were considered in the study. In terms of the examples of metathesis noted above (*tembrar*, *reblagar* and *presona*) as well as the word *naide* [*no-one*], this study noted the following:

- *Tembrar* [*to fear*] – the dictionary indicated there were eight uses of this word and none of the unmetathesised form. Thus this word could be considered a example of embedded metathesis.¹¹ However, as the footnote * on the previous page noted there had previously been usage of the unmetathesised version.

* J Corominas & J A Pascual, (in *Diccionario crítico etimológico ...op.cit.*) list the Castilian word *argayo* as meaning an *abrigo grande* [*large overcoat*], no reference is made to any meaning of landslide, p 328.

¹⁰ F Cuetos, A Álvarez & J R Alameda, *Diccionariu de frecuencies de léxiques del asturianu*, Estaya Pedagógica 11, ALLA, Uviéu, 1997.

¹¹ Op. cit., page 122.

- *Naide* [*no-one*] – there were 576 uses of the word *naide* compared with 26 for *nadie*, suggesting this example of metathesis was quite strongly embedded.¹²
- *Reblagar* [*to stride*]- the evidence of the dictionary indicated that this word and its versions was in a minor state of fluid metathesis since there was also some usage of unmetasthesised versions of the word. There were seventeen uses of the word in metasthesised versions (*reblagos* [9] & *reblagu* [8]), with five instances of it unmetasthesised (*rebalgu* [5]).¹³
- *Presona* [*person*] – there appears to have been substantially more fluidity in this example of metathesis than those above. The evidence of the dictionary indicated that the metathesis of this word and its versions may be receding under the influence of the non-metathesised version used in Castilian. There were 115 instances of versions of this metathesised word (*presona* [27] , *presonal* [7] , *presonaxe* [7] , *presonaxes* [8] & *presones* [66]), compared with 906 references to unmetathesised versions (*persona* [200] , *personal* [106] , *personales* [43] , *personalidá* [41] , *personalidaes* [11] , *personalmente* [8] , *personas* [12] , *personax* [9] , *personaxe* [60] , *personaxes* [104] , *persones* [312])¹⁴

Jean Aitchison noted the theory of Charles Hockett where a *frequency maximum* represents the clustering of the majority of a groups' *articulatory motions*. The theory noted that the *frequency maximum* (also referred to as *bullseye*) shifts when a lot of shots miss the target.¹⁵ It is possible that the lack of an anchoring effect of a strong written tradition in Bable (due to prevailing high rates of illiteracy amongst the common people in previous centuries) provided opportunity for such *bullseye* shifts.

6.2 GRAMMAR: MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

6.2.1 Bable grammatical features

Xosé Antón González Riaño, in *Interferencia Lingüística y Escuela Asturiana* [*Linguistic Interference and an Asturian school*],¹⁶ provided what can be considered a

¹² Op.cit., page 91.

¹³ Op.cit., page 109.

¹⁴ Op.cit., pp 100 & 104.

¹⁵ J Aitchison, *Language change: progress or decay*, CUP, Cambridge, 1991, page 107.

¹⁶ X A González Riaño , *Interferencia Lingüística y Escuela Asturiana* , ALLA, Uviéu, 1994.

grammatical template of Bable as he examined the incidence of Bable-Castilian interference amongst school students in the city of Mieres. (He also identified phonological/phonetical and lexical interferences as well as the morpho-syntactical, but the concern here is only with the latter) Those grammatical (or morpho-syntactical) distinctives between Bable (indicated by [B]) and Castilian ([C]) which he identified are summarised below:

- a) The absence of the definite article in combination with *en – ta en prau* [B]/ *esta en el prado* [C] [*he is in the field*]
- b) Triple distinction of gender in adjectives (eg masculine, feminine & neuter) – *añu pasáu* (neuter) and *añu pasáu* (masculine) [B]/ *año pasado* (C) [*year past*]
- c) Triple distinction of gender in pronouns in the third person singular – *dá-yosla* (*la nota*) [B]/ *Os dió la nota* [C] [*he gave us the note*]
- d) Feminine plurals ending in *–es – les otres cuentos* [B]/ *las otras cuentas* [C] [*the other stories*]
- e) Second person singular and third person plural conjugated verb endings in *–es* and *–en* in place of *–as* and *–an* - *Corten* [B]/ *Cortan* [C] [*they cut*]
- f) Combination of the definite article with a possessive and noun – *ye'l mi hermana* [B]/ *es mi hermana* [C] [*it is my sister*]
- g) Appearance of both full and abbreviated forms in possessives – *el míu* and *el mi* [B] / *mio* [C] [*mine*]
- h) Triple variation of gender and double variation of number in full forms – *ye'l míu* [male gender], *ye la mía* [female] and *ye lo míu* [neuter] [B]/ *es míu, es mía* (with no neuter) (C) – [all translating *it is mine*]
- i) Absence of *laísmos, leísmos* and *loísmos* (use of *le, la, lo(u)* being replaced by *–y/-yos*) when in the presence of third person pronomial references – *fizo-y algo* (B) *lo hizo algo* (C) [*he made something*]
- j) Different application of enclisis with finite verbs – *téngoles* (B)/ *las tengo* (C) [*I have them*]; and proclisis with infinitives and imperatives – *lo tener* (B)/ *tenerlo* (C) [*to have it*] (however, Bable also uses the following form more similar to Castilian: *tenelo*)

k) Use of the indefinite preterite in place of perfect preterite – *mandó-ylo* (B) [both *he was sending it* and *he sent it*]/ *lo mandaba* (C) [*he was sending it* with *he sent it* being translated by *lo mandó*].

l) Use of the imperfect subjunctive for the pluperfect indicative – *tuviéremos* (B)/ *habíamos tenido* (C) [*we had had* – *tuviéremos* in Castilian meaning *that we would have had*]

m) Different participles ending in –*áu* (C: *-ado*), *-ao* (*-ado*), *-á* (*-ad*), *-aos* (*-ados*), *-aes* (*-adas*), *-íu* (*-ido*), *-ío* (*-ido*), *-ía* (*-ida*), *-íos* (*-idos*), *-íes* (*-idas*).

n) Imperatives ending in –*ái*, *-éi* – *Callái la boca* (B)/*calla la boca* (C) [lit: *shut the mouth* or *shut up*]

o) Double use of preposition – *ensin* (B) [literally *in without*]/ *sin* (C) [*without*]

p) Absence of the preposition *a* [*to*] in constructions with the verb *ir* [*to go*] when coupled with an infinitive – *vamos ver* (B) [*let us go to see*]/ *vamos a ver* (C) [*lets see* – literally *let us go to to see*]

q) Presence of suffixes –*ín*, *-ucu*¹⁷

Further describing the use of the neuter gender in Bable, Rebecca Posner has noted that it is the incidence of ‘mass/count’ noun distinction which has become categorised as a neuter gender (where the particular or specific is either female or male and the general neuter).¹⁸ She also uses the term *abstract neuter*, where the collective form is in the neuter gender and the particular in either female or male genders. She cited two examples in relation to Bable:¹⁹

<i>Ten el pelo</i> [neuter] <i>rojo</i> [<i>He has red hair</i>]	vs	<i>La cayu i un pilu</i> [masculine] [<i>One of his hairs fell out</i>]
and		
<i>Ye de fierro</i> [neuter] [<i>It is (made) of iron</i>]	vs	<i>Da me isi fiirru</i> [masculine] [<i>Give me that iron</i>]

¹⁷ Op.cit. pp. 277-9.

¹⁸ Op.cit., page 63.

¹⁹ R Posner, *The Romance Languages*, op.cit., page 60.

In addition to the above listing of morphosyntactic differences between Bable and Castilian, José Antonio Martínez García has noted what he referred to as a greater predisposition for *doble negación* in Bable than in Castilian; he noted the:

The accumulation in a preverbal position of *nun* together with other negative terms.^{20 t}

Since double negation is already a phenomenon in Castilian, in English (where it is not) we might use the term ‘triple negation’ in place of Martínez’s *doble negación*. The following comparative example of Bable and Castilian utilisation would thus be (negative elements underlined):

Bable: Naide nun alvirtió na de la so presencia [No-one didn’t advise nothing of their presence]

Castilian: Nadie la advirtió nada de su presencia [No-one advised nothing of their presence]

English: No-one advised of their presence

Rebecca Posner has also noted certain usages which are more common in Asturias than in the rest of the Castilian-speaking world such as:

- the tendency to replay *-mos* with *-nos* in the present indicative and present subjunctive – *trabános* (B)/ *trabajémos* (C) [let’s work]²¹

In the first instance *trabános* is believed to a residue of oral usage confusing the subjunctive *trabajemos* with a poorly constructed imperative, *traba + nos* (which should be *trabajanos* or *trabajarnos*).

6.2.2 Grammatical features carried from Bable into Castilian

Many of the grammatical features noted in the previous section have been noted in spoken Castilian as well as Bable. Such instances can certainly be considered examples

²⁰ J A Martínez Álvarez, *Algunos adverbios y construcciones adverbiales del asturiano*, appearing in LLA 41, page 35.

of Bable-inspired interference in Castilian. However, an alternative perspective would be to consider such Bable grammatical usages as evidence of their relative durability compared with other features of Bable in the face of the pervasive environment of a dominant Castilian. Indeed, Professor José Antonio Martínez García contended the most durable feature of a language is its grammar.²² His views are considered further in Chapter Ten.

Jacques de Bruyne, a member of the *Real Academia Española*, in *A comprehensive Spanish Grammar*, noted the following characteristics of Castilian spoken in Asturias:²³

1. Use of possessives (*mío, tuyo, suyo* &c) with prepositions of place – eg *delante mío, en torno tuyo, detrás suyo*. (Generally considered incorrect in Standard Spanish, and seldom appearing in literary language).[page 188]
2. Increased used of *tener* + past participle (in place of *haber* + past participle). [p557]
3. Use of the diminutive *-ín* (which is described as typical of Asturias, with *-ucu* being attributed to Santander). [p631]

In addition he noted the following features without particular attribution to Asturias, though they are reflected in Asturian grammatical practice:

1. The placing of pronouns after (rather than before) a finite verb. [p155] (*enclisis* which is the opposite of another phenomenon in Bable – *proclisis*)
2. The shortening of *nada* to *na*. [p219] and *todo* to *to*. [p224] Likewise the abandonment of the intervocalic *d* in the sequence *-ado*. [p5]
3. Use of past anterior and pluperfect tenses in preference to the now more common preterite. [p448]
4. Use of the conditional tense after *si* in a conditional sentence. [p452]

[†] (*una*) cierta preferencia por la 'doble negación, o sea, por la acumulación en posición preverbal de 'nun' junto con otros sintagmas 'negativos'.

²¹ R Posner, *The Romance Languages*, op.cit., page 50.

²² Interview notes 27 September 1995.

²³ J de Bruyne, *A comprehensive Spanish grammar*, op.cit. page 188.

6.2.3. Two types of *Yeísmo*

With respect to Bable, linguists have traditionally used the term *yeísmo* to refer to one of two non-standard ways (the other being *cheísmo*) Asturians deal with the letter *ll*. To quote X L García Arias:

... in terms of statistical frequency, it is in the *yeísmo* zones (that) the presence of [y] is much greater than in those of *cheísmo* where ... the sounds of the type [ç] increase considerably.²⁴ †

Of course, many Asturians practise neither, pronouncing the letter *ll* in a standard way - as [ly] - as noted by H Armamayor González, lexicographer of the district of Tanes:

In Tanes *YEISMO* is not usual, and in daily speech they express and differentiate *LL* and *Y* perfectly.²⁵ †

I propose to differentiate this well known form of *yeísmo* from another by denoting it as linguistic *yeísmo* to be differentiated from sociolinguistic *yeísmo* – this latter term I am suggesting be applied to the disproportionate use of the word *ye* (the third person singular of the verb *ser* [to be]) compared with other forms of that verb and the Castilian equivalent - *es*..

The lexicographer quoted above also noted the use in Tanes of *el clásico (ye) asturiano* [the classic Asturian 'ye'].²⁶ Similarly others have pointed to what may be considered disproportionate use of the word because it has developed almost iconic status such as the correspondent to the editor who wrote:

... the 'markers' can be dropped that leave us as ever saying *ye*. [L192/443]†

²⁴ X L García Arias, *Contribución a la Gramática Histórica de la Lengua Asturiana y a la caracterización etimológica de su léxico*. Biblioteca de Filoxía Asturiana, Universidá d'Uviéu, Uviéu, 1988. page 54.

† ... en terminus estadísticos de frecuencia, es que en las zonas de yeísmo la presencia de [y] es mucho mayor que en las de cheísmo, donde ... se incrementan considerablemente las realizaciones de tipo [ç].

²⁵ H Armamayor González, *El Habla de la Parroquia de Tanes (Principado de Asturias)*, Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultural Cajasur, Córdoba, 1995. Page 19.

† En Tanes no suele dares el YEISMO, y en hablar cotidiano se expresan y se diferencian perfectamente la LL y Y.

²⁶ Op. cit., page 23.

† ... quitarán las 'marcas' déjenos decir 'ye' como siempre.

6.3 BABLE OR BABLES – LINGUISTIC VARIATION

Much of the argument between the contending camps as to future planning objectives for Bable rests on whether it is considered a single language unit or a collection of dialects. More importantly, is the significant differentiation between the dialects significant enough to invalidate efforts at creating a normalised version of the language?

This debate has received much attention in the past couple of decades. But its origins are much older. An example of much earlier opinion on the subject is a letter to the publication *Ixixú*, published 15 December 1901 in which a writer noted that:

Not in all the places of Asturias do they speak anything equal to our language.²⁷ †

This same writer also noted that:

True Bable is what is used in the periodical but that does not have anything to do with the style of my birthplace²⁸ †

José Manuel Gomez-Tabanera, a *Miembro de Número* of IDEA, in a paper written for the VI Anthropology Congress held in Tenerife in 1993, stated:

.... the risk that threatens the integrity of the patrimony of (the Asturian) community ... (by) the imposition of what has come to be called the Asturian language, which is nothing other than an aberrant *pot-pourri* with which they plan to normalise the Bables of Asturias, without taking into account that these (Bables) have arisen through almost two thousand years, and by virtue of the generative dynamic of the pre-Latin Indoeuropean speech ... in spite of the geographic proximity of the population (there has arisen) a genetic distance, imposed by the different folkloric and ethnologic patrimonies of the different populations who for tens of thousands of years have been located in the Astur-Cantabrian corniche.²⁹ †

²⁷ F González Prieto, *Ixixú*, Issue #V (Siglu I, Añu I, Mes II, Númeru V), op.cit., page 3.

† *Non en toos los chugares d' Asturias se fala igual nosta chingua.*

²⁸ *ibid.*

† *'l verdairu bable ye'l que usa nel pediòricu pero eso non tien que ver ná paque al estilu de la mió quintana.*

²⁹ J M Gomez-Tabanera, *Bables de Asturias y Llingua Asturiana: Problemática de una normalización*, reprint of a paper presented to *VI Congreso de Antropología*, Tenerife 1993, page 3.

† *el riesgo que supone para la integridad del patrimonio de una comunidad (Asturiana) ... la imposición en la misma de la que se ha venido a llamar llingua asturiana, que no es otra cosa que*

His thesis is reflected in Map 1.2.

In a counter viewpoint, Xosé Lluís García Arias, president of ALLA, has written:

There are those at the same time who, hypocritically, say more: Bable in teaching, yes, literary Bable, yes. But which Bable? This obstacle is the very sign of the assimilationists, of those who would want Castilian to be situated where our language corresponds, though they would want to make a curiosity of it with the hand of apparent goodwill and throw the blame on linguistic difficulties.^{30 t}

Just how different are the various dialects of Bable? There is general agreement that there are four language zones within Asturias, with the varieties called Bable Oriental, Bable Central, Bable Occidental and Astur-Gallego. There is also now something of a consensus that the fourth (Astur-Gallego) is a special case. However, with respect to the other three, disagreement centers around whether each can be considered simply a dialect of a core language entity called “Bable” or whether they are so significantly different between and within themselves as to merit some other attribution than merely to be called dialects of one another in the sense that they are in relationship. The common practice of those supporting this claim of significant differentiation have preferred to use the title *los bables* rather than that of *Bable*.

In my various research instruments (refer Part C) I examine opinions expressed on this matter in the primary source material. At this juncture, however, it is worthwhile giving some attention to the level of lexical differentiation which actually exists.

un pot-purri aberrante con el que se pretende normalizar los bables de Asturias, sin tener en cuenta que éstos han surgido tras casi dos mil años, y en virtud de la dinámica generativa de un habla indoeuropea prelatina ... pese a la proximidad geográfica de las poblaciones, una distancia genética, la misma que imponen los diferentes patrimonios etnológicos y folklóricos de las distintas poblaciones que desde decenas de miles de años han venido asentándose en la cornisa astur-cantabrica ...

³⁰ X L I García Arias, *Llingua y sociedad asturiana*, 2nd edition Comuña Literaria, Xixón, 1984, page 59.

^t *Hailos mesmamente que, hipócritamente, dicen más: bable a la enseñanza sí, lliteratura bable, sí, ¿pero qué bable? Esa torga ye propia de los asimilistes, de los que quixeren que'l castellán*

Using a selection of six dictionaries of the *hablas* [*speeches*] of five different communities within Asturias and one in neighbouring León,³¹ I have sought to understand better the significance of lexical difference between various Bable-speaking regions. The five communities in Asturias consist of one from the Astur-Gallego linguistic zone, one from the Bable Occidental zone and three from the Bable Central zone; none is from the Bable Oriental zone, though one of the Bable Central dictionaries – Cabranes – comes from the periphery of that zone. The dictionary from León is from a community within the southern reach of Bable Occidental.

Table 6.2 is a compilation of a selection of concepts which appeared in all six dictionaries and a further, smaller group of four which appeared in most of them. This table (as with the deductions from it) can be no more than indicative. Firstly because only thirty words have been chosen, with little account to actual significance of these words (as may be attested through frequency of usage). Secondly the words contained in those dictionaries have been through a filter of selection by the lexicographer of each. Thus for example, while the extensive differences in the six dictionaries for the word *axe* might seem significant, the lexicographers might intentionally or otherwise have left out local words for translating the Castilian *hacha* that may have been closer to words appearing in other dictionaries.

s'asitiare onde a la nuesa llingua correspuende, anque quieran acuriosalo con una mano d'aparente bona voluntá y echen les culpes a les dificultaes llingüístiques.

³¹J Díaz López & M García-Galano, *Vocabulario D'A Roda (Tapia de Casariego)*, Principáu d'Asturies, 1994; A M Cano González, *Vocabulario del Bable de Somiedo*, IDEA, Oviedo, 1982; M J Canellada, *El Bable de Cabranes*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1996; L Rodríguez-Castellano, *La variedad dialectal del Alto Aller*, facsimile edition of 1952 edition, IDEA, Oviedo, 1986. David, *Vocabulario Candásín*, originally published in *El Comercio de Gijón*, issued separately in 1981; A Alvarez Cabeza & F J García Martínez, *Vocabulario de la Cepeda (Provincia de León)*, , privately published, Cepeda 1994.

Table 6.2: Comparison of selected words from six dictionaries

English	Castilian	D'A Roda	Somiedo	Candás	Alto Aller	Cabranes	Cepeda
Although	Aunque	Anque	Anque	Enque	Anque	Mas que	Anque/i, Inqui
Axe	Hacha	Brosa	Bruesa, Hachu, Machau	As	Azá, Aceu	Achu, Azau	Macheta
Bat	Murciélago	Morcego	Murciegalo, Murciegano		Espirtu	Esperteyu	
Chicken	Pollo, Gallina	Pito, Gallía	Pita, Poša, GaŜina	Pita	(Pito), Gatsina	Pitu	Pita, Pula
Child	Niño	Neno	Nenu	Neno, Nenón	Ninu	Neñu, Ñeñu	Ñiñu
Devil	Diablo	Diaño, Xúcaras	Diablu	Diaño	Diablo	Diañe	Diañe, Diantre, Iájule
(to) do	Hacer	Fer	Fer-e	Facer	Facer	Fer	Facer-e
(to) drizzle	Lloviznar	Choviscar	Chuviscar/nar, Urvachar-e		Urpinar	Llobicar, Orbayar	Orvallar, Pintiar
(to) fly	Volar	Enalar	Vular-e	Esnalar	Alar	Esñalar	Esnalar
Head	Cabeza	Cachola, Testa	Cabeza, Cabeceiru, MioŜa	(Magín)		Tiesta	Cachola, T(i)esta
Man	Hombre	Home, Ho	Ho, Hom, Home	Home, Homón, Homaco	Ome, Home	Ome	Hom-e
Many	Mucho	Muito	Muitu	Muncho, Mucho	Muncho	Munchu	Mu
(to) milk	Ordeñar	Mecer	Catar, Mucir, Muñir, Respelar-e	Catar	Mecer	Catar, Mecer, Escaturriar	Muñir

Night	Noche	Noite	Nueite	Nueche	Nueche		Nouche/i, Nu(i)chi
Now	Ahora	Agora	Agora, Hora	Angora, Agora	Abora	Agora	Hora, Agora, Aguaño
Oak	Roble	Carbayo	Carbachu	Carbayón	Re(b)útsu	Carbayu	Robre/I
Oven	Horno	Forno	Forno	Forna	Fornu	Forna	Jorno
Ox	Buey	Boi	Buey, Touro	Güe	Bue, Gué	Güé	Bui, Güey
Partridge	Codomiz	Parpayega	Cugurniz, Palpachara,	Parpayuela	Co(g)orniza, Farpayar	F(l)aipayar	Cudurniz, Cugurniz
Pressure	Apretar	Apertar	Apretar	Calcar		Calcar	Apirtar
Rake	Rastrillo	Garabato	Rastrillo	Pradera	Garabetu, Ratsón	Rastru	Garabato
Son	Hijo	Fiyo	Fichu, Fiyo, fiu	Fío	(Afiyeu)	Fiyu	Fiu, Fiyo, Fillo
(to) speak	Hablar	Falar	Falar, Hablar-e	Falar	Partsar	Falar	Fablar
Spoon	Cuchara	Cuyar	Cuchar-e, Cuyar	Cuyar	Cuyár	Cuyar-a, Cuchar, Cuyer	Cuchar
Swallow	Golondrina	Andulía	Andolina	Andarina	Alandrina	Andarina	Alendrina
Vet	Veterinario	Albeitre	Albeitre, Vitrinariu	Albeite	Albeite	Metrinariu	Metrinario/u Ve/itrinario
Where	Donde	Unde	Ande, Onde, U	Onde, U	Onde, u	Onde, U	Onde/i, Aunde, Aú
Woman	Mujer	Muyer	Mucher	Muyer	Muyer		Muyer-e, Muyier

- Notes:**
- (i) alternative word endings indicated by ‘/’ in front of the alternative – eg *Anque/i* represents *Anque* and *Anqui*.
 - (ii) alternative additional end syllable indicated by ‘-’ in front of the extra syllable – eg *Fer-e* represents *Fer* and *Fere*
 - (iii) alternative additional letter mid-word indicated by ‘()’ – eg *T(i)esta* represents *Testa* and *Tiesta*.
 - (iv) words not exact synonyms contained within brackets – eg (*Magín*) = and *head & (Afiyeu)* = not *son*.

Nevertheless three types of differences can be noted from the table:

- **Low order variants:** words that are largely similar to each other and whose transcription probably reflects differences in pronunciation (metaphony) – eg *anque/enque/inqui* [*though*]
- **High order variants:** words which have the same etymology but which have undergone a reasonable amount of differentiation – eg *muito/muncho*. In this category could also be included words which have undergone metathesis in some situations – eg *andolina/alandrina*.
- **Abbreviations:** words which have been abbreviated in some domains – eg *home/ho*.
- **Alternates:** words which have different etymologies – eg *brosa/hachu/azá/macheta*.

On the subject of low order variants which are pronunciation-dependent (ie subject to metaphony), Bable represents an example where non-standardisation of the orthography permits the literal transcription of regional accents and pronunciations. This situation can be contrasted with English which, even though it does not have formal standardising procedures (such as a language academy) does have implicit orthographic standardisation which has resulted in breaking the nexus between orthography and pronunciation. That is to say that in Castilian (and Bable) there is a high degree of correlation between grapheme and phoneme (what you hear is what you will read); whereas in English this need not be the case.

Thus while the lexicographers of the various dictionaries above have given three different ways of spelling *anque* according to regional pronunciation differences, English would provide one. In English, for example, the written word *dance* is accepted to represent both *d/a:/nce* and *d/æ/nce* (ie with long and short *a* respectively). And as an Australian example, there is the case of the word *dent*, with its normal pronunciation

of *d/e/nt* being complemented in the state of Victoria by a high incidence of the variant pronunciation *d/I /nt*.

If such pronunciation differences are removed from the list above, the 175 versions of the twenty eight concepts reduces to 75 versions. This process of reduction on the basis of pronunciation has aggregated words according to the Bable pronunciation spread. Thus *muyer* and *mucher* are considered pronunciation variants, as are *gašina/gatsina/gallía* and *choviscar/llobicar*.

However even these 75 groups can be simplified further when other simple steps such as morphological change (including metathesis) are considered in determining what number of core words have been used in the dictionaries to represent the twenty eight concepts. Such an analysis reveals that 13 of the versions were examples of such morphological change leaving 62 core words. Can we regard this rate of differentiation as exceptional? That is, would we expect lesser rates of differentiation within other languages?

As a first language English-speaker who has lived in a number of Commonwealth countries, I am used to some minor lexical differentiation within English, such as:

<i>Candy</i> (Canada)	>	<i>Lollies</i> (Australia and New Zealand)
<i>Jandals</i> (NZ)	>	<i>Thongs</i> (Australia)
<i>Fritz</i> (South Australia)	>	<i>Straz</i> (Victoria)

None of these examples could be regarded as of the order of magnitude exhibited by the table above. However, my experience has been largely limited to “new” environments to which English has spread and not those where the language has existed for centuries.

Thus a fairer comparison with the Asturian situation, would be provided by examining the degree of lexical differentiation that exists (or has existed) within England itself. Clive Upton *et.al.*, from 1948-1961, created 200 word maps measuring word usage in over 300 English localities.³² The following is a list of twenty six of the words mapped, indicating the varieties discovered:

Adder:	adder, ether, hagworm, viper.
Armpit:	armhole, armpit, oxter.
Beak:	beak, bill, neb.
Child:	bairn, child.
Dig:	delve, dig, grave.
Flea:	flea, fleck, flef, flen, lop.
Gorse:	furbush, furze, gorse, whin.
Hedgehog:	hedgehog, urchin.
Hinge:	band, hanger, hanging, hinge, hinging, hinjing, hingle, jimmer.
Hungry:	clammed, hungered, hungry, leer, leery, thirl.
Molars:	backteeth, chockteeth, doubleteeth, eyeteeth, grinders, jackteeth, jawteeth, molars.
Mud:	blather, clarts, glar, muck, mud, slud, sludder, sludge, slutch, squad.
Pigeon:	pigeon, quist.
(to) play:	lake, play.
(to) pluck:	feather, pick, ploat, pluck, pull.
Pod (peas):	cosh, hull, husk, pod, shell, shuck, shull, swad.
Pond:	dub, mere, pit, pond, pool.
Reel (thread):	bobbin, pirn, reel, spool.
Rind (bacon):	rind, scram, swad, swath, sword.
Rubbish:	kelter, kelterment, ket, rammage, rammle, rubbish.
Scythe:	lay, lea, scythe.
Splinter:	shiver, sliver, speel, spelk, spell, spile, spill, splint, splinter, spool,
Steep:	brant, brent, steep, stickle, stunt.
(to) throw:	chuck, clod, cob, cop, fling, hain, heave, hoy, hull, pelt, swail, scop, throw, yack.
Wasps:	wamps, wappers, wappies, waps, wapsies, wasps.
Workmate:	butty, marrer, mate, pal, workmate.

The differences noted above can be categorised in a similar way to the Bable selection; that is by aggregating according to accent groups and morphological groups. For

³² C Upton, S Sanderson, J Widdowson, *Word Maps: A Dialect Atlas of England*, Croom Helm, London

example accent variations occur (eg *sludge/slutch*, *lay/lea* and *wamps/waps*), as do morphological changes (eg *flea/fleck*, *rammage/rammle* and *shiver/sliver*); there was also an example of metathesis – *waps/wasps* – echoing a not uncommon occurrence in Bable as noted earlier. There are 136 variants to the 26 word concepts in the list above; after considering accent variations and morphological changes, this list reduces to 108 core words.

Often the differences appear to take their provenance from substrate, stratum or superstrate characteristics of the locale or a diversity of choices from the same historical buffet of word choices on offer. For the verb *to throw*, of the fourteen alternatives indicated in the word map at least four would come, according to W W Skeat,³³ from different language origins (Anglo-Saxon [*heave*], Old English [*pelt*], Old Low German [*chuck*] and Scandinavian [*fling*] *).

The attribution, by different communities, of changed meanings to certain words could explain *clod*, *cop*, *hoy* and *hull* in the above example. While in other cases authentic, local authorship of words may be the cause of diversity.

Comparing now the two sets of words, those from the six Bable dictionaries with those from the English research, provides indicative evidence to support the statement that the varieties of Bable do have a diversity of words for particular concepts, but that diversity cannot be considered exceptional when compared with other languages. The analysis of the Bable words in Table 6.2 found a core group of 62 words were used to express 28

1987.

³³ W W Skeat, *An etymological dictionary of the English language*, op.cit..

* Though Skeat is silent on the origin of *yack*, it is possible that this word is also language-derived, in this instance from the Latin *iacere*.

concepts (an average of 2.2 per concept), while the analysis of the English list found that 108 core words expressed 26 concepts (an average of 4.2 per concept). The evidence is merely indicative, as only six Bable dictionaries were used (and there are many more capturing local lexical diversity) and the word concept selection used in both analyses may not be representative of diversity patterns in the complete lexical corpus of each language. However, the indicative finding is that Bable is at the very least no more diverse than English in terms of dialectal variation.

A conclusion to be drawn from the above is that perceptions of diversity can lead to different conclusions. As is noted at various points in this thesis, there is a polarisation of perceptions regarding diversity within Bable – referred to as the *Bable vs bables* debate. An example of a perception which sees Bable as a unitary concept (rather than having a fractured identity) was expressed in a local council publication from Corvera (an industrial suburb on the fringe of Avilés in the central zone). The document noted:

Of whatever manner are the ‘little details’ which enrich the speech and which arise for all Corverans in the one and the same language of popular communication: Asturian.^{34 t}

The relationship between oral speech and written language

Reference has been made above to the stronger relationship between the spoken word and its written equivalent in Bable than often occurs in English. In linguistic terms, it means that Bable, and its varieties, exhibit greater metaphony than English; metaphony being the change in orthography as a result of a change in pronunciation). In the process

³⁴ Fundación Municipal de Corvera, *Enredarte Corvera*, pamphlet, 1994.
'de cualaquier manera son 'detallucos' qu'enriquecen la fala y que xurren a tolos corveranos nuna mesma llingua de comunicación popular: l'asturiano.

of word/concept reduction in the previous section, metaphony has been described as a ‘low order variant’ cause.

A significant implication for Bable is the effect attitudes towards metaphony have towards attempts at linguistic codification or normalisation of the language. Though this is dealt with elsewhere, at this point it is worth referring to survey and associated research work done in 1989 by Francisco Llera Ramo.* Amongst the questions asked in the survey were two which tried to assess the attitudes of individuals to the written form of Bable used in publications to which they had access. The two questions sought opinion about:

- (1) the comparison between written Bable and the spoken form;³⁵ and
- (2) the judgement of the interviewee concerning the clarity of written Bable.³⁶

The results are reproduced in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Opinions regarding comparability of spoken & written Bable

Comparison between written & spoken Bable		Judgement re clarity of written Bable	
Nothing like	8.5%	6.5%	Very bad
A little like	30.8%	26.3%	Quite bad
Something like	24.0%	46.3%	Quite good
Quite similar	23.5%		
Very similar	5.8%		
Practically equal	4.3%	6.8%	Very good
NS/NC	3.1%	14.1%	NS/NC

Thus 39.3% (8.5% + 30.8%) thought there was either no or little comparison between written Bable and the spoken form; while 32.8% (6.5% + 26.3%) judged the clarity of

* This work is dealt with in more detail in Chapter Seven.

³⁵ F J Llera Ramo, *Consumu Cultural de Publicaciones en Llingua Asturiana: Informe*, Principáu d’Asturies, Uviéu, 1989, page 65.

Bable poorly. These opinions need not imply a negative view of the written form of Bable by those whose normal usage has been oral Bable. As Vicente Rodríguez Hevia said in an interview to LNE:

It is possible to write normalized Bable and not have anything against what one talks. Normalised Asturian is to conform to the orthographic norms, nothing more.^{37 t}

Some final notes on metaphony and the neuter gender

While it is generally true that metaphony refers to low order variants, it need not always be the case. At least one research project in Asturias on the subject of metaphony has found cases where two differently sounded versions of a word were perceived to mean different things.

Xulio Vixil Castañón conducted a research project into metaphony in a parish in the county of Bimenes (in the Bable Central zone).³⁸ Among the questions asked of respondents concerning examples of metaphony was one concerning the possibility of meaning differentiation between differently pronounced versions of a word. 70% of the respondents indicated that the existence of metaphony in different versions of a word made no difference to its meaning. However, 28% asserted that there were meaning differences. Concerning the word *gochu* [*pig*] and its variant *guchu*, one respondent said:

*Ye más guchu'l guchu que'l gochu [guchu pig is more pig than gochu pig]*³⁹

³⁶ Op.cit., page 64.

³⁷ LNE 26.12.94.

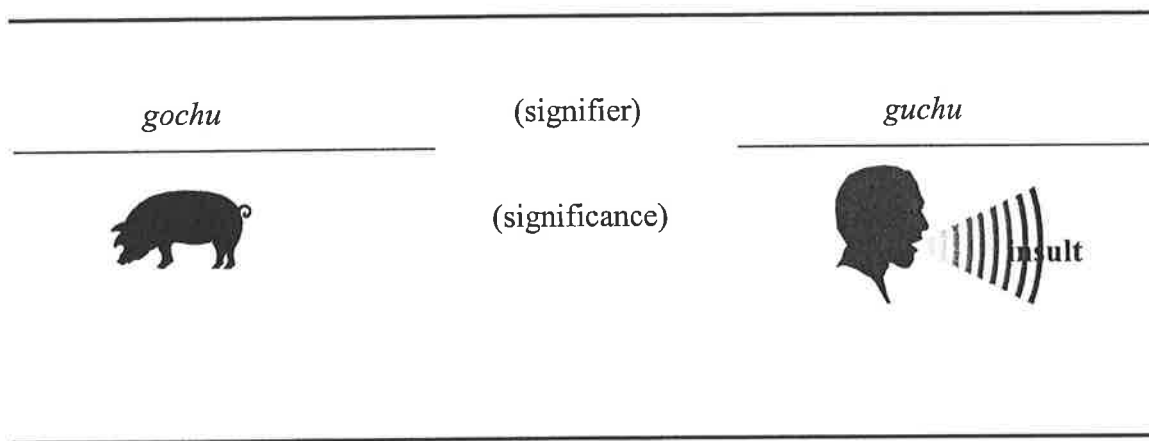
^t *Se puede escribir el bable normalizado y no tiene nada que ver con el que hables. El asturiano normalizado es conforme a unas normas ortográficas, nada más.*

³⁸ X Vixil Castañón, *Metafonía nuna parroquia de Bimenes: Análisis sociollingüísticu*, in LLAA 61, 1996, pp 7-32.

³⁹ Op.cit., page 16.

Note that this concept of greater intensity implied, by the respondent, is mirrored by the use in Bable of the neuter gender.

Other respondents, though going in a different direction defining *gochu* as the animal and *guchu* as an insult to a person, also noted a relationship between metaphony and meaning.⁴⁰ Thus using the Saussurian model diagrammatically adapted by Milio Cueto, two diagrams would be drawn:



⁴⁰ *ibid.*

PART B – BABLE

CHAPTER SEVEN – LANGUAGE USE

Overview

Over many years Bable has been and continues to be used in many more genres and domains than may have been expected by the casual observer of this Spanish minority language coexisting with the third largest global language. This chapter and the next deal with use of the language. In this chapter the use by individuals. Firstly there is a section summarising surveys on the use of and attitudes towards Bable. Then there is a section on patterns of individual use including conversation, documentation, story telling, toponymy, nicknaming and graffiti.

In the following chapter, Bable's use as a medium in literature and the media is investigated.

7.1 SURVEYS OF USAGE

A number of surveys has been done over the years regarding the usage of Bable. Of interest here are four region wide surveys and four others. The region wide surveys focussed on general usage (oral, reading and writing). Two of the other four surveys were conducted in mining towns. The remaining two examined patterns of the consumption of Asturian language materials. In this section, a summary of these surveys is provided.

The SADEI surveys

The *Sociedad Asturiana de Estudios Económicos e Industriales* [SADEI] has conducted three surveys in Asturias which included questions relating to Bable and its usage. The surveys were conducted in 1977 (n= 660), 1983 (n= 1200) and 1985 (n = 1500). The first two sought responses to questions on the following topics, some of which were also asked in the 1985 survey:

- Knowledge of Bable.
- Attitudes toward Bable.
- Disposition to learn Bable.
- Bable in the media.
- Bable in the education system.

The 1985 study also included questions on:

- Nature of Bable.
- Denomination of Bable.
- Usage of Bable.
- The future of Bable.

Table 7.3 summarises some of the responses to questions common to all three surveys. The figures reveal that between 1977 and 1983 there was a deterioration in all levels of utilisation (but most significantly in the ability to write in Bable, with the number reporting inability increasing from 75.8% to 91.4%). They also reveal a relatively static situation with respect to status of Bable. With respect to educational themes, a deterioration in support for teaching Bable between 1977 and 1983 (indicated by the increase in support for teaching only in Castilian) was more than compensated by a reversal in the following two years to 1985 (with the figures being 30.9, 34.0 and 26.5 respectively).

Table 7.3: Percentage responses to key questions about Bable¹

Question	Options	1977	1983	1985
	n =	660	1200	1500
Can you understand Bable?	Yes "con soltura"	17.6	15.2	Not asked
	With difficulty	38.3	36.0	
	No	44.1	48.8	
Can you speak Bable?	Yes	8.0	6.4	
	With difficulty	30.0	19.8	
	No	62.0	73.8	
Can you read Bable?	Yes	14.5	10.4	
	With difficulty	33.2	20.6	
	No	52.3	69.0	
Can you write Bable?	Yes	4.8	2.6	
	With difficulty	19.4	6.0	
	No	75.8	91.4	

Question		1977	1983	1985
To speak Castilian is to speak well and to speak Bable is to speak badly	Agree	15.2	15.1	n a
	Disagree	72.0	71.7	
	No opinion	12.8	13.2	
Disposition to learn Bable	No, it is not important	26.7	50.2	53.3
	No, less important	15.9	9.4	11.9
	Yes	15.6	27.0	22.0
	Already learning it	-	0.5	1.5
	Know enough already	17.6	6.1	11.0
	Don't know	24.2	6.8	0.3

Question		1977	1983	1985
Attitude to use of Bable in print media	Should be publications in Bable	51.3	46.4	11.4
	Press should have some Bable	22.8	23.3	47.3
	Only Castilian should be used	7.2	14.4	33.7
	Don't know/care or no answer	18.7	15.9	7.6
Attitude to use of Bable in electronic media	Should be programs in Bable	65.0	59.0	56.6
	Only Castilian should be used	11.4	22.0	36.9
	Don't know/care or no answer	23.6	19.0	6.5

Question		1977	1983	1985
Use of Bable in education	Teaching only in Castilian	30.9	34.0	26.5
	Separate schools for each language	4.2	5.8	1.7
	Castilian teaching with some Bable	39.7	48.5	*
	Bilingual teaching	23.6	11.0	*
	Teaching only in Bable	0.6	0.7	*

* In the 1985 survey the last three categories were different from the 1977 and 1983 surveys – this time the three final options were: Bable as an option out of school hours [45.53%], Bable as an option in school hours [23.93], Teaching predominantly in Bable with Castilian as a subject [0.67%].

¹ SADEI, *Segunda encuesta regional, 1983* and *Tercera encuesta regional 1985*, both published by Principado de Asturias, Consejería de la Presidencia, Oviedo.

On the subject of the use of Bable in the media, a significant decline in support over the period 1977 to 1985 for there to be publications in Bable was compensated by a more than doubling of those supporting the inclusion of some Bable in the press.

An interesting finding of the 1977 SADEI survey was the differences in language ability between different zones of the region. Table 7.4 was originally presented at a seminar in 1979 on the basis of the data.²

Table 7.4: Bable ability by type of population centre

	Urban	Mining	Rural	Total
Understand well or with difficulty	52	60	59	56
Speak ...	38	48	32	38
Read ...	43	61	44	47
Write ...	21	40	20	24

The table supports other findings that the mining *cuencas* are not only equal to rural areas in strength as a repository of knowledge of Bable (where 60% indicated they could understand it well or with difficulty, compared with 59% in the rural area); but that there has also been more actual utilisation in the *cuencas* than any other area (48% speaking and 61% reading, compared with 32% and 44% respectively in the rural areas).

The Llera Studies

Francisco J Llera Ramo undertook two surveys on Bable; the first in 1989 and the second in 1991. The 1989 study had the objective of assessing Bable readership patterns in the region; those findings are reported upon further in the following sub-section.

² Reported by F J Llera Ramos, *Introduccion a la sociologia del bable*, in *Estudios y trabajos del seminariu de llingua asturiana II*, University of Oviedo, 1979.

However, at this point it is worth summarising his findings as to Bable usage in general as well as associated attitudes expressed.

In this study Llera surveyed 400 people in ten population centres in the region. One was in the Bable Oriental zone, one (of two towns) overlapping the Astur-Gallego and Bable Occidental zones, two in the Bable Occidental (one being a mining centre) and six in the Bable Central (the three principal centres, two mining centres and one other).

Table 7.5 reports his findings regarding usage of Bable in that survey and compares the information with the 1983 SADEI (reported on above in Table 7.3).³

Table 7.5: Bable usage patterns surveyed in 1983 and 1989 (%ages)

	1983	1989
Don't know and have no interest in learning it	35.5	20.2
Don't know but am interested in learning it	21.2	30.1
Am already learning it	0.8	1.5
Understand it, but don't speak it	28.2	24.6
Speak it, but don't read it	6.8	10.0
Speak and read it	4.2	5.9
Write it as well	1.2	6.5
No answer	2.1	1.2

The 1989 study also reported on some interesting variations in usage patterns and attitudes in the various centres where it was conducted. Firstly, the 1989 data was, for the purposes of analysis, subdivided into two groups: those who had an interest in reading material in Bable and those who didn't. The figures in Table 7.5 are the combined results for both groups; but by way of indication of the spread of results from the two groups, Llera Ramo reported that while 6.5% of the total group could write in

³ F J Llera Ramo, *Consumu Cultural de Publicaciones en Llingua Asturiana: Informe*, op.cit., page 24.

Bable, only 0.5% of the group who weren't predisposed to read in Bable could do so (compared with 9.3% of the group predisposed to doing so being able to write in it).

Analysing the most positive responses from both groups found that, in terms of levels of usage, the best response rates came from the mining centre of Mieres (84% of the interested group and 52% of the disinterested indicating they were either learning the language or could speak, read and/or write in it) and the Astur-Gallego/Bable Occidental centres of Lluarca/Navia (80% and 76% respectively).⁴

The other two mining centres in the survey, Langreo and Cangas del Narcea, by contrast with Mieres, had much less positive attitudes. Two thirds of those who indicated disinterest in reading material in Bable and came from these communities indicated that they neither knew the language nor intended to study substantially exceeding the whole group average of 41%. Whereas the respondents from these same centres who were interested did not exceed the group average.

Amongst other notable results were findings relating to views as to the status of being an Asturian; and also age-related opinions. On the former, Llera Ramos found that 16% of respondents characterised themselves as being Asturian before anything else (versus 11% who regarded themselves as Spanish before anything else). 33% considered themselves Asturian first and then Spanish (compared with 18% who considered themselves Spanish first and then Asturian); while 20% regarded themselves equally as both.⁵

⁴ Op.cit. pp 26-27.

⁵ F J Llera Ramos, *Los asturianos y la lengua asturiana* ..., op.cit. page 44.

On the subject of differences according to age category, the most significant finding related to personal assessments as to what their first language was in childhood. A total of 51% of those over 60 indicated Asturian was their language in infancy (compared with 24% indicating Castilian), while only 15% of those 16/17 did so (with 43% of them indicating Castilian).⁶

In his 1991 study Llera Ramo undertook a more comprehensive sociolinguistic survey of Bable (which he termed Asturian); the results were published in 1994.⁷ His survey consisted of three components: one was a quantitative study and two were qualitative. In the quantitative study 1300 people, all over the age of sixteen, were questioned; 400 came from each of the three linguistic zones of Bable (occidental, central and oriental) while 100 came from that of Astur-Gallego. These participants were asked 277 questions contained within a questionnaire.⁸

For the first qualitative study, Llera conducted ten discussion groups. Each of the ten groups was made up of a particular segment of the population. Eight of the groups were from a particular zone of Asturias (four from Central, two from Occidental and one from Oriental); while two of the groups were general (one consisting of representatives of the mass media and the other of members of political parties in the regional parliament). The eight groups from the linguistic zones included such groups as:

- young people (under 16) studying Asturian, all coming from villages of between 1,000 and 3,000 inhabitants in the Central zone;
- professional or middle class working women between 26 and 40 in urban areas of the Central zone;

⁶ Op.cit., page 56.

⁷ F J. Llera Ramo, *Los Asturianos y La Lengua Asturiana: Estudio sociolingüístico para Asturias* op.cit.

⁸ Op.cit., pp 183-190.

- group of fathers between 41 and 65, from villages and who work in the countryside of the Oriental zone; and
- group of housewives aged between 41 and 65 from rural parishes in the Oriental zone⁹.

The second qualitative study consisted of a series of thirteen interviews conducted with individuals. The individuals were all in responsible positions and connected with the issue the status of Bable.* They included such people as a chief of studies of a scholastic centre where Bable was taught and an equivalent person from an institution it was not; two members of associations concerned with the revival of Bable; a representative of Asturian priesthood; a business person; an editor; and four writers (two writing in the Asturian language and two in Castilian)¹⁰.

A summary of the quantitative data included the following findings:

- First language in infancy: Asturian 36%, Castilian 32%, a mixture 24%, both Asturian and Castilian 6%.
- The *lengua propia de Asturias* [very own language of Asturias]: Asturian 44%, Castilian 19%, both 35%.
- Easiest language of expression: Castilian 47%, Asturian 30%, both 16%.
- Sensation of speaking Castilian badly: Always 4%, many times 8%, sometimes 33%, never 51%. (The figures for first language Asturian speakers being 57% total for the categories - Always, many times and sometimes)¹¹

In addition, Table 7.6 indicates comparative knowledge levels reported for Bable and Castilian.

⁹ Op.cit., page 192.

* It should be noted that Llera used the term Asturian instead of Bable.

¹⁰ Op.cit., page 193.

¹¹ Op.cit., pp 33, 57, 66 and 69.

Table 7.6: Level of understanding of Castilian & Asturian (%ages)¹²

	Very good	Quite good	Regular	Quite bad	Very bad
Castilian					
Understand	51	41	7	1	-
Speak	34	45	18	3	-
Read	43	48	6	2	1
Write	36	47	13	2	2
Asturian					
Understand	27	41	22	5	5
Speak	14	30	28	13	15
Read	6	21	31	18	24
Write	3	10	25	23	39

n = 1300

Particularly noteworthy in the Llera results was the apparent improvement in levels of understanding of Bable professed by the respondents compared with the '77 and '83 SADEI surveys. Those surveys had each shown low levels of understanding and a decline over the period between them. By 1991, the decline had been reversed with strong improvement in all categories. For example, on the question of simply understanding Bable, 55.9% said they either could do so easily or with difficulty in 1977, that declined to 51.2% in 1983; by 1991, however, 68% responded that their level of understanding was either 'very good' or 'quite good' (with a further 22% proclaiming that their level of understanding was 'regular').

Examining the most difficult level of language facility – writing - the 1977 figure of 24.2% (including 'with difficulty' responses) declined to only 8.6% in 1983; yet by 1991, this had climbed to 13% claiming 'very good' and 'quite good' facility, with a further 25% claiming 'regular' ability.

¹² Op.cit., page 67.

Drawing from the results of all his survey tools Llera drew a number of findings about the status of Asturian over the past fifty years which are summarised below:

- There has been an *estigmatización de carácter rural* [*stigmatisation of the rural character*] of Bable as the population urbanised.
- This was followed in the fifties by upward mobilisation of the population and *el abandono del código lingüístico asturiano* [*the abandonment of the Asturian linguistic code*].
- As this occurred there was a breakdown of past structures in the new socialisation of the population.
- There was also a blurring [*difuminación lingüística*] of the boundaries between Bable and Castilian, leading to linguistic interference.
- The significant absence of linguistic consciousness of Bable as a distinct language entity with the concomitant *dramatización de las diferencias lingüísticas locales* [*dramatisation of the local linguistic differences*] of Bable.
- Bipolarisation of views to Bable between one that feels it is an incorrect way to speak and the other that can't ignore the emotional links with the vernacular in the phase primary socialisation.
- In recent years there has been an improvement of linguistic identity for many Asturians.
- The development of the policy and politics of normalisation.¹³

From these findings and the quantitative data, Llera drew the following conclusions in relation to Asturian (as he consistently terms it):

- the linguistic identity of Asturian is reasonably well implanted socially, despite the ambiguities arising from the diglossic situation and the lack of normalisation.
- Asturian is well implanted in the private domains of speakers, but it is in a restricted social environment and has to fight for its own social space. There is a double linguistic stigmatisation affecting 20 – 30% of the population, clear fruit of diglossia.
- Majority opinion favours normalisation of Asturian and its coofficiality.

¹³ Op.cit., pp 175-6.

- The majority are dissatisfied with the role of regional institutions in relation to the language but value positively moves that are actually done.
- The social space of Asturian reduces with each step away from the ambits of familial, friendship and neighbourhoods towards those of work, the general community and officialdom. This differential utilisation results in the languages ‘minoritisation’.
- While there is a high sense of the need for the quality and clarity of written Asturian, the same does not occur with the ‘adequation’ of written or spoken Asturian on television compared with that spoken in the street.
- there is a lack of normalisation – the linguistic estrangement is greatest the zones where there are linguistic varieties of Asturian.
- The autonomy process has occurred alongside a considerable reduction in the levels of disinterest in the Asturian language.
- Three out of four Asturians want collective and institutional action to protect the language.
- Seven out of ten Asturians support recuperation measures for the language and six out of ten believe that the process of language conservation is viable and do not believe the language runs the risk of disappearing.
- Asturians are increasingly wanting greater use of Asturian in publications and the media.
- The dissemination and recuperation of the language depends in large part on the education system.
- Bilingualism is the linguistic future desired by the majority of Asturians, with the emphasis on pragmatism and moderation in its development.^{14 t}

¹⁴ Op.cit., pp 177-179.

^t (i) La identidad lingüística asturiana está razonablemente bien implantada scialmente, a pesar de la ambigüedades propias de una situación diglósica y carente de normalización. (ii) El asturiano está bien implantado socialmente en el fuero privado de los hablantes, pero se encuentra estrecho en la estructura social y pugna por el reconocimiento de un espacio social propio. Existe el doble estigma lingüístico que puede afectar 20% o un 30% de la población asturiana, fruto claro de la diglosia. (iv) Es mayoritaria también la insatisfacción de los asturianos con respecto al papel jugado por las instituciones regionales en relación a la lengua. (v) El espacio social del asturiano va reduciéndose a medida que pasamos del ámbito de las relaciones familiares a las de amistad y vecindad y de éstas a las laborales y a los servicios públicos. El efecto de la minorización se deja ver en la utilización diferencial (vi) Si el balance es altamente positivo para la calidad y la claridad del asturiano escrito, no ocurre lo mismo con la adecuación del asturiano escrito o hablado en la television con que la gente habla en la calle. (vii) (hay una) carente de normalización, siendo masivo esta extrañamiento lingüístico, sobre todo, en las zonas en que existen variedades lingüísticas del asturiano. (viii) desde el comienzo del proceso autonómico, y probablemente fruto de él, se ha producido una revolución silenciosa del asturiano, iniciándose una clara recuperación sociológica del mismo. (ix) Tres de cada cuatro asturianos demandan una acción colectiva e institucional para proteger la lengua. (x) Siete de cada diez asturianos están por edidas claramente recuperacionistas y seis de cada diez ven viable ... el proceso de conservación de la lengua, ya que no creen que corra serio peligro de desaparición.

Some other smaller surveys

Vicente Rodríguez Hevia and Roberto González-Quevedo González in 1986 conducted a survey amongst 330 middle school students (at the *Instituto de L'Entregu*) and 330 residents, both groups being from the mining county of San Martín del Rey Aurelio.

This survey found the following:¹⁵

- 92.88% of the total group indicated that they spoke a mixture of Castilian and Asturian [*una mezcla de castellano y asturiano*] compared with 2.88% who indicated that they spoke *asturiano 'puro'* with 4.24% speaking *castellano 'puro'*.
- 78.18% of the total group opined that *hablar asturiano no es hablar mal* [to speak Asturian is not to speak badly], against 9.7% who believed otherwise and 12.2% who expressed no opinion.
- 70% of the total group believed that Asturian should be introduced into the education system and the media.

Another small survey, reported through a letter to the editor, was conducted by a teacher and students from CP Comarcal de Villaviciosa, a primary school located in the eastern portion of the Bable Central zone. In this survey 631 people were interviewed by students. Most notable amongst the findings was the result that 64.82% of those interviewed supported the use and diffusion of *Asturiano/Bable*.¹⁶

Surveys of readership

While Chapter 8 deals with, amongst other things, the published literature of Bable, it is worth noting here some information concerning the choices of individuals with respect to the array of literature available. Firstly, there is further commentary (in addition to

(xi) *(los asturianos) demanden con fuerza una mayor presencia del asturiano en esos medios de comunicación.* (xii) *la reproducción y la recuperación lingüísticas dependen en gran medida del sistema educativo.* (xiii) *el bilingüismo es claramente el futuro lingüístico deseado e imaginado por la mayoría de los asturianos, planteándolo con un gran pragmatismo y moderación.*

that earlier in this section) on the 1989 survey undertaken by Francisco J Llera Ramo on readership patterns. Secondly, there is a comment on a very brief survey I undertook at a community centre library.

The Bable usage findings from Francisco J Llera Ramo's readership survey of 1989 have been reported above. At this point some comment is made upon that survey's findings with respect to readership patterns. In 1989, he had undertaken a survey into the consumption of Bable language publications in Asturias.¹⁷ Four hundred people, resident across Asturias, were surveyed with respect to their consumption of Bable language publications. One particular table of interest compared the patterns of readership of those surveyed with respect to publications in Bable as well as to publications in general (ie including those in Castilian). Table 7.7 comes from the report of that survey:

Table 7.7: Type of literature read – in general & in Asturian (%) (n=400)¹⁸

	General		Asturian	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Novel	77.2	22.8	15.0	85.0
Essay	34.2	65.8	5.5	94.5
Poetry	63.0	37.0	28.8	71.2
Theatre	46.5	53.5	8.0	92.0
Encyclopedia	69.0	31.0	3.8	96.2
Tales	74.8	25.2	30.2	69.8
Populist	64.0	36.0	13.2	86.8
Light fiction	68.8	31.2	6.2	93.8

¹⁵ XA González Riaño & JL San Fabián Maroto, *La escolarización de la lengua asturiana: su incidencia en el rendimiento educativo*, Editore del Norte, Mieres, 1996, pp 30-1. Also cited in LNE 26.12.94 (interview).

¹⁶ L183/031.

¹⁷ F J Llera Ramo, *Consumu Cultural de Publicaciones en Llingua Asturiana: Informe*, op.cit.

¹⁸ Op.cit., page 51.

Apart from the key conclusion that much more was read in general (*ie* including Castilian language material) than was read in Bable, the table clearly indicates that tales, poetry and novels are the three top preferences of readers for Bable language material.

The community centre survey was undertaken in August 1995 and consisted of an examination of a collection of books in the fiction section of the library of the Corvera Community Centre. This centre was maintained by the local council in a community which lies on the outskirts of Avilés; it is an industrial area with a number of Andalucian migrant workers resident there. The local council has maintained an active policy of promoting Bable and has run adult education classes in Bable.

The work consisted merely of an examination of the incidence of borrowing of books written either in Bable or in Castilian or in both. Table 7.8 records the results of this examination.

Table 7.8: Incidence of book borrowing – Corvera library

	Titles	Borrowings
Books in Bable	54	51
Books in Bable & Castilian	3	5
Books in Castilian	32	80

While books in Castilian were more likely to be borrowed according to the table, there was a surprisingly high incidence of borrowing of books in Bable. An interesting feature arose from an examination of the actual Bable books which were borrowed. The top eight Bable books borrowed were:

<i>El cai nunca duerme</i> [<i>The street never sleeps</i>]	6
<i>Silvia la negra</i> [<i>Silvia the black</i>]	4
<i>Antigone, por exemplu</i> [<i>Antigone, for example</i>]	4
<i>Miénteme: Dime la verdá</i> [<i>Lie to me: tell me the truth</i>]	4
<i>Cuentos asturiana</i> [<i>Asturian tales</i>] (bilingual)	4

<i>Traficu de cuerpos</i> [<i>Body traffic</i>]	3
<i>Memoria de los cimeros</i> [<i>Memory of the cloudmen</i>]	3
<i>El silenciu en fuga</i> [<i>Silence in flight</i>]	3

Apart from *Cuentos asturiana* and *Memoria de los cimeros*, the other works borrowed were not Asturian-culture dependent books. That is to say that their themes were more universal.

7.2 WORD INCIDENCE FREQUENCY

In their book *Diccionariu de Frecuencies Léxiques del Asturianu*, Fernando Cuetos *et.al.* reported on Bable word usage examining the words *que componen el grupu de pallabres de mayor usu del asturianu* [which compose the group of Asturian words of greatest usage].¹⁹ There are many purposes to which studies can be put but, for the purposes of this section, the number and character of words of high frequency usage can be an indicator of the lexical richness of the practised language as opposed to the size of its archive of all possible words.

The research project reported on the usage of one million words used in a variety of pieces published over the period 1978 to 1993. The words came from narrative (450,000), press reports (300,000), essays (200,000) and other sources (principally theatre and monologues). The minimum incidence of any word reported was five times (2,137 words being in this category); the maximum (the word *de*) 44,500. The first fourteen words were prepositions, conjunctions, definite and indefinite articles, the first 'substantive' word being *ye* [he/she/it is]. The top ranking noun was *llingua* (2,777 uses), while *asturianu* was the top ranking adjective (1,590) and *ye* the most used verb

¹⁹ F.Cuetos, A Álvarez, J R Alameda, *Diccionariu de Frecuencies Léxiques del Asturianu*, op.cit., p. 24.

form (7,426). The top ten nouns represent an interesting collection of words in terms of possible topics of published Bable pieces:

*Llingua*_[2777] [*language*]
*Día*_[1308] [*day*]
*Tiempu*_[1305] [*time*]
*Años*_[1244] [*years*]
*Xente*_[1068] [*people*]
*Cultura*_[932] [*culture*]
*Vida*_[893] [*life*]
*Güeyos*_[816] [*eyes*]
*Pueblu*_[782] [*people/village*]
*Asturianos*_[687] [*Asturians*]

The list contains a high proportion of what may be termed ‘self-conscious’ words – words focussed directly towards the identity of the group (*Llingua*, *Xente*, *Cultura*, *Pueblu* and *Asturianos*). This suggests that in the period of the study, much Bable writing was focussed introspectively and linked to the very role of the language that was being used as the medium of communication. It could be suggested that a language would need less such focus if it is to have a viable, long term future. This point is noted in the next chapter with the arrival of the current literary epoch.

Table 7.9: Incidence of Personal Possessives

Mine, My	2563 times (57.5%)	Mí (471), mia (15), mía (92), mías (7), mio (1439), mió (146), mío (32), mios (282), miós (40), míos (18), miou (14), mious (5)
Yours, your (sg)	44	Túa (18), tuya (10), tuyo (6), tuyu (10)
His, hers, its, theirs	228 (5.12%)	Sua (127), suas (19), suya (24), suyes (14), suyo (10), suyos (20), suyü (14)
Ours, our	1759 (39.53%)	Nuesa (547), nuelas (12), nules (77), nueso (59), nulos (145), nuestra (261), nuestres (77), nuestro (29), nuestros (98), nuestru (194), nuesu (247), nulus (13)
Yours, your (pl)	83 (2.85%)*	Vuestra (32), vuestres (9), vuestros (12), vuestru (30)

* The percentage for *Yours, your (pl)* includes the numbers for the singular as well.

Personal pronouns

Section 4.5 raises the issue of the apparent high relative incidence of the first person plural possessive pronoun. At this point the incidence of all possessives pronouns is noted. Table 7.9 cites personal possessives.

Without repeating the observations made in Section 4.5, at this point, another observation can be made – namely that of the diversity of forms used within each category of person. The forms cited include dialect varieties from Bable, Castilian forms and also some hybrids.

Taking the first person plural as an example, the 1759 citations contained 1098 which were clearly Bable forms (*nuesa, nueses, nueso, nuegos, nuesu and nueses*), while 388 were identical with Castilian (*nuestra, nuestro and nuestros*) and either represented interference or were from the zone of Bable Oriental where these forms are also used. A further group appeared to be hybrids with 271 instances of Bable endings (*-es* and *-u*) being added to the Castilian stem (eg *nuestru, nuestres*) or 12 of a Castilian ending (*-as*) being added to the Bable stem (eg *nuestras*).

7.3 TOPONYMY

Theodora Bynon has commented on the durability of toponyms as opposed to other words in the lexicon of an L1 existing in an L2 dominant environment and wrote:

... place-names can be an important source of information regarding people who have inhabited an area. This is the result of two main facts. The first of these is that the names attached to localities tend to be extremely persistent and to resist replacement even when the language spoken in the area is itself replaced.²⁰

Xosé Lluis García Arias, in his work *Toponimia: Teoría y Actuación*²¹ suggested that there are three categories of Asturian toponyms:

- *Topónimos intelixibles* [*intelligible toponyms*]: those for whom the etymological origin is traceable.
- *Topónimos inintelixibles* [*unintelligible toponyms*]: those for which there is no reasonable explanation etymologically.
- *Topónimos semi-intelixibles* [*semi-intelligible toponyms*].

Furthermore, García Arias proposed an hypothesis with respect to current usage of Asturian toponyms:

If many toponyms of today are intelligible by the names of the (local) speech, it could be possible to discover the meaning of those which are not understood or which are no more than half-understood, they would be similarly motivated, by the names that, through reasons that we cannot always reach, were hidden from the very linguistic use of the community which has carried on the toponym. It would, then, be a diachronic-documental study ...²² †

In section 10.1, amongst others, a diachronic look is taken of Bable as issues of change and interference are considered. Whether such an analysis of toponyms would be useful for the purposes of this thesis is less clear. Thus while it is acknowledged that the link between meaning (*significance* in the Saussurian model) and toponym (*signifier*) is a useful area of study it is not so certain if such study would add to the capacity to recuperate a language under stress in the face of a dominant L2.

What has been undertaken here is some study of official and unofficial usage patterns and attitudes towards Bable toponymy. As a result it is suggested later that the

²⁰ T Bynon, *Historical Linguistics*, Cambridge UP, Cambridge, 1996 edition, page 273.

²¹ X L García Arias, *Toponimia: Teoría y Actuación*, Llibrería Llingüística, ALLA, Uviéu 1995.

²² Op.cit., pp. 15-16.

† *si muchos topónimos de güei son intelixibles pelos apellativos de la fala, podría pescanciase que los que nun son a entendese, o s'entienden namái a medies, tarien motivaos lo mesmo, por apellativos que, per razones que non siempre sedremos a algamar, foron desaniciaos del propiu usu llingüísticu de la comunidá que tresmite'l topónimu. Sedría, entós, l'estudiu diacrónicu-documental ...*

relationship between autochthonous toponymy and L1 language usage is not strong. The most that might be said is that the use of such toponymy would not hamper efforts to recuperate, though its actuality would not ensure the success of such efforts.

In Asturias there is evidence of a hierarchy of three levels of Asturian language toponymic reference. Firstly, there is oral usage; secondly, usage in non-official written forms; and thirdly, in official written usage, in particular *señalización* (or use in road signs). The third level may involve bilingual road signage or the use of Bable nomenclature alone. There is also a type of second order involvement in the third level – namely, the use of graffiti.

Oral and unofficial written usage both have long histories, the former undoubtedly having a much more mainstream character than the latter. Official usage has, with exceptions (two such, *cha-* and *Pobla*, being dealt with later), a much younger history. In 1984 the *Junta de Toponimia* (also known as *Xunta de Toponimia*) was formed to catalogue popular usage of Bable toponymy with the aim of its translation into the official domain where practicable. In 1987 this group produced *una propuesta de toponimia asturianos* (a proposal for Asturian toponyms). It appears, however, that the group's work was controversial, with much disputation about some of its proposals. The group never met again.

In 1989, the ALLA retrieved the situation somewhat with the publication of *Conceyos, parroquies y llugares de Principáu d'Asturies* [*Counties, parishes and places of the Principality of Asturias*], an inventory of accepted Bable toponyms. And in 1990 it commenced the release of a series of publications on the toponymy of different

localities within the region. In 1998, the new law on the promotion and use of Asturian legislated for the creation of a new *Xunta* to work on the theme of Bable toponymy.

7.3.1 Oral usage

The substantial corpus of research work completed over the past decades on Bable toponymy indicates that, notwithstanding the absence of official, written Bable toponymy until recently, there must have been considerable non-written usage of such forms. José Benito A Buylla inferred as much when he gave a paper to the I Asamblea Regional del Bable when he commented on the local usages with respect to the location officially known as Naranco de Bulnes:

Effectively, the locals of the place do not call it ‘Naranco’ ... but Pico Uriellu or familiarly ‘el Picu’. This then is its true name ...²³ †

Oral usage of Bable toponyms was evident in those interviews conducted with people from rural communities. It was also suggested by one correspondent to the editor where the writer stated *pienso ... que Grao suena mejor [I think that Grao sounds better (than Grado)]*.²⁴ An area where Bable toponymy may be surviving unchallenged is with respect to those locations which are too small or insignificant to be recorded on official maps. Another correspondent to the editor noted that maps up to 1:50,000 in scale overlooked many *perguapo* [*very beautiful*] places which thus would have kept their names as ascribed by local oral tradition.²⁵

²³ J B A Buylla, *Un plan de rescate del bable*, paper delivered to I Asamblea Regional del Bable, 1973. Proceedings published by Editorial Nacional, Madrid, 1980, page 175.

† *Efectivamente, los naturales del lugar no llaman ‘Naranco’ ... sino Pico Urriellu o familiarmente ‘el Picu’. Este es, pues, su verdaero nombre ...*

²⁴ L031/141

²⁵ L207/224.

7.3.2 Written toponyms – non-official

Dictionary usage of Bable toponyms is a reflection of popular (ie non-official) usage patterns at the time of their compilation more than a reflection of official nomenclature. Table 7.10 summarises the Bable toponyms cited in entries of the dictionaries referred to in the Introduction. The table indicates that, contrary to some views expressed in the letters to the editor of LNE, with respect to Bable names for Oviedo, there has been a long published tradition of such toponyms being used for the regional capital.

Table 7.10: Citations of Bable toponyms in dictionaries

Dictionary	Bable toponyms cited *
GdP – 1788	Lluancu, Xsixsón
RAT – 1891	Asturies, Uvieu, Lluarca, Lluanco, Infiestu
SOM – 1896-1901	Asturies, Infiestu, Llanera, Uviéu, Xixón
NOV – 1983	None cited
BAS – 1984	Asturies, Campumanes, Candamu, Cuadonga, Cuideru, Grau, Llangréu, Llaviana, Lleón, Puela d’Allande, Sobrescobiu, Uviéu, Xixón (Villabona)
XXSV – 1988	Uviéu, Xixón
JN – 1989	Cuadonga, Xixón
ALLA – 2001	Cuadonga, Cuídeiru, Llanera, Llangréu, Lluanco, Lluarca, Uviéu, Xixón.

* Citation appeared either as entries in the dictionaries or within the text of other entries.

The other non-official written forms to which I have had access include primarily literary works, the semi-religious publication *Ixixú*, and some documents dating from the thirteenth century uncovered in the cellars of the Cathedral of Oviedo.

In examining the use of Asturian toponyms in literature, anthologies provide a better indication of breadth of usage than the collection of individual poets and writers. The

very first such anthology was a collection of Bable poems edited by Xosé Caveda y Nava in 1839 contained the following Bable toponyms in the poems.²⁶

Asturies, Olloniegu, Pola, Riosecu, Samartín, Santolalla, Uvieu, Xixón

Another anthology, *Los Nuevos Bablistas*, was a collection of poems and short stories written by 23 writers between 1893 and 1924. Originally published in 1925, the anthology contained numerous Bable versions of locales in the works of the authors included such as:

*Arámu, Asturies, Cangues, Cuadonga, Grao, Llimanes, Lluanco, Narancu, Oviéo, Picos d'Uropa, Puertu de Vegarada, Rivisella, Sieru, Sobrescobiu, Toriellu, Uviedo, Uvieu, Uvieu, and Xixón.*²⁷

The use of Bable toponyms outnumbered citations of Castilian ones for which there were Bable variants. Two which appeared in the collection were *Covadonga, Vega*.²⁸

There were two particularly interesting features in these toponymic references. Firstly, the fact that there were four separate Bable versions of Oviedo (*Oviéo, Uviedo, Uvieu* and *Uvieu*). Secondly, of all the instances where there were Bable and Castilian alternative toponyms available, in only one did both alternatives appear in the same work (ie the use of both Bable and Castilian versions for the same toponym by the same author in the same piece). This occurred in the *Virxen de Covadonga* by Francisco Gonzalez Prieto (nicknamed Pachu'l Péritu [Pachu the skillful]), where the following lines appeared (my highlighting):

²⁶ X Caveda y Nava, *Colección de poesías en dialecto asturiano*, 1839, reprinted as *Esvilla de poesies na llingua asturiano*, ed XX Sánchez Vicente, Biblioteca Popular Asturiana, Oviedo, 1979.

²⁷ E García-Rendueles (ed), *Los Nuevos Bablistas*, Xixón, 1925, reprinted as part of the series *Llibrería Facsimilar*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1987; pages 25, 26, 27, 60, 61[x3], 100, 101, 133, 148, 151, 175, 192, 262, 312 and 318.

Y en Cuadonga'nauguraba
L'Asturiana Monarquía.
Aquí la patria ñació
'Nos riscos de Covadonga, ...²⁹

This phenomenon of dual usage was also noted in two of the letters to the editor considered in the research (refer Chapter Fourteen). In those instances (L014/163 and L074/386) the Gijón/Xixón and Cudillero/Cuideiru pairs appeared. In the case of the former the writer incorporated both in the text of the letter; with the Bable version being used in the name of a local government agency. In the latter, the Castilian version appears in the title of the letter (and may have been the work of the sub-editor).

The periodical *IXUXÚ* is described in more detail in Chapter Eight. This publication advised readers that it was published in *Xixón* yet also indicated it was printed in *Gijón* by *Socieda Tipográfica Asturiana* – the Bable and Castilian names for the same place. Advertisements in the publication used Castilian toponyms exclusively. In the editorial content of the publication (including submitted articles), there was a much greater use of Bable toponyms than Castilian. Apart from an occasional reference to Oviedo and to Covadonga, all other toponyms which appeared were in Bable and included the following in the issues indicated:

Asturies (Issue I)
San Llorenzu, Llinares, Uviéu, Cangues de Onís, Sieru. (III)
Langreu, Luancu (V)
Llangreo (XII)
Infiestu, Rivadesella (XIII)

An earlier example of a publication incorporating Bable toponyms was *El Carbayón* which contained at least two references to Uviéu.³⁰

²⁸ Op.cit., pp 95 and 103.

7.3.3 Graffiti

As identified in Photo 7.1, graffiti has represented a frequent, further form of non-official toponymy in Asturias, with road signage changed from official versions to that favoured by the graffiti artist. Photo 7.1 contains two road signs on route AS-15 which runs from just outside Grado/Grao up through Cangas del Narcea and beyond to the provincial frontier with León in the western part of Asturias.

Photo 7.1 – Examples of road sign graffiti



²⁹ Op.cit., page 192.

³⁰ in the issues of 14 May and 1 Sept 1897, cited in LLAA 14, 1984, page 138.

The first photograph indicates a change from Castilian (*El Llano*) to Bable (*El Llanu*), a not insignificant change (as suggested on page 227 and following regarding toponyms beginning with *cha-*). The second indicates the opposition of the graffiti artist to the existing toponym (*Cibuyo*) without an alternative being proffered; the Bable equivalent is *Cibuyu*.

In Appendix A a series of maps is included which note the incidence on a sample of Asturian road signage of: (i) road signs in Bable; (ii) Bilingual signs; and (iii) signs with graffiti. Two examples of such maps are contained below in Map 7.1 and Map 7.2, while Table 7.11 analyses the information from all the maps in Appendix A.

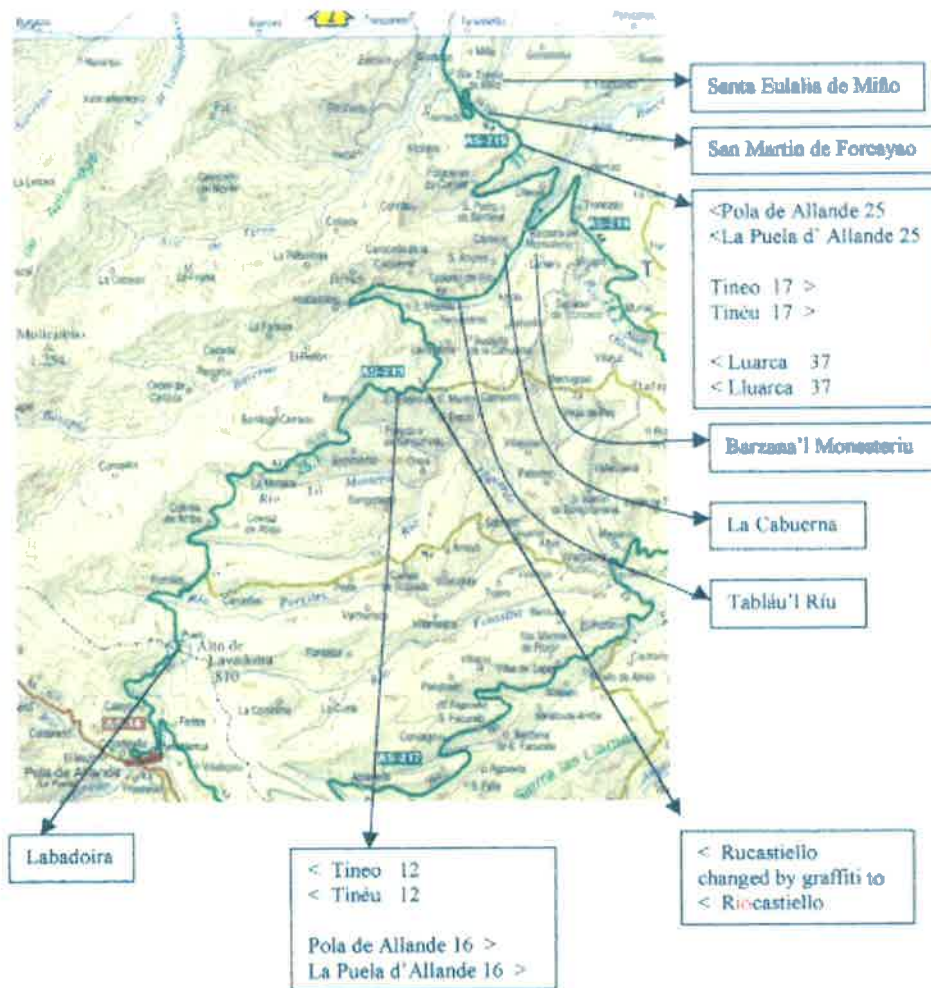
Table 7.11: Surveyed instances of official and unofficial road signage in Asturias

	Oriental	Central	Occidental
Official			
Castilian	1	14	6
Bable only		2	8
Bilingual		5	4
Graffiti			
Bable over Castilian	1	14	6
Castilian over Bable			2

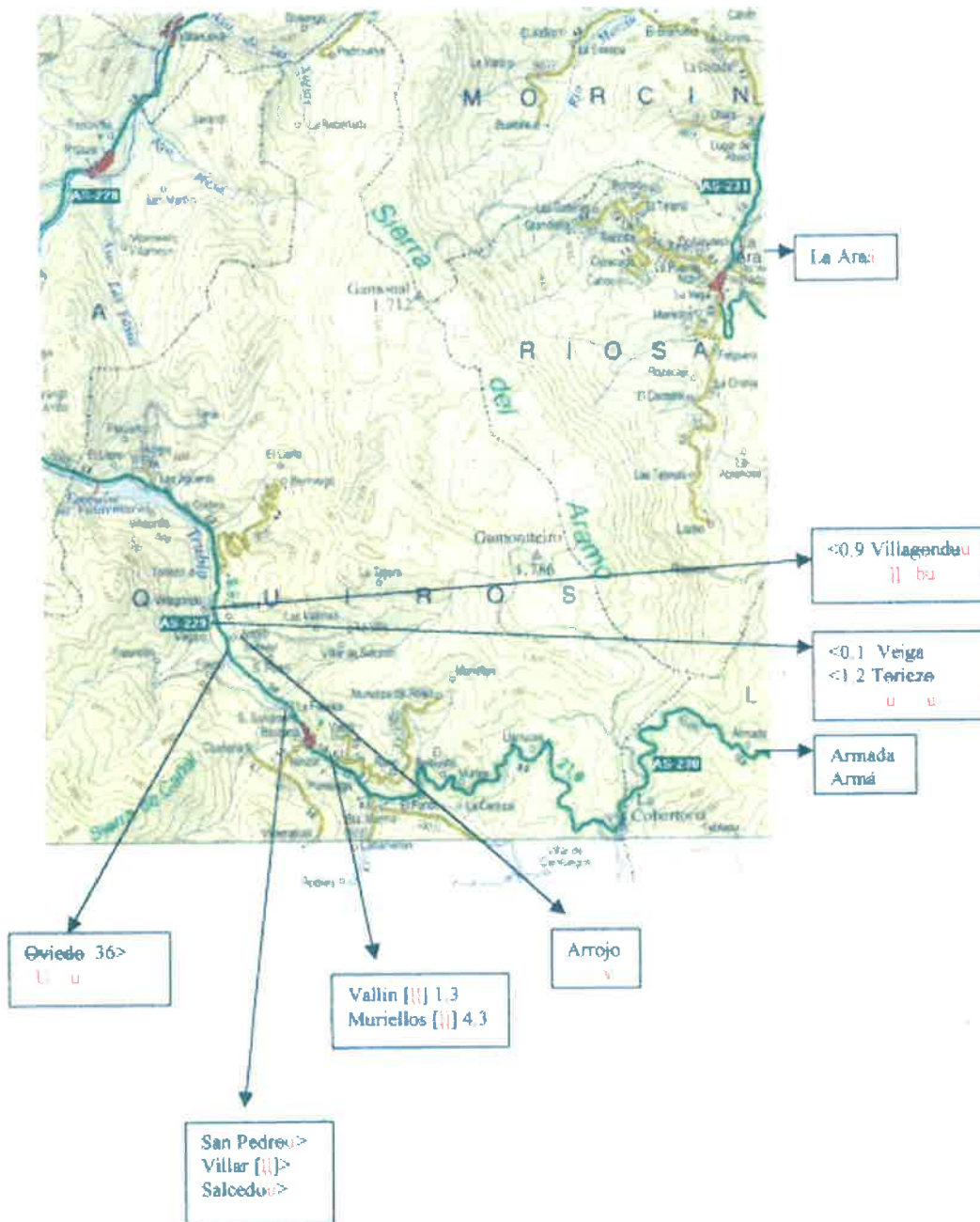
Route AS 219 runs in the centre of the Bable Occidental zone of the province. The map indicates that there was a very high degree of Bable only and bilingual road signage on the surveyed portion of the route. This is consistent with data in Table 7.11 concerning other roads within that zone.

On the other hand, AS 229 (in a zone bordering the Occidental and Central zones) revealed less official bilingualism or Bable road signs, but much more graffiti over Castilian road signs. Again this is consistent with Table 7.11 with respect to the Central zone.

Map 7.1: Language use and road signage on route AS-219



Map 7.2: Language use and road signage on route AS-229



7.3.4 Official

In 1986 a new law [Ley 10/1986] was passed providing for Asturian toponyms to be denominated in Bable as well as Castilian. For the most part, this law represented an innovation not a conservation as the Asturian experience with official recognition of

Bable nomenclature of toponyms did not commence until after the creation of the *Xunta de Toponimia* {C: *Comisión de Toponimia*} in 1984.

Then in 1998, prior to the promulgation of new legislation promoting the use of Bable, the regional government announced a two year plan to install bilingual signage on all roads coming under its authority (ie excluding both national roads and county maintained roads in the region). A total of 4,000 km of roads was to be involved in this program with the first two routes being AS-15 and AS-16.³¹

The situation before the initiatives of the 1980s and 1990s had been a case of paraphrasing the adage “the victors write the history” to read “the victors write the maps”. An examination of maps from the nineteenth century indicates that the near total use of Castilian in place names pre-dates the Franco period and has been consistent throughout (more so than in some other regions of Spain such as Catalunya – where non-Castilian toponyms were in evidence, particularly between the First World War and the Civil War).

However the pre-1980s absence of official recognition of Bable toponymy was not absolute. There is some minor evidence of Asturian language toponyms at least partially surviving the two great periods of Castilianisation in Spain (the beginning of the sixteenth century after the conclusion of the Reconquest and the seventeenth century during the period of the Laws of the *Nueva Planta*) not to mention the Franco era.

³¹ LNE 27.1.98.

With the exception of two instances detailed below, no historic, official application of Bable names in place of Castilian toponyms can be found. An examination of some nineteenth and twentieth century maps supports that conclusion. The one feature of minor interest which revealed itself was the occasional use of *b* in place of *v* in some maps published in the first part of the twentieth century, a practice much reduced these days (though *Ribadesella* in place of *Rivadesella* [which literally means *bank of the Sella*] is a remnant).

Two maps which were examined were from a 1912 German world atlas and another appearing in the 1910 and 1930 editions of a Spanish encyclopedia. The German atlas contained the toponyms *Labiana*, *Cabo Bidio* and *Cobadonga* in place of the more usual *Laviana*, *Cabo Vidio* and *Covadonga*.³² On the other hand, the editions of the Spanish encyclopedia contained *Labiana* and *Cabo Bidio*, but reverted to the standard form of *Covadonga*.³³ However, this use of *b* in place of *v* was not, in itself, indicative of a Bable toponymy, but rather of an orthography matching pronunciation.*

The two exceptions, referred to above, are the use of the toponymic *Pola* and the relative higher incidence than normal in Castilian of place names beginning with *cha-*.

Pola/Pobla/Puebla

Puebla was the term applied to one of three types of urbanisations created in the Middle Ages, either by royal command or under episcopal authority (which were themselves

³² *Andrees Allgemeiner Handatlas*, Verlag von Velhagen & Klasing, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1912, Maps 114/115.

³³ *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrado*, Vol. 6, José Espasa e Hijos (1910) Barcelona, Espasa-Calpe (1930) Madrid, map facing page 824 in both editions.

* The writer of one letter to the editor, L296/423, indicated his name, Rivaya, was spelt *con 'v' por favor* [with 'v' please] rather than with a *b*.

granted as royal privilege). These urbanisations were part of the *renacimiento urbano* [urban rebirth],³⁴ the first of the repopulation programs which followed the southward push of the Reconquest. The process of establishment of these urbanisations defined both the land rights of existing inhabitants as well as the privileges and obligations of the towns where they and any newcomers would settle. The documents establishing these rights and obligations were similar to the *Fuerus* which defined the status of such major centres as Oviedo, Avilés and Llanes.

The most prolific period of creation of *pueblas* occurred in the reigns of Fernando II and Alfonso X el Sabio [the Wise], with some sixteen occurring during their reigns. Eight more occurred after their reigns, all but one within the following century; while two, Puebla de Tineo, Puebla de Llanes, had occurred before.³⁵ Today there are in Asturias six of these original *pueblas* which retain something of the original title, though they are now known as *Polas* (Pola de Allande, Pola de Laviana, Pola de Lena, Pola del Pino, Pola de Siero and Pola de Somiedo) rather than *Pueblas*.

Similar localities in other parts of Spain (outside of the Catalan-speaking areas where post-1975 toponym changes altered the situation)* have, with one exception, maintained their original official nomenclature (eg Puebla de Sanabria in neighbouring Zamora, and Puebla de Valdavia in León). The only *Pola* beyond Asturias is La Pola de Gordon (in León) which is only twenty five kilometres from the border of the Principality and is located within the historic reach of Greater Asturias.

³⁴ J A Gutiérrez González, *La Dinamización de la Sociedad Feudal en los siglos XI-XII: el mundo urbano y las vías de peregrinación*, in Ma. Cruz Morales Saro et. al *Orígenes: Arte y Cultura en Asturias Siglos VII-XV*, Lunweg Editores SA, Oviedo, 1993, page 277.

³⁵ J Rodríguez Muñoz & M A González Muñiz, *Diccionario de Historia de Asturias*, op.cit., page 247.

* In Catalan-speaking areas *Pobla* has returned since 1975, reflecting oral usage and replacing the previous use of *Puebla*.

It appears that the Asturian use of *Pola* may be derived from some dual usage of both *puebla* and *pobla* in original official documentation which may have come from the proto-Bable and proto-Castilian Romance vernaculars of the region where both terms were derived from the Latin *populus*. *Pobla* may either have preceded or succeeded *Puebla* in etymological terms; in either case the ultimate descendant has been *Pola* and this seems to have occurred from a very early date.

As to the use of *pobla*, it appeared in a document written by a notary public in 1289, by way of identifying the location of signing. The location was given as *Pobla de Pravia* (modern day Pravia).³⁶ In another document in this collection, written in 1299, the forms *Puebla* and *Pobla* both appeared (*Ouiedo puebla por nostro nomine en lugar nominado Castro ... fagan pobla ...*[my highlighting].)³⁷ The earliest reference that time which I have found was a 1790 reference to *Pola*; it appeared in a poem written by Xosefa Xovellanos.³⁸

The periods of official Castilianisation (such as immediately after the fall of Granada in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth, the Laws of the *Nueva Planta* in the early eighteenth century and the Franco era in the mid-Twentieth century) appear to have seen no attempts to alter the Asturian version and reimpose *Puebla* in an effort to maintain consistency with usage beyond the boundaries of Asturias.

³⁶ M Tuero Moris (ed), *Documentación de La Catedral d'Uviéu (Sieglu XIII)*, published in 1994 by the ALLA as part of the *Fontes de la Llingua Asturiana* series, page 160.

³⁷ Op.cit, page 206.

³⁸ X Caveda y Nava, *Colección de poesías en dialecto asturiano*, op.cit., page 223.

In very recent times there has started to appear some use of the word *puella* in Bable toponyms in place of *pola*; this has occurred particularly with *Puella d'Ayande* {C: *Pola de Allande*}. As this word has not, to my investigation, appeared on earlier occasions, it may possibly be an invention aimed at creating a degree of differentiation from Castilian. Alternatively, it may reflect regional intonation of *Pola*.

Toponyms beginning with *cha-*

A second apparent survival of a characteristic of Bable in toponymy seems to be the greater incidence of names beginning with *cha-* than is observed in other parts of Spain (with the exception of Galicia). The *Mapa Oficial de Carreteras* [*Official Road Map*] contains approximately 21,000 place names. Of these only 38 begin with *cha-*. Sixteen of the 38 come from northwest Spain (the western reaches of Asturias, and the northern parts of León and Galicia).

It is my contention that the *cha-* morpheme in the toponyms of northwest Spain is related to the *ll* sound evident in Bable Occidental and Astur-Gallego and written as either *ll*, *ts* or *ll*. The toponym Luarca is also sometimes written Lluarca (pronounced /lw/ - thus Lwuarca) and Ḷluarca (the *Ḷl* pronounced /tʃ/ in phonetic terms - thus Chwarca). While the toponym Aller is also sometimes written Atser (pronounced Acher).

Photograph 7.2 shows the lintel of a small chapel moved in 1916 from the outlying districts of Luarca to within its city limits. The location from which the chapel was moved was called Chano. If the premise re the character of *cha-* in toponymy of the region is correct, then Chano, had its spelling been Castilianised, would have been

Llano. According to the dictionary of Julio Somoza, Llano is the name of *muchas localidades de Asturias* [*many localities in Asturias*] (SOM – 1896-1901). It is also not uncommon in other parts of Spain; according to the the *Mapa Oficial de Carreteras* there are 35 Llano or Llanos entries in the country. But contrast there are only two non-Asturian entries in this publication for Chano (one very much within the domain of Greater Asturias and the other, near the Portuguese border also lies in the former Astur-Leonés language zone of the Middle Ages and would appear therefore to be a relic of same).

Supporting this conjecture is the view of writers on Asturian toponymy that El Chano and El Llano, as well as variants of both, all derive from the same Latin word *planum* [*flat area*].³⁹

Photo 7.2 – Lintel of church near Luarca identifying *Chano* toponym



There are five places in Asturias called Llano and two called El Llano (there are four other combined names involving Llano within the title). Photograph 7.1 (on page 219) shows one of these, located in the area of Cangas del Narcea (in the zone of Bable Occidental). The photo reveals that graffiti has changed the name to L̄lanu (pronounced Chanu).

7.4 PERSONAL USAGE

7.4.1 Oral usage of Bable

As the survey of conference attendees (considered in Chapter 13) reveals, the bulk of current usage patterns of Bable revolves around the spoken rather than written form. This is supported by the higher rate of self-assessed ability in the spoken versus written forms of the language (see Section 7.4 on survey data).

However, even this spoken usage of the language has most often been diglossic in character. When asked if he would give speeches in Bable (as his predecessor had done), newly elected Asturian regional president Sergio Marqués stated:

I have much respect for Bable and I recognise that I don't speak it and, truthfully, I didn't dare to. I can introduce (into my speech) two or three phrases, but I never went beyond speaking what in Gijón we call *Playu* [*Beach Bable*]^{40 t}

An expansion in the domains of usage of oral Bable has been a goal of language promotion programs. One domain where there has been some increased usage is the religious. José Antonio Martínez García noted that a local curate conducted a funeral mass in Gijón in 1995 in *bable espontaneo* [*spontaneous Bable*]. Of the top three

³⁹ A M Cano, *Evolución Lingüística interna del Asturiano* in *La Llingua Asturiana*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1995, page 37.

⁴⁰ LNE 13.07.95

^t *tengo mucho respeto al bable y reconozco que no lo hablo y, sinceramente, no me atreveré. Puede introducir dos o tres frases, pero nunca pasé de hablar eso que en Gijón llamamos playu.*

population centres in Asturias, Bable has achieved its strongest following in Gijón. Of note in this particular episode identified by Martínez was that it occurred in a *barrio* [district] where many *mineros viejos viven* [old miners live].⁴¹

Further attesting to the potential for community use of Bable in matters religious, this time in a town in the Bable Occidental region, Tineu, a parish priest stated:

Many times I was imagining myself surrounded by people pronouncing the sacrament in a language [*na tchuinga* – a Bable occidental variant of *llingua*] I learnt as a child.⁴² †

7.4.2 Personal documents

Whilst the sociolinguistic survey of Llera Ramo and other surveys identified that the level of written Bable has not been high amongst the general population, and whilst there was until the 1980s some discouragement of the use of Bable in writing, there is nevertheless evidence that there had been some written use by the general population from the earliest times. The earliest extant evidence of documentation written by ordinary citizens as part of day to day activity dated from the thirteenth century and was found in the Cathedral of Oviedo.

This documentation dealt with a wide range of topics by way of testaments, complaints and pleas lodged with either lay or clerical authorities. They were either written directly by the principals or by notaries public on their behalf. Transcripts of 131 of these documents, written over the period 1240 to 1300AD, have been reprinted by the

⁴¹ Interview notes José Antonio Martínez García 1995.

⁴² LNE 16.9.97

† *Muches veces imaxinábame arrodíeu de la mio xente prenunciando la consagración na tchuinga que apriendí de ninu.*

Academia de la Llingua Asturiana.⁴³ The documents, written in an antique form of Bable, heavily mixed with late Latin forms, bear much closer links to modern Bable than they do to modern Castilian. The following excerpt from the opening paragraph of a testament written 24 July 1240 AD is indicative (some particular words connected more to current Bable usage than Castilian have been highlighted):

In nomine domini amen hio donna Benayta con fillos mios Nomnados Pedro boniellas ye Maria dominguiz fazemos Carta de uendicion auos Gonzaluo pedriz ye auostra mullier Marinna guillelmiz de toda la nostra parte dela casa que foe de Don Domingo de quila ouiemos nos ye esta enna Rua de sancto ysidoro ...⁴⁴

Rafael Lapesa noted that over the century and a half following the dates of original authorship of this collection notarial use of Bable declined as a result of the *castellanización del lenguaje notarial* [*castilianising of notarial language*].⁴⁵ Lapesa commented that this process occurred over the period 1270-1487 since:

The Asturian of the notaries ... didn't resist the pushing Castilian flood, supported by the example of the Royal Chancellery, of the *Partidas* and of the later juridic orders. As the form of the written language separated from the spoken, conventional Asturian succumbed in the face of Castilian, that already in the last centuries of the Middle Ages was the vehicle of richer and more ample communication.⁴⁶ †

7.4.3 Song & music

Today there are three strands of music in the region of Asturias – two traditional and one modern. The two traditional strands are firstly the largely conservative grouping of *tonada* singers and *bandas de gaitas* [*bagpipe bands*], and secondly the folk groups

⁴³ M Tuero Morís (ed), *Documentación de La Catedral d'Uviéu (Sieglu XIII)*, op.cit..

⁴⁴ Op.cit., page 11.

⁴⁵ R Lapesa, *Tendencias en la normalización del asturiano medieval*, in *Estudios y Trabajos del Seminariu de la llingua asturiana*, University of Oviedo, 1979, page 26.

⁴⁶ Op.cit, pp 45-46.

† *El asturiano de los notarios ... no resistió la pujante influencia castellana, apoyada por el ejemplo de la cancillería real, de la Partidas y de los ordenamientos jurídicos posteriores. Como forma de lenguaje escrito apartada del hablado, el asturiano convencional sucumbió ante el*

made up of younger people who are generally more progressive. The modern strand (including rock, pop-rock and agro-pop) has sometimes been labelled *Xixón Sound* but in fact consists of groups from all over Asturias albeit that Gijón has been something of the strand's Nashville.

The general tradition of conservatism in the music of the bagpipe bands and the songs of the tonada singers is attested in the nostalgic and rural themes of such pieces as the prize winning *Vite baxar el monte* [*I saw you go down the mountain*]. That is not to say there has never been any hint of the radical amongst such music and song, but rather to indicate their tendencies. However, by way of exception to the rule, the cultural group *Xana*, in 1997 released as part of their series *Cantos y bailes d'Asturies* [*Songs and dances of Asturias*] a CD entitled *El son nos cantares de la Revolución d'Ochobre '34* [*The sound in the songs of the Revolution of October '34*].⁴⁷

The movement known as *Xixón Sound* has included groups such as *Australian Blonde*, *Kactus jack*, *Manta Ray*, *Yellow Finn*, *Eliminator Junior* and *Penelope Trip*. Despite the use of English language names and the fact that they are bands (producing *noise pop*) rather than vocalists, these groups have identified themselves with resurgent Asturian culture. Ramón Lluís Bande, author (in Bable) of the book *Xixón Sound*, wrote that these bands were:

... the greatest exponents of the music of the nineties. And it must be emphasised that it deals with a genuinely Asturian cultural movement.⁴⁸ ^t

castellano, que ya en los últimos siglos de la Edad Media era vehículo de comunicación más rica y amplia.

⁴⁷ LNE 14/3/97

⁴⁸ LNE 11.08.95

^t *Son los máximos exponentes de la música de los 90. Y hay que resaltar que se trata de un movimiento cultural genuinamente asturiano.*

The linguistic radicalism, in support of Bable, of many folk groups and modern rock groups is attested by the participation of the most notable of them in such activities as *Conciertu pola oficialidá 1997* [*Concert for Officiality 1997*]. In that concert five *sones llariegos* [*sounds of the hearth* – more traditional folk music] and two *folk-rock* groups played in support of officiality for Bable.⁴⁹ At the same time a music CD, *L'asturianu muevese* [*Asturian – move yourself*], was released in support of officiality. Sixteen non-Asturian groups (five Basque, five Galician, two Catalan, one Aragonese and three from Castille) joined three Asturian groups (*Anarquía Positiva* [*Positive Anarchy*], *Avientu* [*December, literally the windy (time)*] and *Toli Morilla* [meaning uncertain]) on the disc; all groups, both from within and without Asturias sang their pieces in Bable.⁵⁰

This radical tradition called *Nueu Canciu Astur* [*New Asturian Song*] has drawn strength and character from the *Nova Canço* [*New Song*] movement of Catalunya and Valencia in the nineteen sixties and seventies. Jesús Ordovás wrote of that movement:

But despite harrassment from the Francoist régime, the movement was a great success. The Catalan *Nova Canço* became so popular that it spilled over to the rest of Spain. However it was precisely this success that prompted the initial group *Els Setze Jutges* [*the Sixteen Judges*] to split up and caused a rift among the Catalonian singers. Some did not want to sing unless it was in Catalan whereas others, such as Serrat, who did not mind singing in Castilian Spanish, reaped one success after another. But in the end principles won out and so, when he was told that the chance to represent Spain in the 1968 *Eurovision Song Contest* was conditional upon his singing in Castilian Spanish, Serrat refused, despite the fact that when he wanted to, he was quite happy to sing in that tongue.⁵¹

⁴⁹ LNE 28/7/97

⁵⁰ LNE 22/5/97

⁵¹ J Ordovás, *Pop Music in Antonio Ramos Gascón* (ed), *Spain Today: In Search of Modernity – Society & Culture*, Ediciones Cátedra, Madrid, 1991, page 458.

A key song in the Catalan movement had been the 1963 song of Raimón's *Diguem No* [*We say no*], this title had an echo in the 1997 release *Tamos fartos* [*We are fed up*] (released by the Asturian group *Lliberdón* in 1997).⁵²

Taking Bable to young people has also meant taking it to where they have congregated, according to Xulio 'Xune' Elipe Raposo, a singer with the first of the Asturian rock groups, *Dixebra*:

It is important that the young hear in bars and discotheques music in Asturian. It is a great step for normalisation.⁵³ †

The need to be where young people were resulted in an innovating impulse to Bable music and song evolving from the folkloric a new genre *folk-rock*. In the words of Chús Pedro Suárez, a singer from another group, *Nuberu*, commenting on adaptations to the music played by that most Asturian of instruments, the *gaita*:

The youth prefer the discotheque, and there is a lack of renovation in this type of traditional music which is so ours. We wanted to innovate (gaita music), and that was seen very badly. The young people have to be included in this movement and involve themselves in Asturian in whatever form.⁵⁴ †

The result of such innovation has not left traditional music untouched. In 1997 an established *banda de gaitas* - *Avante Cuideiru* - included pop and *bakalao* [*techno music*] in the CD it released that year.⁵⁵ A parallel development has been the creation of

⁵² LNE 5/3/97

⁵³ LNE 24/5/97

† *Es importante que los jóvenes escuchen en bares y discotecas música en asturiano. Es un gran paso para la normalización.*

⁵⁴ LNE 17/7/95

† *Los jóvenes prefieren la discoteca, y hay una falta de renovación en este tipo de música tradicional tan nuestra. Queríamos innovar, y eso fue muy mal visto. La gente joven se tiene que incluir en este movimiento e implicarse en lo asturiano de cualquier forma.*

⁵⁵ LNE 28/7/97.

the electronic gaita in 1997 by José Angel Hevia from Villaviciosa who said that the possibilities for the electronic gaita are centred principally in works of composition.^{56 t}

Such ‘modernising’ of the *gaita* has faced a reaction from traditionalists. One correspondent to the editor opined:

I am in accord that it is difficult to know how to lose (a tradition), but who knows that it is much more difficult to know how to keep it with elegance.^{57 t}

The surge in interest in Bable by rock groups still, however, only represents only a trend which has to compete with the high utilisation rate of English in Spanish rock music generally. Julio Antidio, of the group *AC Soul*, noted in 1996:

Traditions are being lost, because the majority of the groups sing in English; there will have to be a promotion of Asturian.^{58 t}

A theme echoed by Raimundo García, of the rock band *La Hora Bruja* [*The Witch hour*]:

I don’t understand that people would do lyrics in English, because it is not possible to express oneself in a language which is not your own like your birth language. In which case, it would be sung in Bable.^{59 t}

There has been some translation of English-language songs such as the Rolling Stones’ *I can’t get no Satisfaction* translated by Ana Relio Muñiz [*(Nun soitener) satisfacción*].⁶⁰

⁵⁶ LNE 16/6/97

^t *las posibilidades de la gaita electrónica se centran principalmente en trabajos de composición.*

⁵⁷ L240/100.

^t *Estoy de acuerdo en que es difícil saber perder, pero cualquiera sabe que es much más difícil saber ganar con elegancia.*

⁵⁸ LNE 15/8/96

^t *se están perdiendo tradiciones, porque la mayoría de los grupos cantan en inglés; habría que fomentar el asturiano..*

⁵⁹ LNE 18/5/97

^t *No entiendo que la gente haga letras en inglés, porque no es posible expresarse en una lengua que no es la tuya como en la lengua natal. En todo caso, se cante en bable.*

⁶⁰ LNE 22.7.95.

The role and consequence of government subsidies in publishing is a theme dealt with in the next chapter; but they have also played a role in Asturian music. With respect to this category of subsidy, Xulio 'Xune' Elipe Rapaso (who also founded the label *L'Aguañaz* [*Yesteryear*]) posed the 'time and place' issues involved in whether or not there should be subsidies:

When *L'Aguañaz* was born, we held one thing very clear: we were not against subsidies, but we wanted to demonstrate that a label could work without them. Until now we have never released a disc with public aid, so that it could be shown that we are an enterprise which functions. In the future, yes, we are planning to seek some support to take projects forward ... music is very important for linguistic normalisation to advance among the youth.^{61 t}

In other words subsidies were seen as a negative in the first phase of establishment of a group, but as a positive in the phase of extension of its reach.

7.4.4 Poetry:

In Chapter 8 consideration is given to published poetry; in this section attention is only paid to the use of the poetic genre by individuals on such special occasions as fiestas and weddings. The interview notes for Marino indicated that he wrote and delivered such poems. Indeed he gave me some examples of his work.

This tradition seems to have been strong all over the region for many centuries. José Luis Pensado Tomé reported that in recent decades there have been rediscovered in the

⁶¹ Interview with *Les Noticias – periódicu selmanal de la nueva Asturias* [*The News – weekly of the new Asturias*] 20/2/98

^t *Cuando nació 'L'Aguañaz' tenemos una cosa mui clara: nun tábemos en contra de les subvenciones, pero queremos demostrar que'l sellu funcionaria ensin falta d'elles. Hasta esti momentu nun saquemos nengún discu con ayuda pública, lo que demuestra que somos una empresa que funciona. Nel futuru sí que nos vamos plantear pidir dalguna subvención pa sacar proyectos alantre ... La música ye mui importante pa que la normalización llingüística avance ente la mocedá.*

archives of a Scottish library, examples of *villancicos* [*carols* or *sung poems*] delivered at festivals in Asturias in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁶²

In some instances, this tradition of delivered poems has continued on after the daily use of Bable has disappeared, such as the *pregones* [*orations*] at the Amuravela in Cudillero and the Fiesta de San Mateo in Oviedo. In such cases, Bable words and phrases (or *Pixuato* in the case of the former) may still appear, but the overwhelming texts are now in Castilian.

7.4.5 Sayings & Humour

Refranes [*sayings*] have been a means of preserving vestiges of Bable amongst that section of the population which has otherwise by and large abandoned use of the language for most communication purposes. There is a very large corpus of such sayings as revealed in a 1977 publication by IDEA (*Refranero Asturiano*) which had over 250 pages of *refranes*.⁶³ The research detailed in Chapters 13-15 reveals the use of such sayings by a wide cross section of Asturians.

The character of most popular sayings is in the manner of truisms, mythological references, symmetrically neat phrases, or sayings of unknown origin. Some examples encountered were:

- *llobu a llobu nun se come* [*A wolf isn't eaten by a wolf*]
(L264/152)
- *Andái de día que nueche ye mía* [literally *You can walk by day, the night is mine*]. The significance being that the night is the property of the *Güestia* [*the procession of lost souls*].⁶⁴
- *El que fia nun ta y el que ta nun fia* [*he who trusts is not here, and he who doesn't is*]. (a sign observed in a *chigre* [bar] in Campiellos).

⁶² J L Pensado Tomé, *El asturiano en el siglo XVIII: los villancicos*, LLAA 30, page 173.

⁶³ L Castañón, *Refranero asturiano*, IDEA, Oviedo, 1977.

⁶⁴ XX Sánchez Vicente & J Cañelo Valle, *Mitología Refraneru Asturianu*, I Norte, Gijón, 1986(?), p. 59.

- Unknown origin – *Perdiste un veranu* [literally: *You lost a summer*]. The significance being that the addressee is somewhat deranged. (interviewee Ceferino).
- *Onde dixó la fame equí m'estaré* [*where hunger speaks here I will be found*] (interviewee Angel)
- *El tiu naide de sobrescobiu colgau de ninyuri* [*Uncle nobody from Sobrescobiu hangs around nowhere*] (interviewee Angel).

Many sayings are humorous, and it is obvious that much use of Bable is related to the comic. One interviewee, Ceferino Sánchez, noted that many Asturians only used Bable in jokes; a theme echoed by Fulgencio Argüelles, a columnist for LNE who, in an article entitled *La mio llingua* [*my language*] quoted an older person from his youth saying that he used Bable:

When I am joking I speak in our language.^{65 t}

This selective use of the language may well now be anchored in a diglossic context; but it might be that originally the ‘music’ of the language made it more apt for comic discourse than Castilian. Ludovino Díaz González (aka *Pin de la Cotoya*), a *monologuista*, in answer to a question as to whether Asturian humor had its own characteristics, replied:

Of course the language is peculiar, though I don’t usually use a perfect Asturian, but that which is spoken by the people. That makes its comprehension difficult beyond the borders of Asturians, (except) in the Asturian centers.^{66 t}

⁶⁵ LNE 2.10.97.

^t *cuandu ta chispa fala na so llingua.*

⁶⁶ LNE 16.08.97.

^t *Desde luego el lenguaje es peculiar, aunque no suelo emplear un asturiano perfecto, sino como habla la gente. Eso dificulta la comprensión fuera de Asturias, a no ser en centros asturianos.*

7.4.6 NICKNAMES

There are two types of nicknames [*ñomatus* {C: *nomatos*}] in common use in Asturias. The first is the abbreviation of formal names as happens in any language; thus *Franciso* becomes *Pachu* (if the Bable version is used) or *Paco* (if it is in Castilian). The second is the addition of descriptors after the first name. The descriptors can either reflect a perception of the individual or be a marker of place.

The extensive use of descriptor-adding nicknames has been identified as characteristically Asturian. Sara Gutiérrez Rodríguez⁶⁷ studied the incidence of nicknames in the town of Noreña, to the east of Oviedo. She identified three broad types of nickname, with the third category having two sub-types. The categories identified were (with examples and translations in brackets):

1. Proper name + article + noun (Gloria la xarra – Gloria the tankard)
2. Proper name + article + adjective (Perfeutón el llocu – Perfeutón the crazy)
3. (a) Proper name + article + preposition + name (Benina la de sabina prudencia – Benina, she of the sabine wisdom)
(b) Proper name + article + preposition + article + name (Pin el de les pites – Pin, he of the chickens)

In the Asturian context such descriptor nicknames are often used to define identity and place. As Gutiérrez noted, such nicknames:

have the function of making for a greater individualisation.^{68 t}

In doing so, and taking her own example of Gloria la xarra, she further noted:

There could be other Glorias in the locale (but) it is impossible to encounter another Gloria the tankard.^{69 t}

⁶⁷ S Gutiérrez Rodríguez, *Nomatos en Noreña*, LLA 58, 1996, pp 35-43.

⁶⁸ Op.cit., page 35.

^t *Tien la función de facer una individualización mayor*

⁶⁹ Op.cit., page 35.

^t *Pue haber varies 'glories' nel llugar ... ye imposible atopar otre gloria la xarra*

But they also may have the purpose of communicating opinion about the person. James Fernández McClintock provided the example of possible multiple meanings to the name *Fulana la molinera* [*Fulana the millerwoman*] indicating six possible meanings:

Fulana is a millerwoman

Fulana is a crook who cheats her innocent neighbours

Fulana is a loose-liver who takes pleasure in letting her clients mill

Fulana is a demanding administrator who treats mechanically in her social relations

Fulana is a slow moving person who oppresses and wears down everyone else in her social circle

Fulana is a superficial person who doesn't see any big picture.^{70 t}

Fernández McClintock noted that the actual meaning intended is *siempre determinada por el contexto* [*always determined by context*].⁷¹ His more significant conclusions from this essay and others in the volume are that:

- (There is) the constant necessity in human life of filling lexical holes and in doing this fill not only structurally but also to revitalize our experience^{72 t}
- The metaphoric system in Bable-Asturiano is different from Castilian.^{73 t}

His conclusions led him to state Bable has, through *metaforas vivas* [*living metaphors*] the capacity to be a living, changing language (further discussed in Chapter 10).

⁷⁰ J Fernández McClintock, *Campos léxicos y vida cultural n'Asturies*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1996 p78

^t *Fulana es una molinera/ Fulana es una tramposa que engaña a sus inocentes vecinos/ Fulana es una libertina que se complace en permitir a sus clients moler/ Fulana es una administradora exigente que trata mecánicamente a sus relaciones sociales/ Fulana es una pesada que oprime y desgasta a los demás en su contorno social/ Fulana es una nominalista que no admite cualquier juicio global ...*

⁷¹ Op.cit. p 79

⁷² Idem.

^t *(hay) la necesidad constante en la vida humana de llenar huecos léxicos y en este llenar no solamente estructurar sino revitalizar nuestra experiencia.*

⁷³ J Fernández McClintock, *Campos léxicos y vida cultural n'Asturies*, op.cit. p 30.

^t *El sistema metafórica en Bable-Asturiano es diferente que en el castellano*

In the other type of nickname, that of abbreviated formal names, we see in the Australian context that they are often used as expressions of affection or camaraderie (even if sometimes the nicknames use irony in the process, eg *Bluey* for a redhead male). Doubtless in most cases it has been much the same in Asturias. However, what is notable about such nicknames in the region is that there is a higher incidence of Bable versions in place of Castilian versions than might otherwise be expected. Indeed it appears that many who normally would not use Bable in their everyday speech, nevertheless feel comfortable using Bable nicknames. Thus a *Francisco* living elsewhere in the peninsula would expect to be called *Paco*; while if he lived in Asturias he might more likely be called *Pachu*. In Chapter 15 there appears an analysis of the use of nicknames in Asturian obituary notices.

This phenomenon may be partly explained by the acceptance by many non-Bable speakers of the ‘home and hearth’ character of the village to which so many Asturians acknowledge roots. Bable nicknames evoke a comfortable past of the rural idyll.

However, Bable nicknaming may also have been a means by which some in earlier times circumvented the effects of restrictive legislation with regards to personal names. Article 54 of the *Ley de Registro Civil* [Law of the Civil Register] proscribed the use of non-Castilian forms of personal names for the purposes of official records. The Law of the Civil Register had originally been passed in 1957 and was repealed in 1977 by the passage of *Ley 17/1977* which stated in part:

The names can be assigned in any of the languages of Spain.^{74 t}

⁷⁴ BOE #7, 8.1.77.

^t *los nombres tendrán de consignarse en alguna de los lenguas españolas.*

Thus over the past twenty years the use of such Bable nicknames has not been found necessary with the civil register mostly accepting Bable personal names submitted.* Some Asturians have kept the Castilian version of their names and maintained the Bable versions for informal purposes. Others, born before 1977, formally changed their names (such as ALLA President, Xosé Lluís [erstwhile José Luis] García Arias, and PAS leader, Xuan Xosé [Juan José] Sánchez Vicente). The use of Bable personal names has been noted amongst those born since 1977 – vide the children’s letter analysed in Chapter 15 and the interview with Xosé Antón (in place of José Antonio).

The use of Bable abbreviations of personal names can be deemed to be an example of Bable interference into Castilian since it represents the use of Bable sound patterns when creating an abbreviated form of a person’s name. Thus the name *José María* would be *Xosé María* in Bable. The Bable version would be pronounced ‘Chosay Maria’ which by a process of reduction becomes ‘Ch’ay Maria’ and then ‘Ch’ay Ma’ which is transcribed *Chema*. Though clearly a reduction of the Bable version of the original name, *Chema* is frequently used in areas where Bable is not normally spoken (such as the capital Oviedo) as the nickname for those who would write and pronounce their full name in the Castilian way – namely *José María*.

A similar phenomenon frequently occurs with *Jesús* (especially in the female variant, *María Jesús*) which in Bable is *Xesús* (pronounced ‘Chaysus’) and follows a reduction path of ‘Chaysus’ to ‘Ch’us’ being transcribed as *Chús*. Likewise *Chesulín* also from *Jesús* but with incorporation of the diminutive *-ín*.

* However the publication LLAA 12, 1984, noted the case of eleven month old Marcos Xabel Iglesias Oubiaña of Langreo, where the local registry office refused to accept the name *Xabel* entering the name

Among formal names, the possibility of an early Bable influence seems limited to two instances. The first - *Fernández* - which, though it exists elsewhere in Spain, is proportionately more common in Asturias versus its more Castilian variant - *Hernández*. The second is *Fidalgo* (the surname of the writer of L143/114) which derives from *Fiu d'algo* [*son of someone*] and is proportionately more common in the region than elsewhere; the more Castilian variant - *Hidalgo* - has a similar etymological origin - *Hijo de algo*.

7.4.7 Diminutives in Asturias

Jacques de Bruyne noted that *-ín* is a diminutive suffix typical of Asturias and *-uco* of Santander.⁷⁵ However, as noted by Vallin Martínez and Fernández Moreno, the latter is also a feature of Bable Oriental while the former is typical of all varieties of Bable:

And what can we say of the diminutives in *ín, ina* that we lavish so much and so softly it seems like a caress? And of the other type of diminutives in *ucu, uca* We also use them frequently, but with respect to these in the full sense of being distinct from the ordinary, employing them for the common, though not always, in a sense more or less depreciative.^{76 †}

Diminutives clearly carry a strong sense of endearment, but in Asturias they also seem to double as markers of identity and place. Jovellanos, ardent Spanish patriot, but also lover of his region, after suffering the vicissitudes of the Napoleonic Wars, sought nothing more in 1811 than his *llugarín del alma* [*the little place of (his) soul*], Gijón, then only a town of 5000 inhabitants.⁷⁷ Of similar spirit, in 1881 in Madrid and 1886 in Havana, expatriate Asturians established *Centros de Asturianos* [*Centres of the*

Javier instead into the records.

⁷⁵ J de Bruyne, *A comprehensive Spanish grammar*, op.cit Page 631.

⁷⁶ V Vallin Martínez and G Fernández Moreno, *Villaviciosa y su progreso*, op.cit., page 185.

† *Y ¿qué diremos del diminutivo en ín, ina, que de tal modo prodigamos y tan suave que semeja una caricia? De otra especie de diminutivo en ucu, uca ... nos valemos también frecuentemente, pero con respecto a éste en sentido harto distinto de ordinario, empléndolo por lo común, aunque no siempre, en uno más o menos despectivo.*

⁷⁷ F Canella y Secádes, *Historia de la Universidad de Oviedo*, op. cit., page 344.

Asturians] which would later be followed by a proliferation of such centres all of which *llevan el nombre de la 'tierrina'* [carry the name of the little land].⁷⁸

7.4.8 Graffiti

The language of ideological graffiti has very often been in or included Bable names, words or phrases. Two examples are contained in Photo 7.3.

Photo 7.3: Ideological graffiti



Translation: Freedom – Draft resisters - Prisoners



Translation: *El Raposu* is a terrorist, rural action group which demands its rights over the streets.

⁷⁸ Op.cit, page 599

7.5 OFFICIAL & COMMERCIAL

In this section is considered only the direct communication between individuals and official or commercial entities. Other forms of communication (such as policy statements, official documentation and advertisements) are considered in Chapter 8.

In the absence of formal directives by such entities, the episodic nature of such communication can only be identified anecdotally and by survey of individuals.

Regarding the anecdotal evidence, some examples which arose during the investigations for this thesis were:

- Wedding service conducted in Bable: it was reported that the mayor of the industrial town of Corvera conducted the first recorded instance in recent times of a wedding entirely in Bable. *Se enfundó el traje típico regional [dressed in a typical regional suit]* the mayor had changed from his normal suit in which he had conducted other wedding services on that day. The groom was the regional director of the Office of Linguistic Policy and had wanted to use the wedding as an *ejemplo de promoción del asturiano [example of the promotion of Asturian]*.⁷⁹
- Thesis presentation: some years previously (in 1988), the first doctoral thesis had been presented in Bable by Ramón d'Andrés. Newspaper reportage at the time indicated that the matter had been controversial with one academic withdrawing from the academic panel once he had discovered the intent of the scholar to deliver in Bable.⁸⁰
- A correspondent to the editor noted that his use of Bable at a medical centre resulted in him being called a *paisanín*. He noted with irony that the duty manager was away taking part in *Día del bollu* festivities. He offered to share his story with any *payaso [clown]* who wanted it.⁸¹

In addition, a report on the web-site *Euromosaic* indicated that in Xixón/Gijón texts received from individuals which have been written in Bable received responses in that same tongue; while at the regional level police would reply in Bable to informal

⁷⁹ LNE 4.6.95

⁸⁰ LNE 12.10.88

⁸¹ L341/188.

questions.⁸² There have also been reports of some local councils introducing courses for their staff to enable them to respond in this way to Bable-speaking contacts.

Concerning commercial establishments, only two indicators were encountered:

- the use of the Bable word *Pesllao* {C: *cerrado*} [*closed*] observed on a number of store fronts in the Bable Occidental zone, particularly Lluarca. This would seem to suggest that the shopkeepers (when open) would communicate with Bable speakers in that language.
- A sign displayed on a *chigre* in the *Casco Antiguo* [*Old Town*] of Oviedo advertising Bable singing at the bar every Friday night. This sign did not appear during the tourists months of July and August.

As to survey information, Llera Ramos asked respondents to indicate which language they preferred to use in various contexts. Table 7.12 summarises some of his statistical information and Graph 7.1 plots it.

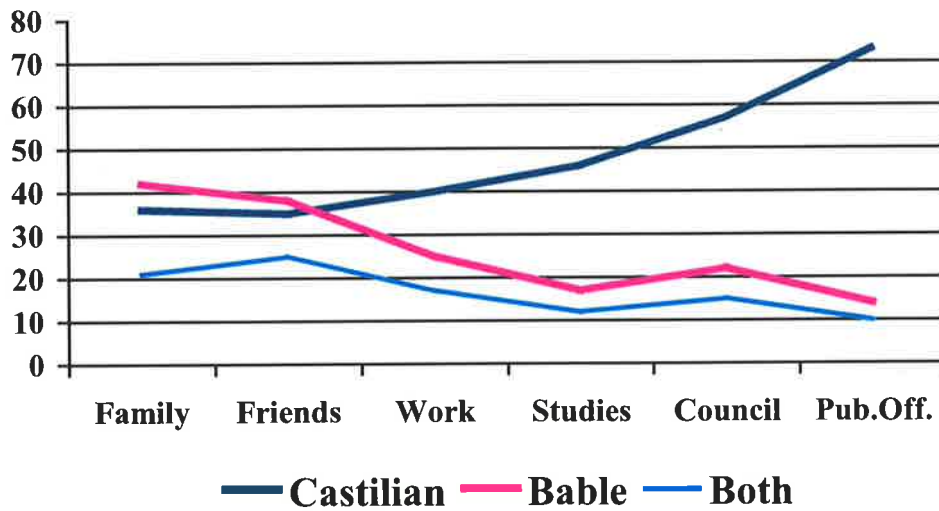
Table 7.12: Language use by domain⁸³

	CASTILIAN	BABLE	BOTH
FAMILY	36	42	21
FRIENDS	35	38	25
WORK	40	25	17
STUDIES	46	17	12
COUNCIL	57	22	15
PUBLIC OFFICES	73	14	10

⁸² www.uoc.es/euromosaic/web/document/asturia/an/i1/i1.html

⁸³ F J Llera Ramos, *Los Asturianos y la lengua asturiana*, op.cit. page 83.

Graph 7.1: Language use by domain



The clear indication of the graph is that the less familiar the listener, the more likely the speaker was to use Castilian in preference to Bable.

Further information in the survey found that Bable (or Asturian as he used in the survey) would never be used by more than 50% of people surveyed in dealing with the Council, Regional Government, Social Security, the regional administration, health services, local police, banks or the post office.⁸⁴

The next chapter examines the literary, media and other means of communication which have utilised Bable.

⁸⁴ Op.cit. page 87.

PART B – BABLE

CHAPTER EIGHT – LITERARY, MEDIA & OTHER USES OF BABLE

Overview

In this section the usage of Bable in literature as well as in the media and official sources is considered. The general premise is that such usage has on the one hand been more extensive than generally appreciated, yet on the other is still very marginal in comparison with Castilian output available in the region.

The analysis of literature includes treatment of both literary movements or epochs as well some summarizing of genres in which Bable has been used as the medium of communication. As is often the case with marginalized languages, folklore and poetry have been dominant for much of the publishing history of the language. Xosé Bolado García wrote:

The lack of a cultural focus, or foci, in the Asturian language that would favour the formation of socially illustrious sectors, brought with it necessarily the hegemony of the popular over the cultivated, of the oral over the written, to the point that the written literature was itself ... imbued with the forms and resources of oral narrative.¹

As a result, every genre of usage as well as every domain may contain its own internal limitations which might restrict the potential of a language to survive in the long term. If the interest of the audience in the folkloric wanes and Bable as a language of

¹ X Bolado García, *Literatura contemporánea en 'llingua' asturiana*, H de A IV, op.cit., p 734.

¹ *la falta de un foco cultural, o focos, en lengua asturiana que favoreciese la formación de sectores sociales ilustrados, conllevaban necesariamente la hegemonía de lo popular sobre lo culto, de lo oral sobre lo escrito, hasta el punto de que la misma literatura escrita estaba ... imbuida de las formas y recursos de la narratividad oral.*

communication has not achieved acceptance as a vehicle for other themes, its genre usage will be marginalised whilst its domains shrink.

In fact, however, the situation with respect to genres has changed over the past two decades. This chapter reports both on the past and current patterns of Bable usage (in whole or in part) in different genres and different aspects of life.

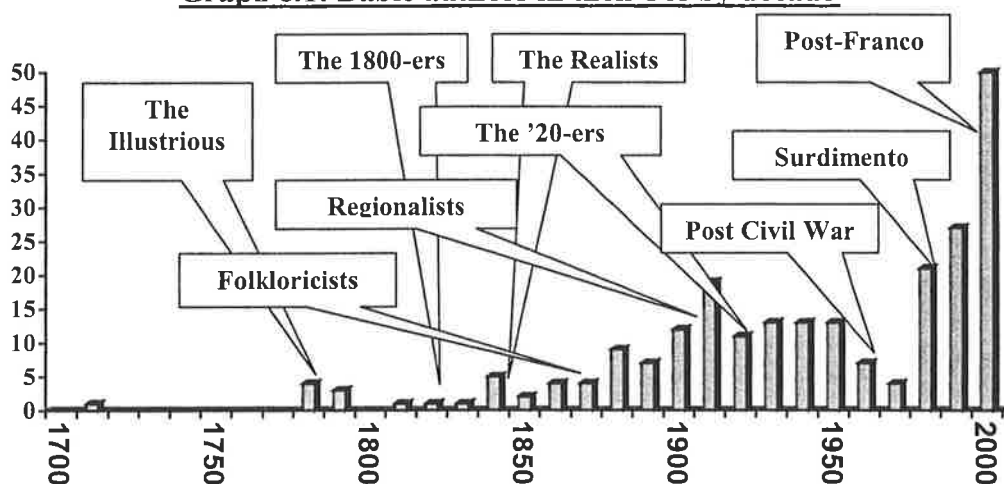
The Bable publishing sector is also dealt with; and in particular the issue of its financial viability and the question of subsidies is discussed.

In terms of output the use of Bable in mass media has been even more marginal than in literature in general; yet the readership of the former has been more extensive than the latter. This issue is also briefly commented upon.

8.1 STATISTICAL DATA ON BABLE WRITERS

Has Bable been a literary language? Has its literature been diverse (across genres) and widely published? Appendix B lists the known authors of Bable literature. A number of features become apparent from an analysis of the table contained in that appendix. Graph 8.1 indicates the number of Bable authors (including poets and dramatists) who reached their thirties in any particular decade. This age criterion has been used on the basis that in most cases the literary corpus of any Bable writer would have commenced by that age. The graph also indicates approximately the name given to different literary epochs of Bable literature. These epochs are dealt with later in this chapter.

Graph 8.1: Bable authors in their 30s by decade



A number of conclusions can be drawn from the graph:

- the trend line for the number of people writing in Bable has been one of an increasing number of writers.
- Within that trend line, there have been three notable periods above the trend line (the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the first decades of the twentieth, and the last quarter century) and one below (the Franco era).
- Notwithstanding the increasing nature of the trend line, the absolute number of Bable authors has been and remains small compared with the overall numbers of Castilian language writers.

Table 8.1 examines, by century, broad genres of literature from Bable authors. While

Table 8.2 analyses the same information over shorter time periods, since 1880.

Table 8.1: Literary genre by century of birth

C	#	Poetry only	Poetry & other	Total Poetry	Stories	Fiction	Total Narrative	Translations
C16	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
C17	3	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
C18	12	8	-	8	-	-	-	-
C19	91	46	19	65	15	2	17	3
C20	185	29	48	77	48	40	88	32

Table 8.2: Literary genre by birth over the past century and a quarter

Born	Poetry only	Poetry & other	Total Poetry	Stories	Fiction	Total Narrative	Translations
1880-1910	18	8	26	6	0	6	1
1911-1940	8	8	16	11	2	13	1
1941-1960	10	13	23	10	16	26	8
Post-1960	11	23	34	25	22	47	24

Amongst the observations from these tables has been a key one of the relative decline in the predominant role of poetry amongst Bable writers. The tables indicate the number of writers who were exclusively poets, or who were poets for part of their literary output and the number of writers who did not use poetry as a genre to express themselves. For this analysis *villancicos* [carols] and songs have been considered within the genre of poetry. The tables indicate that until the nineteenth century, this expanded sense of the poetry genre was the only one used by writers in Bable. From the late nineteenth century, writers using non-poetry genres have become more significant and finally became a majority in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Recognising that the writers born post-1940 were generally only commencing their output from the late sixties onwards, this conversion from a literature predominantly focussed on poetry to one with a majority expressing themselves through non-poetic genres coincides with the end of the Franco era.

A final table on those who produce Bable literature (Table 8.3) drawn from Appendix B indicates the gender of Bable writers over the period.

Table 8.3: Gender of Bable authors by century of birth

Century	Male	Female
Sixteenth	1	0
Seventeenth	3	0
Eighteenth	9	2
Nineteenth	87	4
Twentieth	154	31

This table underscores that, notwithstanding the particularly notable role of an earlier female Bable writer, Xosefina Xovellanos, women only became significant contributors to the corpus of Bable literature in the twentieth century; indeed (as the table in Appendix B shows) this increasing participation has really only occurred in the past quarter century.

8.2 LITERARY EPOCHS

Antón García, in his work *Lliteratura Asturiana nel tiempu*, categorised Bable literature in the following epochs:²

- ***La Ilustración Asturiana*** – The illustrious Asturians: pre-C19. Though few in number, this group of Bable activists arose at the time of rationalist and reformist thought coming to Asturias.
- ***Los Ochocentistes*** – The 800-ers. Despite their name, they actually wrote in the first part of the Nineteenth Century; a time when rural Asturias was finding itself cast into the forefront of the encounter with European liberalism.
- ***El Realismu*** – The Realists. Wrote in the mid nineteenth century, influenced by the economic and social stresses of a society that had come through the Napoleonic Wars, followed by the revolutionary impact of the 1840s-50s. They touched upon the real circumstance of their community.
- ***La Xeneración del Folklore*** – The Folkloric Generation. Wrote in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. At a time when the political and social

² A García, *Lliteratura Asturiana nel tiempu*, Principáu d'Asturies, Uviéu, 1994.

tensions of the decades before were aggravated by the coming of the mining boom, the rural idyll became a sanctuary for the Bable writer.

- *El Rexonalismu* – The Regionalists. Wrote in the first decades of the twentieth century. They have also been referred to as *Los Nuevos Bablistas* [*The New Bablists*].
- *La Xeneración de los Años Venti* – The Generation of the twenties.
- *La Xeneración de la Postguerra* – The Post-war generation.
- *El Surdimientu* – The Resurgence.

La Ilustración Asturiana – Though only a handful of writers composed this group, with lives spread over a longer period of time than successive epochs and with a very small corpus of work, the Illustrious became the first to provide positive affirmation to Bable as an element of Asturian identity. They recognised a changing world surrounding their beloved land and sought to identify new paradigms for their communal identity. Antón Balvidares Argüelles [1751-1792] was one such exponent; the following is an extract from one of his works, a dialogue – *Diálogu Polícu*.³

Bable	English
Xuan - Ñon me digues más, Toribu, En isi particular, La mercé, que tu me faes, Ye fia de l'amistá. ... Hai munchu vieyu per ciertu Y pocu particular, Vieyu y nuevu, como sea, Toribu, atiendi, Que va.	Xuan – Don't say anything more, Toribu, In that particular, The mercy, that you do to me, Is the daughter of friendship ... There is much that is old for sure And a little particular, Listen, Toribu, old and new, whatever, will happen.

Los Ochocentistes – Perhaps the most famous of this group was Xosé Caveda y Nava [1796-1882], publisher of the first book in Asturian (*Colección de poesías en dialecto*

³ Op.cit., page 42.

asturiano). His poem *La vida de l'aldea* married together the rural idyll with the global pressures that faced Spain in the Napoleonic era. The following is an extract:⁴

<u>Bable</u>	<u>English</u>
Y non dormia, y rodiadu de Señores	And I did not sleep, surrounded by gentlemen
Ande de romería en romería	I walked from procession to procession
Perdidu entre comides y entre amores;	Lost between meals and between loves;
Y cuando'l Rei lu llame y tiempu sía	And when the King called and time it would be
D'obedecer el son de los tambores,	To obey the sound of the tambourines,
Vaya armadu a la Guerra, y llarga vía	I would go armed to the war, and along the way
Tope nella a la fama y la riqueza	Reached the limit in fame and riches
Y volvia llevantada la cabeza.	And returned holding my head high.

El Realismu – After half a century of external and internal strife, Asturias at the mid-point of the nineteenth century was in a condition of considerable community stress. It would in the succeeding twenty years go through more, as Carlist reaction to modernism (as the perceived cause of the region's woes) rose up in rebellion. The Bable writers of this period sought to capture the plight of the people, as reflected in this extract from *Un ricu avarientu* a poem by Manuel Fernández de Castro [1834-1905], a bishop:⁵

<u>Bable</u>	<u>English</u>
Tien les tierres abondes	It has bountiful lands
Y armentíos y rentes;	And livestock and incomes;
Fuelga, xinta, ye ricu,	Time to spare and food is rich
Y nun pensa nes xentes	And none would think that these people
Que pasen fame y fríu	Go hungry and cold

⁴ Op.cit., page 53

⁵ Op.cit., page 79.

La Xeneración del Folklore – The incipient populism of the previous group became fused with community yearnings for a supposedly happier past as the nostalgia of Carlism became more influential. This led to the period of folkloricism in Bable literature (in my view the first of two such periods). This was the era of the idealised *Quintana* [farmstead]. The following extract from *Los Quintos de la Manxoya* of Perfecto Fernández Usatorre (Nolón) [1847-1911] reflected such themes:⁶

<u>Bable</u>	<u>English</u>
¿Qué va a ser, probe, de mi, si mio esperanza está muerta faltando de la Quintana Pachín, la meyor presencia Del llugar, a quien yo quiero Desque con fe verdadera Xuróme eternu cariñu Ena fonte La Llumera, Y vivo yo dende entoncies Suañando con so querencia?	What is going to become, poor one, of me If my hope is dead Lacking the farmstead Pachín, the best presence Of place, to her whom I want From a true faith I declare eternal affection In the fountain of La Llumera And live I from that moment Dreaming of its favourite spot.

El Rexonalismu – The generation of '98 is famous in Spanish literature generally; it was an angst-ridden group born of the loss of Cuba and the Philippines as a result of the 1898 war between Spain and the USA. For Asturias, somewhat later than had occurred in Catalonia and Galicia, it was also a time for the resurgence of regionalist sentiment. Constantino Cabal captured some of this in his piece *Cantu Asturias*, an extract of which appears below:⁷

<u>Bable</u>	<u>English</u>
La tierrina ye l'aldega Qu'esparrama por sos eros Con tenrura amorosiega El blancor de les casines y el golor de les manzanes, El ñalar de los xilgueros y el reyir de les	The little land is the village That throws up by its loves With tender affection The whiteness of its cottages and the smell of its apples, The wings of the songbird and the

⁶ Op.cit. page 90.

⁷ Op.cit., page 108.

mocines,
El bravén de los maizos, y el encantu de
les xanes,

laughter of its lasses,
The vigour of the corn, and the
enchantment of the *xanes*.

La Xeneración de los Años Venti – The poets of this group introduced themes of romanticism, with regionalist sentiment waning. The lack of recognition given at the national level to Asturias' regional aspirations and its vernacular in some key decisions in 1924, saw Bable writers lose ardour for the political and take comfort in the romantic. The following poem, *La paxarina*, by Valentín Andrés Álvarez is an example:⁸

Bable

Graciosa y pequeñina,
Más guapa qu'una xana
Taba siempre Rosina,
Como una paxarina,
Cantando na Quintana.

English

Delightful and tiny,
More beautiful than a *xana*
Rosina was always
Like a little bird
Singing in the farmstead.

La Xeneración de la Postguerra – Given their themes, this group could also be labelled the *Folkloricists II*. Though its folkloricism was more in the sense of the nostalgic than the emblematic or iconic. Xosé Benito Álvarez-Buylla wrote the following poem to the youth of Asturias - *Lletra de la Xuventú d'Asturies*:⁹

Bable

Y agora, que toa t'empines
Llamando a conceyu abiertu,
Agora, Asturias del suaño,
Nin t'alcuentro nin m'alcuentro

English

And now that all you stand your ground
Calling at the open town meeting,
Now, Asturias of dreams,
Neither do I find you nor do I find myself

⁸ Op.cit., page 122.

⁹ Op.cit., page 146.

El Surdimientu – The Asturian equivalent of the Basque *Eusko Pizkundea*, the Catalan *Renaixença*, and the Galician *Rexurdimento*, the Asturian *Surdimientu* has been described in some detail by Xuan Xosé Sánchez Vicente *Crónica del Surdimientu (1975-1990)*.¹⁰ He wrote of the movement:

From the start of 1974 there began to arise a literature completely distinct from that before, which we designate with the name Literature of the *Surdimientu* ... Now then what are the characteristics of that traditional literature to which this new one opposed itself? And in consequence what change or in what way did the *Surdimientu* differ? ... the new literature, the *Surdimientu*, goes to presuppose an absolute rupture with those characteristics of the former ... going to understand in a distinctive manner the value and role of language and culture in the daily life of Asturians. In a word, the new literature conforms with all the characteristics of Western national literatures, breaking with whatever limitation or inferiority complex.^{11 t}

In the brief anthology of some works of these writers which Sánchez Vicente included in his book were such works as *Atiendi Asturias* [*Attention Asturias*] by Manuel Asur – poem about Bable and being a people (*Un pueblu en sin acordanza nun tien futuru* [*a people without accord don't have a future*]).

Another work - *Enllaname de nuevo* [*Take me again to heights*] by María Teresa González – is a poem about the empowerment of literature. A piece of the latter is printed below:¹²

¹⁰ XX Sánchez Vicente, *Crónica del Surdimientu (1975-1990)*, Barnabooth Editores, Oviedo, 1991.

¹¹ Op. cit., pp 12-13.

^t ... a partir de 1974 comienza a gestarse una literatura, completamente distinta a la anterior, que designamos con el nombre de literatura del *Surdimientu* ... Ahora bien, ¿cuáles son las características de esa literatura tradicional a la que se opone la nueva?, y, en consecuencia, ¿qué cambia o en qué difiere la del *Surdimientu*? ... Pues bien, la nueva literatura, el *Surdimientu*, va a suponer una ruptura absoluta con esas características de lo antiguo, ... va a entender de forma distinta el valor y el papel de la lengua y la cultura en la vida cotidiana de los asturianos. En una palabra, la nueva literatura va a conformarse con todos los rasgos de cualquiera de las literaturas nacionales de los países de Occidente, rompiendo con cualquier limitación o complejo de inferioridad.

¹² Op.cit, pp 79 & 97.

Bable

Enllaname de Nuevo
de les filtrayes que'l carbon
dexa'n mios manes
Goler la tinta
enborrachame con ella.
Palpiar colos mios deos
l'argañosu papel.
Dexase soplexar
por esti torbellín d'idees
qu'entainen más que la pluma

English

Take me again to the heights
of the stains that the coal
leaves on my hands
Smell the ink
make me drunk with it
Feel with my fingers
the grained paper
Leave aside the criticism
for this little storm of ideas
that quickens more than the pen

To this listing of literary epochs I would add another - *The post-Francoists*. While this last group is literally made up of those who have commenced writing following the death of Franco, the title is also meant to indicate a degree of disconnection with all that went before, in the sense that *post-modernism* reflects the breaking of a sense of direct historical connectedness. The post-Francoists, unlike their immediate predecessors (those of the *Surdimientu*) have shown little inclination to choose as their topics themes of reaction to the history and context of the region. They have thus formed a school of writers who unselfconsciously find Bable a viable medium to express themselves on a wide range of topics. An example is the following extract from a poem by Xuan Bello - *Les Roses Nueves* :¹³

Bable

Mentes tomes del café
En Saint Martin in the Fields
Sentir la inmensa tristura
De la tierra.
Ya ye tardi
Y ye agosto y escurez despacio
La vida en Trafalgar Square.

English

While you took coffee
In Saint Martin in the Fields
Feeling an immense sadness
Of (our) land
Already it is afternoon
And it is August and space scarce
The life in Trafalgar Square

8.3 SOME NOTES ON SPECIFIC GENRES

8.3.1 Religious materials

The special status of religious materials in the eyes of the faithful has led both to opposition to the use of Bable in such materials and also to passionate defence of translation into the vernacular.

Giving his opinion as to the unsuitability of Bable for liturgical and other religious uses, Agustín Hevia Ballina, professor at the seminary of Oviedo, stated that:

Bable has been generated from the social layer of a very deep ruralism. A good part of the liturgical language that tries this stream of continuous metaphors of the rural world, (which) in large part express actions, attitudes or behaviours unique to animals, resulting in being completely inadequate for 'expressing the personal attitudes of humans in the face of the supernatural world'.¹⁴

He went on to contend that the vulgarity and prurience of the language was absolutely inadequate for a liturgical lexicon. Hevia Ballina also made two other points pertinent to a consideration of the debate on various linguistic and sociolinguistic issues related to Bable. The first was a deprecatory comment on some earlier religious material in Bable which he opined was probably *sin otra intencionalidad ... que meramente coleccionista* [without any other intention ... (than being) merely collection pieces].¹⁵

The second referred to the Bable versus bables debate:

A liturgical translation to normalised Bable, that distant thing which is offered to us as from a laboratory, instead of a collaboration with that which is

¹³ X Bello, *Les Roses Nueves*, in J A Cilleruelo (ed) *Nórdica: Última poesía en asturiano*, Universos/Libros del Peixe, Gijón, 1994.

¹⁴ LNE 8.3.88.

¹ *El bable se ha generado dentro de capas sociales de un acendrado ruralismo. Buena parte del lenguaje litúrgico que se pretende está rezumando de continuo metáforas del mundo rural, en buena parte para expresar acciones, actitudes o comportamientos propios de los animales, resultando completamente inadecuado para 'expresar actitudes personales del hombre ante el mundo sobrenatural'*

¹⁵ Idem.

culturally genuine of Asturias, would be an attempt against the peculiarities that have always made Asturias plural.^{16 t}

In the opposite camp, Federico G-Fierro Botas, priest and Bable activist, wrote:

Sociologically the most important (aspect) of the spiritual culture of a people is their language.^{17 t}

The reality has been that there has been a small amount of publishing of religious materials in Bable since the seventeenth century. In the early twentieth century the rate of publication of religious texts increased, but it was still small in overall terms. In marked contrast the period since the late 1980s has stood out in such publishing, with almost as many titles published in that decade as in all the previous three centuries. Regardless of the rate of publication of materials in Bable, overwhelmingly such works have been translations from another language rather than pieces written *ab initio* in the vernacular.

For many centuries the ordinary citizenry of Asturias received their religious edification not in the form of written texts (in whatever language) but as Brian Young has noted, from the *riches of its early medieval sculpture*. Young pointed to the particularly rich heritage of such sculpture in northern Spain which served:

... for centuries, the picture Bible of those who could not read – telling the stories, drawing the lessons, encouraging the steadfastness in bad times, and warning of judgement to come.¹⁸

¹⁶ Idem.

^t *una traducción litúrgica al bable normalizado, que nos ofrece distante y como de laboratorio, más que una colaboración a le genuine cultural de Asturias, sería casi un atentado contra las peculiaridades que siempre han hecho a Asturias plural.*

¹⁷ F G-Fierro Botas, *Presentación del catecismu Xesús ye'l Señor* in LLAA 72, 1999, page 170.

^t *Sociológicamente lo más importante de la cultura espiritual d'un pueblu ye la so llingua.*

¹⁸ B Young, *The Villein's Bible: Stories in Romanesque Carving*, op.cit., pp 9-10.

Current knowledge indicates that it was not until 1639 that the first piece of Bable literature on a religious theme appeared (indeed it is still recorded as being the first piece of Bable literature on any theme). This piece, not it should be noted a translation but rather an original work, was a poem written by a priest Antonio González Reguera [1605-1662]. The writer, also popularly known as Antón de Marirreguera, authored *Pleitu ente Uviéu y Merida pola posesión les cenices de Santolalla* [*Dispute between Uviéu and Merida for the possession of the ashes of Saint Eulalia*]; it was an entry to a poetry competition conducted at the time of the declaration of Saint Julian as patron saint of Oviedo. The work is recorded to have won *un de los primeros premios* [*one of the first prizes*]. There is no record of what proportion, if any, of the remaining entries were also written in Bable as opposed to Castilian. The success of this work did, however, indicate that the use of Bable was not considered by the judges to be an impediment.

Another early religious work in Bable, also a poem and also not a translation, was *La Judit: Poema Épico en Asturiano* [*Judith: Epic Poem in Asturian*] written in 1770 by Juan González Villar¹⁹. This six hundred and fifty line poem took the theme of the Book of Judith (from the Apocrypha).

It would be nearly another hundred years before the next work on religious themes would be published in Bable, this time a translation (as from then were almost all such works – except for essays and commentaries on religious themes in such publications as *Ixuxú*).

In 1861 a Bable version of the gospel of Saint Matthew was translated by Manuel Fernández de Castro (1834-1905), Rector of the Diocesan Seminary of Oviedo and a former Bishop of Mondoñedo in Galicia. Though the works themselves are now lost, according to records he also translated other religious works such as *Definición dogmática de la Inmaculada Concepción dela Santísima Virxen* [*Definition of dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the most holy Virgin*] and *Bula 'Ineffabilis Deus'* [*the Papal Bull of Pope Pius IX*].²⁰

There followed, in 1887, as part of a project commenced by the abbot of the Monastery of Lérins to translate the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55) into one hundred and fifty languages, a translation of that piece into the *lingua asturiana*.²¹

In 1916, a work of considerable utility to the Bable-speaking rural population was prepared by Luis García Suárez. His translation of the Catechisms, *Los artículos de la fe, explicación breve y sencilla de los mismos en bable* [*The Articles of the Faith, a brief and simple version in Bable*], was the first such religious manual for use in the exercise of the liturgy for those for whom Castilian was not the mother tongue.

Later, Fabriciano González García (also known as Fabricio) (1868-1950), a noted regionalist and Bablist of the early twentieth century, translated the *Stabat Mater Speciosa* into Bable.

¹⁹ J González Villar, *La Judit: Poema Épico en Asturiano*, 1770, first published in the compilation by Caveda y Nava. Reprinted as part of the ALLA *Llibrería Facsimilar* series, Oviedo, 1996.

²⁰ F G-Fierro Botas, *Obres completes de Manuel Fernández de Castro*, LLAA 66, 1996, page 206.

²¹ An article on this translation, F G-Fierro Botas, *El 'Magnificat' de 1887 n'asturianu nel contestu d'un llibru espublizáu n'150 llingues del mundu*, appears in LLAA 30, 1988, pages 197-201.

There then followed a period of decades when few religious works appear to have been published in Bable, with Lorenzo Novo Meir perhaps being the only person to have done such translations during the Franco years with his *L'Evanxeliu de San Marcos* [*The Gospel of Saint Mark*] and *La Santa Misa* [*The Holy Mass*].

The late 1980s brought about a resurgence in the translation of religious texts. In 1987, the Gospel of St John was translated into Bable by Telvino González.²² Then commenced a decade long burst of publication of religious texts in Bable. The impetus for which appears to have been the establishment of the movement *Collectiu Manuel Fernández de Castro*, under the leadership of a Jesuit priest, Federicu G-Fierro Botas. The movement, whose members were priests, used the slogan: *Dios tamién fala asturiano* [*God also talks in Asturian*].

A spate of such works appeared in the 1990s. A total of ten titles was issued over an eight year period including two biblical translations both under the auspices of the Bible Society (the 1991 translation of the Gospel of Luke²³ and the 1997 translation of the complete New Testament and Psalms). The Bible translations were not from Castilian language versions but from the original Aramaic, Greek or Hebrew.²⁴

The latter biblical work was translated as part of an ecumenically-supported project. The Asturian Ministry of Culture and the *Caxa d'Aforros d'Asturies* (the regional savings bank), along with the Catholic Archbishop of Oviedo, financially supported the project which was also endorsed by the *Asociación de Ministros de Cultu*

²² T González (tr), *Evanxeliu de San Xuan*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1987.

²³ F G-Fierro Botas et. Al (tr), *Evanxeliu de San Lluques (versión dende los orixinales griegos)*, Sociedá Bíblica, Madrid, 1991.

²⁴ LNE 22.03.95

Evanxélicu del Principáu d'Asturies [Association of Evangelical Ministers of the Principality of Asturias].²⁵

The publication surge of the 1990s also produced two versions of the Catechism – *Padre Nuesu: primer catecismu de la comunidá cristiana* [Our Father: first Catechism of the Christian Community] (1997) and *Xesús ye'l señor: segundu catecismu de la comunidá cristiana* [Jesus is Lord: second Catechism of the Christian community] (1998).

In 1995, on the occasion of the millenium celebrations of the Royal Monastery of San Pelayo, first established in Oviedo in 995AD, a special Bable-language edition of one thousand copies of the Rule of St Benedict was published jointly financed by the regional culture and education ministry and the monastery.²⁶

The production burst of the 1990s could be considered a delayed reaction to *Lumen Gentium* [The Light of the people] issued by the Second Vatican Council in 1961. Whatever the case, it is certain that some Asturian clerics and religious writers saw Bable as more than just a tool of communication.

The final word as to the rationale behind efforts to promote the use of Bable in religious matters could be summed up in the words of Federicu G-Fierro Botas, founder of the movement which inspired the comparative boom in Bable religious publishing and lead translator of the teams translating the gospels in the 1990s:

²⁵ F G-Fierro Botas et.al (tr) *Nuevu Testamentu y Salmos*, Sociedá Bíblica, Madrid, 1997.

²⁶ LNE 22.03.95

(It is) the way to make an Asturias more ours and a church which would be more 'of' Asturias and 'in' Asturias and not only 'for' Asturias.^{27 t}

Apart from translations, from 1861 the bulk of original material in Bable on religious themes came by way of commentary in publications. The most important appearing at the turn of the twentieth century. *IXUXÍ*, edited by Francisco González Prieto, was a conservative publication over the period 1901-02; it focussed on religious themes and promoted traditional social values. González Prieto (also known as Pachu'l Pérritu, Rufino Argüelles and Xuan de les Portielles) subtitled the publication *Viva la mió quintana* [Long live the farmstead of my upbringing].²⁸ A total of thirty eight issues were eventually produced (of which fifteen are extant).²⁹

8.3.2 Poetry

As indicated in the previous section, the earliest recorded work in Bable was a religious poem by Antonio González Reguera. Also mentioned was *La Judit: Poema Épico en Asturiano* by Juan González Villar. Interestingly, although he stated he had written the poem in Bable, the poet commented on the diverse linguistic richness of the region in his introduction:

Some voices discovered in this work were used in some counties but are not current in others.^{30 t}

In that same introduction, the poet also alluded to what must even then have been a debate about the origin and status of Bable:

²⁷ F G-Fierro Botas, *Testos llitúrxicos*, LLA 60, 1996, page 219.

^t *el camín de facer una Asturias más nuesa y una ilesia que seya más 'de' Asturias, y 'en' Asturias, y non sólo 'pa' Asturias.*

²⁸ The especial significance of the word *quintana* is discussed in Chapter 4 page 93.

²⁹ The fifteen extant issues reprinted by ALLA, Uviéu, 1993.

³⁰ Op.cit., page 37.

.... there could be concern that a story so sacred should have been put into a rude and ridiculous tongue, but it should be noted that the Asturian language does not merit this taunt, being the ancient Castilian language with some little variation in the dialect.^{31 t}

From that early start a comparatively significant body of Bable poetry has arisen. This is not atypical of a marginalized language; indeed consequences of such a dominance by poetry in other vernaculars have also been observed in Bable. For example, the themes of such poetry have, until recent decades, been much more restrictive than for Castilian poetry. Rural themes, the *costumbrista* [*of local customs and manners*] communicated in Bable would be more widely accepted than themes which may deal with psychological or sociological dimensions of modern life. As Jesús Neira, whilst acknowledging that it may have seemed *sorprendente* [*surprising*] that there has been a Bable literature, wrote:

Bable literature is, almost exclusively, verse and festive verse.^{32 t}

Xosefa de Xovellanos y Xove Ramírez (1752-1807), sister of Gaspar Melchior de Xovellanos, was also a noted early poet (according to records only the second female Bable poet). Her poetic works were generally in the form of panegyrics such as *Preparativos pa la proclamación de Carlos IV n'Uviéu* [*Preparation for the proclamation of Carlos IV in Oviedo*]. That this was her style provides evidence that the *pregon* [*oration or delivered poem*] of today and referred to in the previous chapter has a long ancestry.

^t *Algunas voces se hallarán en esta obra usadas en unos concejos que no son corrientes en otros.*

³¹ Ibid.

^t *Podrá alguno reparar en que una historia tan sagrada se ponga en lengua soez y ridícula, pero debe advertir que el idioma asturiano no puede merecer este dicterio, siendo el antiguo lenguaje castellano con alguna escasa variación en el dialecto.*

³² J Neira, *Bables y Castellano en Asturias*, op.cit, page 43.

^t *La literatura bable es, casi exclusivamente, verso, y verso festivo.*

Modern scholarship has celebrated the works of other nineteenth century Bable poets, such as Teodoro Cuesta (1829-1895) and Xuan María Acebal (1815-1895). However, until this recent scholastic focus, it should be noted that these two and other poets of the period had fallen into obscurity. Part of the reason, according to X L García Arias, had been because none had ever been comprehensively published in their time nor had, then or since, received critical consideration. These factors had limited both their contemporary and later audiences; their publishing outlets, periodicals of small circulation, had no wide readership at the time of authorship and have been *dificiles de encontrar* [difficult to find] since.³³

That Bable poetry has predominated in the delivered or oral tradition rather than the published or read has created its own tensions. Just as spoken speech seldom reads well in a literal transcription, so also it seems has there been a gap between delivered poetry and its capacity to be published.

Father Galo Antonio Fernández Fernández (Fernán Coronas) (1884-1939) has been considered by many to be *la máimportante figura literaria del sieglu XX asturiana* [the most important literary figure of the Asturian twentieth century].³⁴ He wrote hundreds of poems, a grammar and a dictionary; all of which remained unpublished until a 1984 publication.

A proposal to publish more poems in the 1990s, met with controversy that in essence focussed on the literary merit of Padre Galo. In 1994 IDEA (*Instituto de Estudios Asturianos*) refused to publish a book of poems written by the priest. This decision

³³ LNE 03.02.95

sparked an exchange, lasting four months, of letters to the editor between two protagonists who took opposing sides concerning the institute's decision. The protagonists were José Ignacio Gracia Noriega (who was also a columnist with LNE)³⁵ and Fernando Alvarez-Balbuena García.³⁶ The exchange expended a great deal of energy on personal invective, but in the midst of the vituperation were some insights as to perceptions of the Bable used by Padre Galo in his poems rejected for publication. Contrasting opinions as:

And I recommend to them (critics of Padre Galo) the reading of the poet of Cadavéu because I am convinced that, equal to the music which abounds at the fairs, the poetry and the beauty of the words could also, at times, rid of us of the bad smell ... (L018/119).^t

And

What value to recover this sweet poet who speaks to us, through the distance of so many years, with words that know our land and words that we guard with what we most want and that have the power to take us to the deepest regions of the heart. (L018/130).^t

Compared with the opposing view:

... because (the opponents of IDEA) are shown to be those who don't know how to read the language common to all Spaniards Padre Galo, I repeat it with all respect, is no Shakespeare. (L200/121)^t

And

... but they did not want to publish (the poems) because the words of Fernán Coronas were not adjusted to what linguists believe was the speech of Cadavedu. (L200/140)^t

³⁴ A García, *Lliteratura asturiana nel tiempus*, op.cit., page 117.

³⁵ L200/113,121,131,133 & 140

³⁶ L018/119,130,138 & 142

^t *Y recomiendo-yos la llectura del poeta de Cadavéu porque toi convencíu de que, igual que la música abonda les fieres, la poesía y la guapura de les palabres pueden tamién, a veces, quita-yos el fedor ...*

^t *Que valga para recobrar a esi poeta dulce que nos fala, después de tantos años, con palabres que saben a la tierra de los nuestros con eses palabres que guardamos colo que más queremos y que tienen el poder de lleganos a les rexones más fondes del corazón.*

^t *porque se demuestra que no sabe leer la lengua común de todos los españoles ... el P. Galo, lo repito con todo respeto, no es Shakespeare.*

^t *'peru nun quixen un publicá-lu porque las palabras de Fernán Coronas nuns'axustaban a lu que lus sous lingüistas cuntaban que year la fala de Cadavedu'.*

Gracia Noriega also referred to the *lapsus* in the works and the need for *se subsanasen los fallos* [*the mistakes to be rectified*] before they could be published.³⁷

8.3.3 Prose

Enriqueta González Rubín wrote what is considered the earliest novel in Bable. It was published in the periodical *El Faro Asturiano* [*The Asturian Lighthouse*]. With this exception, as noted in Section 8.2, Bable had seldom been the chosen medium for prose. Vicente García Oliva noted:

The same (as occurred with poetry) did not happen with the case of narrative in Asturian, and the only antecedents which can be found, came into being in the first years of the twentieth century with authors such as Pachín de Melas, Enriqueta Rubín and a few more.³⁸ †

The main Bable prose contribution had therefore until very recently been largely in the form of *cuéntus* [*tales*]. The period of the *Surdimiento* saw non-costumbrist fiction appear, but it would be the next group, the post-Franco generation who would make the first significant contribution to the volume of production and the breadth of topic.

The transition of themes was best symbolised by the 1993 novel *El Cuartu Negociu* by Ismael María González Arias published in 1993. The author said that he wrote this detective story based on events in Bosnia in:

³⁷ L200/131.

³⁸ V García Oliva, *Unes notes sol cuenu n'asturianu*, in *Primer Conceyu d'escritores d'Asturies*, op.cit., page 63.

† *nun sucede lo mesmo col casu de la narrativa n'asturianu, y que los únicos antecedentes que puen afayase, remontense a los primeros años del sieglu XX con autores comu Pachín de Melás, Enriqueta Rubín y dalgunos pocos más.*

... an attempt to introduce into contemporary Asturian narrative a certain type of action novel.³⁹ †

8.3.4 Theatre

There are two strands of performed speech in the Asturian literary tradition: theatre and *monologuismo* [monologues].

Asturian theatre in Bable is a somewhat problematic topic. While there is a Spanish dramatic tradition in Castilian which covers many genres, it appears that for most of the time there has been only one genre in Bable – a deprecatory, picaresque-style rural satire. Furthermore, it has most often been written in *llingua amestada* (Bable creolised or interfered with by Castilian) rather than a pure Bable (either one of the bables or the normalised version). José Bolado, in *Llingua y Teatro: Delles consideraciones so la nuesa hestoria teatral* [some considerations about our theatrical history], took up the point:

In actuality, commonly, Asturian theatre wants to speak in a creolised language and about stereotyped situations and characters of supposed popular demand. A theatre, very much separated from the other prestigious forms of theatre expressed in the Castilian language.⁴⁰ †

Bolado also stated that such theatre created a *mitoloxía* [mythology] about the rural idyll, only occasionally noting wider realities (such as emigration) and never dealing with major social impacts such as industrialisation or revolutionary themes. So much

³⁹ I M González Arias – comments on the dust jacket of *El quartu negociu*, dust jacket, Principáu d'Asturies, Uviéu, 1993.

† *intenta introducir dientru de la narrativa asturiana contemporánea un ciertu tipu de novela d'acción*

⁴⁰ J Bolado, *Llingua y Teatro: Delles consideraciones so la nuesa hestoria teatral*, in LLA 26, 1987, p 53.

† *Na atualidá, pal comúnmente, teatru asturianu quier dicir teatru nuna llingua amestada y so unes situaciones y personaxes esteriotipaos, de pretendíu calter popular. Un teatru, amás separáu dafechu de les otres formes teatrales de prestixu y espresaes en llingua castellana.*

so that he indicated that attitude to Asturian theatre in Bable is *diglósica* [*diglossic*] in that:

Theatre in the Asturian speech cannot be anything else than laughable, wooden clogs and peaked mountain cap.^{41 t}

The result of this being, in his opinion that there was the rise of an:

... inferiority complex towards the birthplace language and that world which it symbolises.^{42 t}

Notwithstanding this limited inheritance, the literary *Surdimientu* [*renaissance*] of Bable which commenced in the nineteen seventies has had some little effect on the world of theatre. A significant factor seems to have been the move from a reliance on nostalgic themes to a broader range of topics; the use of translated scripts has been a source of some of this breadth. A seminal piece appears to have been the translation into Bable of *La Confesión* by Bernardo Santareno (adapted from the Portuguese by Carlos Rubiera). The play was described as:

A double symbol: that of the mythic power of the sacred in the social conscience of a people and of the individual catharsis with the supreme harmony (in fact an act of undressing and personal liberation with the confessor).^{43 t}

The fact that this play was a translation from another language and in an atypical genre proved to Bolado that:

Asturian – like any other language – has the semantic registers, lexical, literary and dramatic levels (needed) to be found by the ideological messages to be represented or communicated.^{44 t}

⁴¹ Ibid.

^t *teatru con fala asturiana nun pue ser otra cosa que risión, madreñes y montera piconá.*

⁴² Op.cit., page 54.

^t *Complexu d'inferioridá hacia la llingua llariega y hacia l'universu que simboliza.*

⁴³ Op. cit., page 57.

^t *un doble símbolu: el de poder míticu de lo sagrao na conciencia social d'un pueblu y el de la catarsis individual cola suprema armonía (de fechu un actu de desnudamientu y lliberación presonal col confesor).*

⁴⁴ Op.cit., page 58.

In a paper whose authorship was listed as being a group from Xixón – *Grupu de Teatru 'Telón de Fondo'* [*The backdrop*] – the theme of Asturian theatre moving beyond the limits of *costumbrismo* [*costume theatre*] was explored. In particular, the group determined the following requirements for a healthy future for Asturian theatre:

- A national consciousness is necessary for the growth of a theatre with characteristics of the hearth.
- The (Bable) language is the iron foundation in all cultural recuperation.
- All new theatre drinks from two fountains: the very own cultural heritage on one side and, on the other, the adjacent cultures – in the case of Asturias, the official Spanish culture.^{45 t}

In terms of the 'adjacent culture', in 1995 this group sourced material beyond Asturias by performing a Bable translation of a Dario Fo play under the title *Equí nun paga naide* {*C-Aquí no paga nadie*} [*Here no one pays*].⁴⁶

The second strand of performed speech in Asturias is *Monologuismo* [*the practice of speaking monologues to an audience*]. In that same paper names of various famous *monologuistes* [*monologists*] were cited as working in:

This peculiarly Asturian genre, a mixed theatre of a special style in our festivals, binges of popular taste ...^{47 t}

The works are almost always associated with folkloric festivals, with topics such as rural life and love, nostalgia and themes of *asturianismo*. The monologues of one

^t *l'asturianu – comu cualaquiera llingua – tien rexistros semánticos, niveles léxicos, lliterarios y dramáticos, afayaizos a los mensaxes ideolóxicos que represente o comuniqué.*

⁴⁵ *Telón del fondu* (group), *Teatru y Bable*, by *Grupu de Teatru 'Telón de Fondo'*, in *LLAA* 8, 1983, page 93.

^t - *ye menester una conciencia nacional pa que xorreza un teatru con característiques llariegues. – l'idioma ye la ferramienta-pilpayu, en tou remanecer cultural. – tou nueu teatru bebe de dos fontes: la propia herencia cultural per un llau y, per otru, de les cultures averaes – nel casu d' Asturias la cultural oficial española.*

⁴⁶ *LNE* 22.8.95.

⁴⁷ *Op.cit.*, page 95.

^t *nesta fastera peculiar asturiana, teatru amestáu d'una manera especial nes nuestres fiestes, folixes de tastu popular ...*

famous practitioner, Gabriel Martínez García, in the opinion of his biographer were masterpieces in:

Playing without objective, speaking endlessly and saying absolutely nothing.^{48 t}

8.3.5 Comics, cartoons and humour

Called the ‘Sixth art’ cartoons (or comics) have had a place in Asturian literature. The medium has been used to convey stories from history and legend such as the *Crónica de Leodegundo* series by Gaspar Meana González. Based loosely upon the Gothic tradition, the main character Leodegundo embarks upon adventures in the style of *Asterix* and *Tin Tin*. Indeed this series competes with them as there have now been Bable translations of each - *Astérix en Britania* [*Asterix in Britain*] (in 1992) and the Tintin story *Stock de Cok* (translation of *Red Sea Sharks*, year uncertain).

The medium has also been used for stories from a much wider settings. Such for example has been the comic periodical *Gomeru* [*Slingshot*]. First published in 1993, with the support of the regional Ministry of Education and Culture, by a private publishing house (*Ediciones Trabe*), each issue of this monthly publication contained an episode of eight different comic strips as well as printing a selection of the best comic strips in Bable submitted by readers over the previous month. The eight comic strips in a sample edition (October 1994) were:

- *El Planeta llamáu Guerra* [*The Planet called War*]: a Star Wars-type science fiction comic;
- *E nome la bruxa* [*In the name of the Witch*]: a Celt-inspired tale;
- *Trop Guerra* [*Trop War*]: a Flash Gordon-type science fiction comic;
- *Pixi* [*Pixi*]: a humourous comic based on a young Asturian country lad;
- *Asur* [*Asur*]: an Asterix-type comic based upon a fictional character, Asur, resisting the Roman invasion of Asturias;

⁴⁸ C Díaz Castañón, *Literatura asturiana en bable*, Ediciones Ayalga, Salinas, 2nd ed. 1987, p 180.

^t *a jugar al despropósito, hablando y hablando sin decir absolutamente nada.*

- *Selva selvaxa* [*Savage jungle*]: a humorous comic based on a black Dennis the Menace-type boy in Africa;
- *Muyer cedru nun torna pa casa* [*Cedar woman about the house*]: a comic based on North American Indians.
- *Imperiu* [*Empire*]: an adventure cartoon of the Dragons and Warriors style.

The newspaper *La Nueva España* has at various stages run series of comics in Bable in addition to occasional use of Bable in its daily political cartoon.

Figures 8.1 and 8.2 contains examples of two series of cartoons from *La Nueva España* which contained some Bable. The first (a story series entitled *Constantino Turón*) was almost entirely in Bable; while the daily political cartoon, *La tira y afloja* [*Prudence*] has often contained some Bable text.

Figure 8.1: Sample episodes from a story series

LNE 30/12/97 – *Constantino Turón* series:

Constantino Turón



Translation of text:

Old man: *What are you doing there, listening to me?*

Boy: *I, its that ... my mother sent me with dough to get bread ... and as they say that today Tantino the Bandit arrives.*

Old man: *And your mother told you the bandit was going to rob you of something?*

Boy: *No, she said that he is very good, but the oldies are walking, putting fear into me all day.*

Old man: *Take this.*

Boy: *For me! Far out! Thanks! A pocket knife!*

Old man: *And you tell your friends that its Tantino the Bandit's knife ...*

Noteworthy in this cartoon and others in the series, is the Robin Hood-type, anti-hero nature of the main character, echoing the Asturian theme of resistance discussed earlier.

Some examples of the political cartoons are:

LNE 13/9/96: concerning proposals to sell off the state-owned steel company.

la tira y afloja

Dibujo: Pablo GARCIA
Guión: Rogelio ROMAN



Translation of headline (from Castilian): *Prada: ENSIDESA will not be sold in parts.*
Translation of commentary (from Bable): *Well then what is he saying, that already there is not enough to break up?*

LNE 8/5/97: concerning mining dispute.

la tira y afloja

Dibujo: Pablo GARCIA
Guión: Rogelio ROMAN



Translation of rural person (from Castilian): *That of my mother is going to fall!!* (in the sense of 'it is going to tipple') Translation of worker (from Bable): *It is an industrial matter that I plan to close the open sky.*

LNE 26/5/97: concerning difficulties of the head of the regional government.

la tira y afloja

Dibujo: Pablo GARCIA
Guión: Rogelio ROMÁN



Translation of commentary (from Bable): *he is very fed up of the dirty hernia ...*

Of interest in this selection of political and story cartoons are the characters used to speak Bable. The cartoon series always occur in the rural setting and are focused on a *paisano* [country person] character as the lead. Though others in the series also generally speak Bable, there are exceptions principally urban types appearing on occasion (including government officials, especially representing the law).

In the political cartoons, the samples shown above reveal industrial workers and a 'person in the street' speaking Bable while the one rural person, in the above selection, speaks Castilian. Other examples of political cartoons from this series often put Bable in the mouths of industrial workers and more normally rural people. The common person (person in the street, office worker &c) often also speaks in Bable though not always. Finally representatives of regionalist political parties are almost always depicted speaking Bable, with mainstream political representatives almost never. The use of Bable for the voices of some common people and regionalists may

have represented an intention of the cartoonist to signify a marker of separation from those in authority.

8.4 PUBLISHING

The first publication of a work in Bable was the 1839 *Colección de poesías en 'dialecto' asturiano* collected (with some written) by Xosé Caveda y Nava. Subsequent production of titles in Bable remained slight with only a handful appearing over the next hundred years.

During the nearly forty years of the Franco period a total of 112 titles in Bable was published, the spread of publication is indicated in Table 8.4.⁴⁹ (By comparison, in the first half of the nineteen nineties 58 titles were published).*

Table 8.4: Bable titles published in Franco era

Period	Titles published
1938-1940	1
1941-1945	3
1946-1950	12
1951-1955	17
1956-1960	21
1961-1965	13
1966-1970	22
1971-1975	23

Indeed the variety of titles produced remained small until the last quarter of the twentieth century. In this latter period, while still very much dwarfed by the statistics of Spanish publishing generally (and Castilian language publishing in particular), the

⁴⁹ Data derived from a table contained in V Brugos, *Conceyu Bable: venti años*, op.cit., page 34. Original data appeared in J Uría, *Cultura oficial e ideología en la Asturias franquista*, IDEA.

level of publication in Bable has shown some (if somewhat erratic) growth, particularly in the 1990s, as Table 8.5 shows. Particularly apparent has been the growth in publication by private publishing houses; however, it should be noted that much of that publishing has been with the support of subsidies from either the regional government or even in some instances the European Union.

Table 8.5: Publishing in Bable by publisher type⁵⁰

Year	Publications in Bable	Government/ ALLA	Private publishers
1990	14	7	7
1991	8	3	5
1992	9	3	6
1993	16	3	13
1994	15	2	13
1995	10	1	9
1996	29	3	26

The genres of published work over time have reflected the same early predominance of poetry noted amongst Bable authors (whether published or unpublished) as indicated in Tables 8.1 and 8.2. Just examining the period since the death of Franco, it can be seen that the percentage of the published corpus of Bable literature given over to poetry has declined from 70% (7 out of 10 published works) in the second half of the seventies to just under 25% in the first half of the nineties (33 out of 136). The figures on the basis of five year periods are shown in Table 8.6.

* By way of comparison, Miguel Siguan, *España Plurilingüe*, 1992, reported that 362 titles were published in Catalan in 1965 (still at the height of the Franco era), while that figure grew to 4,200 in 1988.

Table 8.6: Genre of published works 1976-1998

	Poetry*	Theatre	Essays	Narrative*	Juvenile	Translation
1976-80	7	-	1	-	2	-
1981-85	8	1	2	11	16	3
1886-90	23	-	1	16	15	27
1991-95	33	3	3	32	21	44
1996-(98)	3	-	-	2	2	4

* Excludes children's literature, all of which is incorporated in 'Juvenile'

Returning to the point concerning the use of subsidies for much of the published output of Bable literature, this has been a point of considerable debate within the community. It is clear that the issue of the profitability of the publishing sector of Bable literature must have relevance to the sustainability of efforts to normalise the language. On the positive side has been the existence of private sector publishing houses either specialising in Bable literature or including a significant section of such titles in their catalogues – such as *Azucel*, *Norte*, *Pexe*, *Trabe*, *KRK* and *VTP*. On the negative side, however, has been the extent to which Bable publishing may not ever be inherently viable; facing a future where it will either continue to depend on direct subsidies or protected market share (such as in school book purchases).

Spanish publishing in general is characterised by relatively low print runs (2-3,000 being the most frequent size) and a proliferation of titles. While the titles on release each year are not prolific, even compared with other Spanish vernaculars such as Catalan and Galician, Bable publishing does share the experience of low print runs. The example of the private publisher *Norte* highlights this. This publisher has released

⁵⁰ Data drawn from M González Iglesias, *El faru de normalidá*, a paper delivered to IV Xunta d'Escritores Asturianos (held in Villaviciosa in October 1996 under the theme *lliteratura Asturiana nos 90*, proceedings published by Principáu d'Asturies, Uviéu, 1997.

over 50 titles since its establishment (with 20 of those being in 1996); the average print run for each was only 1,500.⁵¹

Commenting on the sales trends of books in Asturian, a book seller in Oviedo, Alberto Polledo, said:

Books in Asturian just don't take off, I don't know if (it is) because the lack of a national sentiment or due to the lack of promotion in schools.⁵² †

On the other side of the argument, author Maite González (author of *Fonte de Xabú*) pointed to the impact of published literature being wider than the actual size of print runs and alluded also to the prospect of reduced subsidies over time. On the former she said:

The echo of the Asturian language book is much greater than its sales.⁵³ †

The level of support offered to Bable publishing houses by guaranteed sales has been significant. In 1993, for example, the regional ministry of education and culture bought 28 million pesetas (about \$AU 300,000) worth of books from eight such companies.⁵⁴

As a final note on the topic of Bable publishing, it should be noted that there has been some off-shore publication in the language. Though much less significant than was

⁵¹ LNE 7.1.97

⁵² LNE 6.6.97.

† *Los libros en asturiano no acaban de despegar, no sé si por la carencia de un sentido nacionalista o por la falta de promoción en las escuelas.*

⁵³ LNE 23.05.97

† *El eco de un libro en asturiano es mucho mayor que sus ventas*

⁵⁴ LNE 20.05.95

the case for Catalan (especially during the Franco era), foreign publishing in Bable nevertheless did occur (all of it from Latin America).

8.5 TRANSLATION

As part of the goal of extending the usage of Bable beyond traditional domains and of proving the capacity of the language to be used in deeper levels of literature than the folkloric, ALLA has supported the publication of Bable language editions of works by non-Asturian writers. In addition, there have been some translations published by private sector enterprises with subsidies from the regional government (such as *Llibros del Pexe*). One translator (of an Edgar Alan Poe work) stated that the work of translating the most significant works of universal literature into Bable was:

... indispensable for the survival of Bable.^{55 t}

Examples of translations of works originating from beyond Spain's borders include:

El Principín [*The Little Prince*] of Saint-Exupéry (translation published in 1983, with a second edition in 1984)
Poemes y fragmentos [*Poems and Fragments*] of Sapho (1985)
La Pantasma de Canterville y el crime de Lord Arthur Saville [*The Canterville Horror and the crime of Lord Arthur Saville*] of Oscar Wilde (1990)
Poesías Lliriques [*Lyric poems*] of Alexander Pushkin (1991)
El relato de Arthur Pym [*The story of Arthur Pym*] by Edgar Alan Poe (1991)
Peter Pan by James Barrie (1991)
Pinochio by Collodi (1991)
Peer Gynt by Henrik Ibsen (1991)
La muyer manzorda [*The deaf woman*] by Peter Handke (1992)
Lo que vio'l mayordomu [*What the butler saw*] by Joe Orton (1995)
Tres aventuras de Sherlock Holmes [*Three Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*] by Arthur Conan Doyle (1995).

⁵⁵ LNE 18.01.92.

^t *imprescindible para que el bable sobreviva.*

Translations of works of Spanish provenance have most frequently been from writers from regions of Spain such the Galician Xosé Neira Vilas (whose work in Gallego, *Memories d'un nenu llabriegu* [*Memories of a working lad*] was published in translation in 1996) and the Basque writer Bernard Atxaga (whose work *Obabakoak*, published originally in Basque and then Castilian, was released on the Asturian market in Bable in 1995). However, Spanish classics have also been translated. In the 1970s Florina Alías did a partial translation of *Platero y yo* [*Platero and I*], the Nobel Prize for Literature winning work of Juan Ramón Jiménez. While in 1998 the regional government commenced (in association with a private sector publisher, *Nobel*) a program of translating Castilian classics such as *El Quijote*.⁵⁶

8.6 OFFICIAL DOCUMENTATION

The first official publication written in Asturian of which record still exists was the *Fueru d'Avilés* dated 1289 AD (though this document was itself a copy of a now lost original which records reveal was granted by Alfonso VI in 1085)⁵⁷. The *Fueru d'Uviéu* was issued by Fernando IV in 1295. Ana María Cano commented on the linguistic significance of this document:

From the linguistic point of view, the *Fueru d'Uviéu* has a great interest given that, leaving to one side the numerous Latinisms and the orthographic vacillations that are displayed, logical in a text with these characteristics, it shows us a good display of what our language would have been in the Middle Ages, and which in many cases has continued until this day.⁵⁸ †

⁵⁶ LNE 4.4.98.

⁵⁷ L Novo Meir, *El Habla de Asturias: comparada con las otras lenguas vernáculas hispánicas*, Asturllibros, Oviedo, 1980, page 26.

⁵⁸ *Fueru d'Uviéu: Facsimil del manuscritu del sieglu XIII del Archivu Municipal de la Ciudá d'Uviéu*, part of the *Llibrería Facsimilar* series produced by ALLA, Oviedo, 1995, page 15.

† *Dende'l puntu de vista llingüísticu, el Fueru d'Uviéu tien un gran interés dao que, dexando a un llau los numerosos llatinismos y les vacilaciones ortográfiques qu'ufierta, cosa lóxica nun testu d'estes carauterístiques, amuéamos una bona muestra de lo habría ser la nuesa llingua na dómina medieval, y qu'en munchos casos ta bien averada a la de güei.*

There then followed many centuries of an absence of official usage of Bable, until (apart from official toponymy) the legislative changes of 1998 which provided for some official documentation to be published in Bable as well as Castilian. The result has been that some regional government documentation is now issued in Bable. Though not bound by regional government legislation, the national railway company, RENFE, publishes bilingual timetables.

8.7 MEDIA

8.7.1 Print

Apart from *Ixuxu* (wholly in Bable) at the start of the twentieth century and *Revista Asturias* (mainly in Castilian, but carrying some Bable articles) over the period 1885-1915, it was not until the nineteen eighties that there appeared Bable language periodicals. Mention has already been made of the comic *Gomeru* and the publications of ALLA (*Lletres Asturianas* and *Cultures*). In addition, there have appeared various literary publications and a weekly newspaper.

One newspaper columnist noted that:

Asturias has seen the birth and death in recent years of an endless run of (literary) magazines.⁵⁹ †

Amongst the reviews born in the 1990s were two established by publishing houses in 1997. *Zimbru: Cuadernos Lliterarios* was jointly sponsored by *KRK* and *VTP*; while *Sietestrellu* was launched by *Editorial Trabe*. Both of these publications grew from an

⁵⁹ LNE 29.01.97

† *Asturias ha visto nacer y morir en los últimos años un sinfín de revistas.*

earlier periodical (*Lliteratura*) supported by literary circles generally in Asturias. An unnamed reviewer lamented that both publications had entered the market place:

One magazine only will be something more than a museum piece if it is maintained ... *Zimbru* and *Sietestrellu* are two extraordinary journals that ought to be one, great and strong.^{60 t}

In early 1996 a cultural group *Conceyu d'Estudios Etnográficos 'Belenos'* launched a Bable language publication *Asturies*.⁶¹ While in the second half of 1997 a weekly Bable language publication, *Les Noticies: semanario independiente d'informació xeneral* was released onto the market; this publication contained news and interviews.

8.7.2 Radio

Two radio stations in Asturias broadcast in Bable. The first, Radio KRAS (*Kolectivo Radiofónico Asturiano*) was established in 1985 as part of the European Federation of Free Radios which had the aim of:

Postulating an anti-systemic rebel stance and the defence of a society where people would be an end in themselves and not a means for obtaining profits.^{62 t}

The station itself characterised its eighty hours a week of programming (which was included both Castilian and Bable programs) as:

... attending to the necessities and problems of young people, of workers, of pacifist movements and feminists, ecologists, Asturianists and citizens' associations. It will put special care in the treatment of ways of life and culture which present day society considers marginal and heterodox.^{63 t}

⁶⁰ LNE 29.01.97

^t *Una revista solo sera algo más que una pieza de museo si se mantiene ... 'Zimbru' y 'Sietestrellu' son dos extraordinarias revistas que deberían ser una sola, grande y firme.*

⁶¹ LNE 5.07.96

⁶² Information obtained from internet via www.asturies.org 19.10.97.

^t *postula la rebeldía antisistema y la defensa de una sociedad donde las personas sean un fin en sí mismas y no un medio para la obtención de beneficios.*

⁶³ Idem.

^t *por atender las necesidades y los problemas de los jóvenes, de los trabajadores, de los movimientos pacifistas y feministas, ecologistas, asturianistas, y de las asociaciones ciudadanas. Pondrá un cuidado especial en el tratamiento de formas de vida y culturales que la sociedad actual considera marginales y heterodoxas.*

Radio Sele, based in Oviedo and established in 1986 characterises itself as the only radio broadcaster emitting entirely in Bable; its broadcast reach covers the three major cities and the principal mining *cuencas*. On its web-site the following statement appears in its English language page:

... by using Asturian as its only language, (Radio Sele) aims to contribute to the full normalization of the Asturian language.⁶⁴

8.7.3 TV

There has been a significant debate within the community on the merits or otherwise of a full regional service of the national broadcaster being established. While on the face of it, such a service might seem to parallel the offerings of such channels as TV3 in Catalonia, TV Nou in Valencia, TVG in Galicia and EITB in the Basque country, these other channels have had a greater language focus than the proposals which have been discussed in Asturias. During the period of study of this thesis, the national broadcaster introduced short sessions of programming each day which were produced in the region.

Two community TV stations were established in the 1990s, one based in Gijón (TLG) and the other in Oviedo (TVO). The Gijón station introduced a daily, five minute Bable language news service in 1995.

While the presence of Bable-language television has not been strong in Asturias, the western part of the province has felt the impact of Galician language telecasting. TVG (*Televisión Gallega*) established a transmitter/repeater in the Galician border town of

Ribadeo. The result has meant that broadcasts from the Galician language station have good reception in five counties abutting the border and an adequate reception in the next four counties.⁶⁵ This has meant that the hybrid language of Astur-Gallego receives more language immersion support from its Galician roots than from its Asturian ones. It might thus be expected that in time to come this language variety may move closer to Gallego and away from Bable.

The absence of powerful transmitters to convey telecasts to remote valleys has meant that until recent years parts of Asturias remained without television broadcasts in any language. Remote valleys of Cangas del Narcea in the Bable Occidental zone and Cangas de Onis in the Bable Oriental zone only received the necessary investment in transmitters in 1995.⁶⁶

8.7.4 Informatic

Asturians have taken to the internet with some enthusiasm; indeed by 1997 they had done so on a percentage basis higher than any other Spanish region other than Madrid, Catalonia and the Balearics.⁶⁷

The use of Bable on the internet has, compared with other media, been comparatively strong. Firstly, a number of individuals have posted web sites which have been partially or fully written in the vernacular. Also the sites of some groups have either posted sites entirely in Bable or with it included as one of two or three language options. These groups have mainly been cultural or political in nature.

⁶⁴ www.radiosele.net/historia.htm

⁶⁵ LNE 22.06.95

⁶⁶ LNE 13.06.95

Most significant in terms of internet impact has been the site www.asturies.org with its associated search engine *¿Úlos?* [*Where are they?*]. Financed by advertising (both classifieds and large), the site offers news coverage and extended interviews; there are also direct links to related sites on subjects such as language, culture, recreation and education. There is also an e-business associated with the site – *Asturshop*. Initially changed weekly, the site changed to being a daily news site.

The businessperson who established the site, David Guardado, said of the project:

We decided to make an Asturian site on the network, on the Internet, but only in Asturian. In Galicia it is normal to do it in Gallego and in Catalonia also. But here it was not so easy. We constituted ourselves as a business. We thought that in the medium term it could be profitable. To do it in Asturian could be a handicap, but also the contrary, it could accustom people to enter this site which is unique.^{68 t}

Related to this area was the publication in 1995 of Próspero Morán's book *Llingua, Información y Nueves Teunoloxías*, the first Bable language work to deal with the impact of the Information Age particularly on minority languages.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ LNE 14.07.97

⁶⁸ LNE 16.09.97, interview in LNQ.

^t *Decidimos facer un barriu asturiano en la red, en Internet, pero solo en asturianu. En Galicia ye normal facelo en gallego y en Cataluña, tamién. Pero aquí non ye tan fácil. Nos constituimos como empresa. Pensamos que a mediu plazu podía ser rentable. Lo de facelo en asturiano podía ser un handicap, pero tamién lo contrario, podía acostumar a la xente a entrar en esi barriu que ye únicu.*

⁶⁹ P Morán, *Llingua, Información, y nueves teunoloxías*, Editora del Norte, Mieres, 1995.

PART B – BABLE

CHAPTER NINE – LANGUAGE PROMOTION

Overview

There has been a significant body of negative attitudes expected towards Bable such as the following from Lain Entralgo, a director of RAE who, though a supporter of bilingual policies with respect to Catalan, Euskerra and Gallego, said :

... but I believe that Bable cannot be equipped to be a language.^{1 †}

And the opinion of Valentín García Yebra, also a member of RAE:

The use of Bable ought to be restricted exclusively to the family.^{2 †}

In the face of such strength of opinion opposed to the promotion of the language, simply leaving Bable to its own devices may not be sufficient to ensure its survival when faced with a dominant L2 (Castilian). What then has been done to promote the language over the years? The following chapter examines firstly language institutes and academies (both proposed and actually established) which have been mooted over the years. Then the issue of the support offered by the education system is considered. Finally, other forms of language activism are commented upon.

¹ LNE 25.9.87.

[†] *pero creo que el bable no se puede equiparar a un idioma.*

² LNE 20.8.97.

[†] *El uso del bable debería restringirse exclusivamente a la familia.*

9.1 LANGUAGE INSTITUTES & ACADEMIES

In 1790 Jovellanos had proposed the establishment of an *Academia de Buenas Letras Asturiana* (also referred to by him as an *Instituto Asturiana*) to overcome the lack of academic study of Asturian themes. In 1801 he indicated that a dictionary of *el dialecto asturiano* should be one of the objectives of such an academy.³ His recommendation was not acted upon by the authorities of the day.

In 1918 a *Doctrina Asturianista* was prepared by three participants in the *Junta Regionalista del Principado* (discussed in more detail in Chapter 4). The three were Álvaro Fernández de Miranda, Ceferino Alonso and Xosé González. The doctrine touched on a number of topics including the status of Bable. In particular dealing with measures necessary to achieve *perfeccionamento*, [by which the authors meant converting Bable from its perceived status as a dialect to a language and making it a literary language], the doctrine stated:

One of the most practical measures would be the creation of an ACADEMY.^{4 t}

The journalist Fabricio established an *Academia Asturiana d'Artes y Lletres* [*Asturian Academy of Arts and Letters*] in 1919. He stated at the time that:

We are going to discuss the linguistic problem of Bable in the Asturian Academy, fixing its grammatical and phonetic laws, regularizing its apostrophes and its fixtures, its orthography and prosody and identifying its ethnographic origin; cultivating by preference the classic Bable Central, refined of the strange voices and subdialects that spoil it.^{5 t}

³ J Sureda y Blanes, *Jovellanos en Bellver*, in IDEA Boletín, July 1947, Oviedo, p69.

⁴ P San Martín Antuña (ed), *Regionalismo: Doctrina asturianista*, - *Junta Regionalista del Principado, 1918*, Nueva Asturias Fundación, Xixón, 1999, p71.

^t *Uno de los más prácticos sería la creación de una ACADEMIA.*

⁵ Op.cit. page 28.

^t *El problem lingüístico del bable lo vamos a ventilar nosotros en la Academia Asturiana, fijando sus leyes gramaticales y fonéticas, regularizando sus apostrophes y afijos, su ortografía y*

Of this centre it was said that it:

... would have achieved the tradition of the *Quintana* of the end of the nineteenth century.^{6 t}

9.1.1 RIDEA

The Instituto de Estudios Asturianos (sometimes also referred to as *Real* [*Royal*] and therefore also abbreviated occasionally to RIDEA) was established in 1947 under the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* [*Higher Council of Scientific Investigation*] with the charter of encouraging Asturian studies. It was claimed to be the successor of *Academia Asturiana d'Artes y Lletres*. The era of its establishment was interesting given the repression being exerted at that time against Catalan and Euskerra.

J Uria González noted:

Well then, if the Asturian language had achieved conquering a place in the middle of the liturgical, cultural apparatus in the forties, that state of events ... contrasted strongly with the attitude of ferocious repression that, during the same epoch, characterised Francoism with respect to other peninsular languages.^{7 t}

In its first year of existence IDEA convened a *Fiesta del Bable*, and four years later organised a competition for regional lyrical poetry.⁸ However, Xuan Xosé Sánchez Vicente would later reflect upon these events:

... in whose purposes were (included) the specification that the Asturian language would only be admitted in text conversations of narrative roles.^{9 t}

prosodia y señalando su origen etnográfico; cultivando preferentemente el bable clásico central, depurado de voces extrañas y subdialectos que le afean.

⁶ LNE 17.6.95

^t *recogiera la tradición de la Quintana de fines del XIX.*

⁷ J Uria, *Ideología y lengua durante el Franquismo: el caso asturiano*, LLA 18, 1985.

^t *Ahora bien, si la lengua asturiana había conseguido conquistar un lugar dentro de la aparatosa liturgia cultural de los años cuarenta, aquel estado de cosas – es forzoso recalcarlo – contrastaba fuertemente con la actitud ferozmente represiva que, por la misma época, caracterizaba al franquismo con respecto a otras lenguas peninsulares*

⁸ V Brugos, *Conceyu Bable: venti años*, Trabe, Uviéu, 1995, page 31.

⁹ LNE 11.7.93

^t *... en cuyas bases se especificaba que la lengua asturiana solo sería admitida en conversaciones textuales de los personajes de la narración.*

Subjects covered in its catalogue of publications (for the period 1946 to 1990) included sociology, law, ethnology, economy, science, medicine, art, artistic archaeology, literature, historic heraldry, geography, travel journals and biography in addition to philology. A total of 251 titles was released during the 44 year period to 1990 (including multiple volumes and reissues).

The corpus of philological work over that period was twenty three publications (consisting of twenty one titles, one issued in two volumes and one reissued in a second edition); this represented less than 10% of the total number of titles published by the Institute over the time.

Of the twenty three titles only one focussed on the status of Bable in general (*Dignificación y enaltecimiento del bable* [*Dignification and status elevation of Bable*], published in 1950), while three others treated with aspects of Bable across the whole of Asturias (dealing with rhyme, pronouns and medicine respectively). Seventeen of the titles had to do with geographic, occupational or personal varieties or usages of Bable; while two focussed on toponymic questions.

This rate of publication over nearly half a century contrasted with a much larger rate of publication of Bable-related titles by ALLA during a much shorter period. Excluding periodicals, the Academia de la Llingua Asturiana published 213 titles in the period from its establishment in 1981 through to 1998.

The organisation in its earliest days saw itself as preserving for future generations. Writing of a *Diccionario bable de la rima* [*Bable dictionary of Rhyme*] published in 1947, it was said that the publication:

Wants to find smoothed the road and avoid the blunders of the day in gleaning the kernels of the *fala maternal* [*mother tongue*].^{10 t}

The commentary, originally written in 1947, not only used the Bable word *fala* instead of the Castilian word *habla*, but also spoke of *los bablistas de anteriores épocas* [*Bablists of earlier epochs*] and *las futuras generaciones literarias bablistas* [*the future literary generations of Bablists*] in a more generous sense than later members of the Institute would use the word *bablistas* in the eighties and nineties (when it became a perjorative frequently used against those who would normalise the language seemingly with disregard for the linguistic richness of the various local *bables*).

9.1.2 Organisations established in the seventies

In the closing years of the Franco era there were two significant developments aimed at promoting Bable. The first, in 1969, was the formation of a literary and musical group *Amigos del Bable*. The group was established by Lorenzo Novo Mier and José León Ledestal with activities focused on the production of records (such as poetry readings) and the holding of literary competitions. An early flyer called on the reader to *faite amigu del bable* [*make yourself a friend of Bable*] which was referred to as *la fala melguera e la tierrina* [*the sweet speech of the little land*].¹¹ The group convened the *I Asamblea Regional del Bable* in 1973 and organised the *I Andecha de la Poesía bable* [*Poetry reading collective*] in 1975. Successive poetry events (called *Semanas Poesía*

¹⁰ LNE 16.07.97 reprinting a piece which had appeared in LNE of 16.07.47.

^t *quiere encontrar allanado el camino y evitar tropiezos a la hora de espigar en las mieses de la fala maternal.*

Bable) were held annually at least until 1980. The group appears also to have been influential in the publication (between 1974 and 1982) of *Asturias Semanal* [*Asturias Weekly*] which carried such articles as *Que no se pierda el Bable* [*That Bable not be lost*] by noted linguist Emilio Alarcos Llorach.¹²

Despite its work promoting Bable, the *Amigos de Bable* took a limited view of the vernacular's role in Asturian identity. A communication from the group in 1976 said:

The objectives (of *Amigos de Bable*) continue being the revival of values of the Asturian culture through the cultivation of poetry, traditional music or the convening of literary competitions; its activities are limited to the cultivation of traditional Bable, for Bable itself, without any other motive or pretension.^{13 t}

The early seventies represented a period when the movement promoting Bable became more overtly political and themes of nationalism and autonomy once again became linked with the survival of the vernacular. Pablo San Martín Antuña wrote of the period:

At first it was (a time) of linguistic and regionalist revival, but that changed into a full-scale political and nationalist movement.^{14 t}

From the *I Asamblea Regional del Bable*, in the same year (1973) the *Conceyu Bable* [*Bable Council*] was formed by Xosé Lluís García Arias (later founding president of ALLA), Xuan Xosé Sánchez Vicente (later an Asturianist member of the regional parliament) and Lluís Álvarez (noted Bable writer). The group operated under the slogan *para recuperar la lengua – escribirla y usarla* [*to recuperate the language –*

¹¹ C Vega & A García *et.al.*, *El Trabayu y los dies de Llorienzu Novo Mier (1917-1990)*, Principáu d'Asturies, Uviéu, 1991, p33.

¹² *Op.cit.* p38.

¹³ Communication in *Región*, 15.7.76, cited in V Brugos, *Conceyu Bable: venti años*, *op.cit.*, page 105.

^t *sus objetivos continúan siendo el rescate de los valores de la cultura asturiana mediante el cultivo de la poesía, música tradicional o convocatoria de certámenes literarios; sus actividades se limitan hacia el cultivo del bable tradicional, por el bable en sí mismo, sin otro motivo o pretension.*

¹⁴ P San Martín Antuña, *Regionalismo: Doctrina asturianista*, - *Junta Regionalista del Principado*, 1918, *op.cit.* page 25.

write it and use it]. In 1977 the *Conceyu Bable* commenced publication of *Fueyes Informatives** [*Information Sheets*] which were described as a *salto definitiva y oficial al nacionalismu* [*an official and definitive leap to(wards) nationalism*].¹⁵

The aims of *Conceyu Bable* were recorded in the documents of the organisation's official registration as:

- (i) to promote through the press, radio, TV and publications, as well as through short courses, studies and conferences, the diffusion and teaching of the Asturian language;
- (ii) also to contribute to the study and defence of Asturian culture; and
- (iii) assistance, through means at its disposal, to those people interested in the activities above.^{16 t}

At the same time as these activities, and as already noted in Chapter 8, there arose the *Surdimientu* of Bable writers and poets. This movement was characterised by:

The intent for the normalisation of the use of Asturian in all ambits.^{17 t}

9.1.3 Academia de la Llingua Asturiana

The Academia de la Lengua Asturiana, established by decree in 1981¹⁸ has articles of establishment (*Estatutos*), written in Castilian, but which note the Bable version of the Academy's title – *Academia de la Llingua Asturiana*. Indeed, the Academy itself has always used this version.

^t *de primeres foi de reivindicación llingüística y rexonalista, pero que ceo se tornó nun movimientu plenamente políticu y nacionalista.*

* This publication, which appeared initially in *Asturias Semanal*, continued in existence until 1985.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ V Brugos, *Conceyu Bable: venti años*, op.cit., page 93.

^t *(i) promover, a través de la prensa, radio, TV y publicaciones, así como a través de cursillos, estudios y conferencias, la difusión y enseñanza de la lengua asturiana; (ii) asimismo, contribuir al estudio y defensa de la cultura asturiana; (iii) la ayuda, dentro de los medios a su alcance, a todas las personas interesadas en las actividades antes citadas.*

¹⁷ LNE 16.7.95

^t *por intentar la normalización del uso del asturiano en todos los ambitos.*

¹⁸ 170 Decreto 9/1981 (“por el que se aprueban los Estatutos de la Academia de la Lengua Asturiana”) of the Conceyu Rexional d’Asturies and published in the BOPA 22-XII-1981.

The statute of establishment initially set out the following aims:

- Investigate and formulate the grammatical laws of the linguistic varieties of Bable
- Provide orientations and norms for the literary cultivation of same.
- Create a lexical inventory.
- Stimulate the use, teaching and diffusion of Bable in its distinct modalities.
- To act for Asturian linguistic rights.
- Work for the capacitation of the written language, to the end that, freely accepted, it could become a means of expression at all levels.
- Encourage the celebration of literary and didactic competitions.
- Promote linguistic studies of Bable.
- Collaborate in the training of specific professionals in connection with the relevant institutions.

The Academy was also charged with the responsibility of achieving two major areas of work: research and teaching. The first, for example resulted in the publication of orthographic norms (first issued in 1981, expanded and reissued in a number of times over the following years, the latest being in 1998) and the comprehensive dictionary of the language (published in 2001).

Founding membership of the Academy included fifteen *Académicos de Número* [*presiding academic members*], nine *Académicos d'Honor* [*honorary members*] – these being four institutions – the Spanish, Basque, Galician and Catalan language academies - and five individuals). In addition there are sixteen *Académicos Correspondientes* [*associate members*].

Amongst the activities organized by ALLA has been a number of series of annual events aimed at promoting Bable. These have included:

- *Día de les Lletres Asturianes* [*Day of Asturian Letters*], first convened in 1979, in later years this focal day in May of each year has coincided with events during the *Selmanes de les Lletres Asturianes* [*Week of Asturian Letters*] convened by the *Serviciu de Política Llingüística* [*Linguistic Policy Service*]

- *Xornaes d'Estudiu* [*Days of Study*], three day conferences first convened in 1981. The conferences, held in October, bring together lecturers on linguistic and sociolinguistic topics related to Bable.
- *Cursos de braña* [*Summer schools*], first held in 1982, these week long conferences held in regional centers, provide training and development opportunities in Bable; principally targeted at teachers and graduands, others also attend. Attendees at the 1995 conference (held in August in Cangas del Narcea) were surveyed as part of the research for this thesis. Their responses are dealt with in Chapter 11.
- *Xornaes de Llingua y Cultura Asturiana* [*Days of Asturian language and culture*], first held in 1995, these conferences are targeted at secondary students.

The ALLA also publishes periodicals and monographs in series as well as incidental publications. Table 9.2 provides a listing of ALLA publications.

Table 9.2: ALLA publication series (incl. periodicals & monographs) 1982-1998

Series	Purpose	First year	Issues/ Titles
Periodicals/Monographs			
<i>Lletres Asturianas</i> (between 3 & 5 per year)	Research material, literary items, announcements, editorial matter.	1982	68 issues
<i>Cultures: Revista Asturiana de Cultura</i> (annual)	Papers on sociological and sociolinguistic topics.	1991	8 issues
<i>Entrambasaguas</i> (3 times per year)	Review from Navia-Eo region re Gallego-Astur	1996	8 issues
Collections			
<i>Escolín</i>	School material (orig. and translated)	1982	53
<i>Llibreria Académica</i>	Literature (original & translated)	1983	28
<i>Collecha Asoleyada</i>	Various including: Conference proceedings, some literary reprints and reports on language status	1984	9
<i>Llibreria Facsimilar</i>	Reprints of old publications	1987	44
<i>Lliteratura Xuvenil</i>	Children's literature (orig. & trans.)	1988	6
<i>Toponimia</i>	Toponymic studies	1990	73
<i>Llibreria Llingüística</i>	Linguistic & socioling.	1991	9
<i>Estaya Pedagóxica</i>	Pedagogical materials	1991	12
<i>Mázcara</i>	Drama texts (original and translated)	1994	5
<i>Cartefueyos de lliteratura Escaecida</i>	Files of forgotten literature	1995	55
<i>Fontes de la Llingua Asturiana</i>	Historical documents	1995	4
<i>Preseos</i>	Local variant lexicons	1996	5
<i>Llingüística Navia-Eo</i>	Documents on Gallego-Astur	1998	1
Other	Various	various	2

Each of the series of publications has contributed in different ways to the promotion of Bable in the region. For example the series *Lletres Asturianes* was reported in the period 1982 to 1986 to:

... have been practically the only publication where new not so new writers were able to bring their works to the public knowledge.^{19 t}

9.1.4 OFICINA DE POLÍTICA LLINGÜÍSTICA

In 1985 the Asturian government established the *Serviciu de Política Llingüística* [Office of Linguistic Policy] which later was changed to the *Serviciu de Enseñanza Llingüística* [Office of Linguistic Education]. The office came under the Ministry of Education & Culture. Among its functions have been the following:

- Administering the disbursement of subsidies for the promotion of publications in Bable. This has been done under the auspices of a regional government program called *Programa 422R*.
- Convening of special events such as the annual *Selmana des Lletres Asturianes* [Week of Asturian Letters] and the *Conceyu de escritores asturianos* [Council of Asturian writers].
- Convening of literary competitions to promote literature in Bable (the *Premio Xosefa Xovellanos* for fiction, *Premio Maximo Fuertes Acevedo* for non-fiction and *Premio Xuan Acebal* for poetry).
- Promotion of Bable toponymy.

With respect to the first – provision of subsidies – the then director, Felix Ferreiro, reported in 1993 that of approximately one hundred Bable language works published in 1992, only fourteen had received no form of subsidy from the Office. The subsidy program operated in the form of subsidy payments to publishers and commitments to

¹⁹ X I Llope, *Revistes lliteraries en llingua asturiana*, paper delivered to the *Primer Conceyu de escritores asturianos* and published in its proceedings, Principáu d'Asturies, Uviéu, 1996, p105.

^t *foi cuásique la única publicación onde los nuevos y non tan nuevos escritores podién dar la so obra a la pública conocencia.*

purchase books for free-distribution to students studying Bable. For this reason he opined that:

Thus we cannot talk of a market or a business (for Bable publications)^{20 t}

In 1992 the subsidies paid amounted to 25 million pesetas (approximately \$AU 250,000 in the exchange rates of the time).²¹

The annual *Selmana de Lletres Asturianes* has been used by the Office not only to promote Bable literature in general, but also to enable the *esaltación d'una figura importante de les lletres asturianes* [*the exaltation of an important figure of Asturian letters*] so as to ensure a wider community awareness of Bable's literary inheritance.²²

The convening by the Office of literary awards had partly been an inherited function (in the case of the *Premio Xosefa Xovellanos* which was first convened in 1979), but also saw two prizes initiated by itself (*Premio Maximo Fuertes Acevedo* in 1991 and *Premio Xuan Acebal* in 1995).

Following the cessation of functioning by the *Xunta de Toponimia* in 1988, the Office assumed responsibility for promotion Bable toponymy *pa llograr la igua de los nomes de los pueblos d'Asturies* [*in order to achieve equality for the (Bable) names of Asturian towns*].²³

²⁰ F Ferreiro, interviewed in a special edition of LLAA (#48 May 1993), to coincide with the 1993 *Selmana de Lletres Asturianes*.

^t *Asina nun podemos falar d'un mercáu y d'un negociu.*

²¹ LNE 20.05.95.

²² Op.cit.

²³ Op.cit.

9.2 EDUCATION

Whilst there was no formal inclusion of Bable into the school curricula until the 1980s, it does appear that there was an inverse relationship between Bable and the education system. It is certain that the continuing focus of the education system on Castilian has over the centuries acted as an impediment to knowledge of Bable (certainly as a written medium of expression). Therefore, as noted earlier, the high illiteracy rates up until the 1930s actually helped protect Bable since illiterates were not receiving formal education in Castilian.

But even where education was provided, Bable was not totally at risk. As noted in Chapter 3, the capacity to teach Castilian of a high standard depended on the quality of the teachers; and in rural areas, until the time of Franco, many schools were in the hands of local teachers whose own competence in Castilian appears to have been only average at best. The Franco era did, however, result in a negative influence on Bable and its varieties. As Jesús López Pacheco noted, when giving the official speech at the *Amuravela* of Cudillero in 1987:

To speak to us at the *Amuravela* in Castilian language verses (since *Pixueto* is a language not learnt in school).²⁴ †

In the post-Franco era new dispositions more favourable to the vernaculars of Spain were promulgated. These guaranteed *el pluralismo educativo* [educational pluralism] and *la formación en el respecto de la pluralidad lingüística y cultural de España* [training in respect of the linguistic and cultural plurality of Spain].²⁵

²⁴ J López Pacheco, *V Cuaderno Literaria in Escritores en Cudillero*, La Voz de Asturias & Junta General de Principado de Asturias, 1992, page 65.

† *A decirnos con esta amuravela en versos castellanos (ya que el pixueto es lengua que no aprendi en la escuela).*

In addition, there was the progressive transfer of governmental competencies from the national to regional level in each of the regions; though this happened faster in some regions than others. In the case of Asturias the 1981 Autonomy Statute enabled the introduction of provisional criteria for the commencement of formal Bable teaching with an official compact – *Convenio entre el MEC y la Comunidad Autónoma del Principado de Asturias para la colaboración en la Planificación Educativa* [Agreement between the national Ministry of Education and Culture and the autonomous community of the Principality of Asturias for collaboration in Educational Planning] – this document was signed in 1994, a decade after classes first started at the primary level.

Separate educational regimes for Bable were established for primary and secondary education. In the case of primary education, courses were to be offered from the first grade to the sixth with between 2 to 3 hours of instruction each week in those schools which opted to teach Bable; the approval of the *Dirección* [School Administration] and the *Consejo Escolar* [School Council] was required in each instance. With respect to secondary education, provision was made for optional courses to be offered.

The outcome has been that the teaching of Bable has had more impact in primary than secondary schools. Table 9.3 gives the primary school enrolment figures in a series of selected school years over the period 1984 to 1999.

²⁵ BOE # 159, 4.7.85, pp 21015-6.

Table 9.3: Primary School enrolments in Bable²⁶

School Year	Schools	Students
84-85	6	1,351
85-86	30	3,052
86-87	54	4,076
87-88	92	6,550
88-89	133	10,470
89-90	147	12,850
90-91	177	18,000
91-92	169	16,557
92-93	116	16,865
93-94	121	16,389
94-95	136	18,179
95-96	150	19,737
96-97	155	16,721
97-98	166	14,791
98-99	173	14,238

The figures for enrolment in primary school Bable classes showed growth in most years up to 1996-97, whereupon a three year decline in student numbers began. This decline was despite an increase in the number of schools offering the subject; the problem appears to have had its origins in the actual number of teachers available to teach Bable.

Though, between 1996-97 and 1998-99, an extra 18 primary schools offered Bable courses, the actual number of teachers involved in those courses declined from 155 to 106 – thus there were fewer teachers than schools offering the subject. Ana María Cano labelled schools whose communities had made the decision to offer Bable, but who had not received teachers qualified to teach it, as *emblemáticos* [*the symbolic ones*] and indicated that the absence of teachers in these schools had cost 3,000 students the

²⁶ For most years up to and including 94-95: XA González Riaño & JL San Fabián Maroto, *La Escolarización de la lengua asturiana: su incidencia en el rendimiento educativo*, Editora del Norte, Mieres del Camín, 1996, page 15 and *La llingua asturiana*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1995, page 17. Data for subsequent years from www.asturies.com/asturianu/esco.htm . Also cited for some intervening years up to 1994-95: Consejería de Cultura del Gobierno de Asturias in Euromosaic www.uoc.es/euromosaic/web/document/asturia/an/i1/i1.htm

opportunity to learn Bable at school.²⁷ In Chapter 14 reference is made to correspondence to the editor of *la Nueva España* on this subject.*

Secondary enrolments in Bable classes have been much less than for primary as indicated in Table 9.4.

Table 9.4: Secondary school enrolments in Bable²⁸

School year	Schools	Students
88-89	7	215
89-90	12	326
90-91	5	84
91-92	8	184
92-93	6	170
93-94	7	212
94-95	12	388
95-96	10	400
96-97	15	679
97-98	14	956
98-99	14	772

As with the enrolment figures for primary education, secondary courses in Bable showed a decline in 1998-99, though in this case there had not been a decline in the actual numbers of teachers which, at 15, had remained constant from 1996-97. The secondary enrolment figures also reveal that there had been an initial growth in numbers in the late 1980s followed by a period of decline before growth recommenced.

²⁷ A M Cano, *Palabres de la directora – Pieslle de los cursos de branu*, LLA 61, ALLA, Uviéu, 1996, p158.

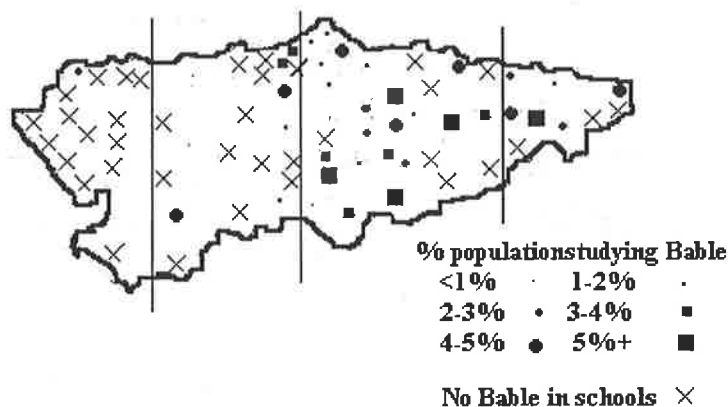
* for example L280/281.

²⁸ *ibid.*

Table 9.5: Bable offerings in school by county

County	# schools offering Bable	Range of acceptance	Average acceptance	Students studying Bable	County popn. 1996	% popn. studying Bable
Big three cities						
Avilés	9	11-97	45	1664	85,696	1.94
Oviedo	7	8-58	25	649	200,049	0.32
Gijón	21	16-96	55	3634	264,381	1.37
Mining cuencas						
Aller	9	43-100	67	937	16,347	5.73
C. del Narcea	7	19-100	63	757	18,110	4.18
Langreo	11	30-100	59	1279	50,597	2.53
Laviana	4	34-92	43	414	15,085	2.74
Lena	2	78-98	81	502	14,323	3.50
Mieres	7	56-100	80	821	51,423	1.60
Quiros	1	7	7	4	1,738	0.2
SM del Rey A	4	70-91	72	705	22,129	3.19
Siero	3	20-78	33	411	46,315	0.89
Other top 25						
Carreño	2	45-74	85	449	10,533	4.26
Castrillon	5	20-80	56	703	22,361	3.14
Corvera	2	60-83	72	291	16,502	1.76
Gozón	2	27-62	53	213	11,410	1.87
Grado	1	3	43	209	12,051	1.73
Llanera	2	8-34	28	168	11,407	1.47
Llanes	3	7-100	62	234	13,184	1.77
Navia	0	0	0	0	9,136	0
Piloña	3	21-66	42	486	9,215	5.27
Pravia	0	0	0	0	9,694	0
Tineo	1	33	33	49	13,578	0.36
Valdés	1	62	62	120	16,073	0.75
Villaviciosa	0	0	0	0	14,465	0
Remaining						
Benia de Onis	1	80	80	94	915	10.27
Bimenes	1	55	55	95	2285	4.16
Cabrales	1	33	33	63	2393	2.63
Candamo	1	61	61	133	2688	4.94
Cangas de Onis	2	36-45	43	277	6285	4.41
Colunga	2	44-87	50	191	4681	4.08
Morcín	1	52	52	101	2933	3.44
Nava	1	100	100	66	5681	1.16
Noreña	1	29	29	115	4207	2.73
Parres	1	49	49	207	5574	3.71
Ribadeva	1	33	33	78	1916	4.07
Ribadesella	1	52	52	166	6295	2.63
Riosa	1	82	82	211	2663	7.92
Sariego	1	46	46	92	1452	6.34
Soto del Barco	2	32-53	41	151	4450	3.39
Tapia	1	25	25	97	4455	2.18
Teverga	1	22	22	35	2335	1.50

Map 9.1: Distribution of students studying Bable as % of population



Compared with the total enrolment in primary and secondary education in Asturias, Bable classes have represented a very small percentage overall – in 1988/89 for example they were only 6.4% of total primary enrolments and 0.5% of secondary.²⁹ By 1998 these figures had grown to 28.1% of primary and 0.9% of secondary education.

Examining the geographic spread of schools offering Bable gives an indication of the range of interest by community in such courses. Table 9.5 examines, by county, the offering of Bable at the primary school level in the 1994-95 school year. Map 9.1 charts the information across the region.

Before commenting on some features of the table and the map, it should be noted that the use of the percentage figure of a county's population studying Bable has some limitations due to demographic differences. In particular, the age profile pyramids in Figure 2.1 indicate that the school age population in some counties has been markedly smaller than in others. Also of relevance is the number of counties not having any

²⁹ Instituto de Fomento Regional, *Investing in Asturias*, Principado de Asturias, Oviedo, 1991, p13.

schools (11 of the 78 Asturian counties being in this category). Children from those counties going to school in neighbouring counties would distort the percentages of the latter.

Notwithstanding these caveats, the following features are of note from the information:

- There has been a significantly higher involvement of schools in Bable teaching in the Bable Central zone (only five counties having schools did not offer the subject in this zone) and Bable Oriental zone (where only two such counties having schools didn't offer it) than in the Bable Occidental or Astur- Gallego zones (where nine and eleven counties respectively having schools did not offer the subject).
- The highest incidence of Bable study in schools occurred in the seventeen rural counties where the subject was offered – the figure being 3.4%. However, thirty six rural counties did not have schools offering the subject, but as some of these did not have schools at all, their young people were commuting to education in other counties.
- Mining *cuencas* had an average figure of 2.42%, over double that of the three largest centres (though that latter figure of 1.10% was dragged down by the low figure for the regional capital, Oviedo).

There were various comments made in LNE which gave additional insights to Bable teaching in schools such as:

My students are the children of emigrants and they want to study Bable. All the students of this centre (Langreo) speak Asturian and that is (because) this is a working class district where when the majority are the children of immigrants.^{30 t}
[Benjamin Mateo de la Reguera, teacher]

The subject of Bable ... reached all the teaching centres of the mining zones, except three, and moreover it was taken up by 80% who choose it freely.^{31 t}
[comments from a reporter]

³⁰ LNE 29.09.97

^t *Mis alumnos son hijos de emigrantes y quieren estudiar bable. Todos los alumnos de este centro (Langreo) hablan el asturiano, y eso que ésta es una barriada obrera donde la mayoría son hijos de emigrantes.*

³¹ LNE 26.11.96

^t *La asignatura de bable ... alcanzó a todas los centros de las cuencas mineras, excepto tres, y además era seguida por el 80% de los alumnos que la escogieran libremente.*

I would say this instead, *Pixuato nas iscuelas* [*Pixueto in schools*] (responding to calls for normalised Bable to be introduced into schools).³² † [Juan Luis Álvarez del Busto, official chronicler of Cudillero].

Summer schools

A significant component in the educational offering of Bable in the 1990s came from *cursinos de brañu* {C:cursos de verano}[summer courses]. These courses have variously been organised or sponsored by the University of Oviedo, the ALLA and local councils. The ALLA first became involved in such offerings in 1982 with the university becoming involved in 1985-86.

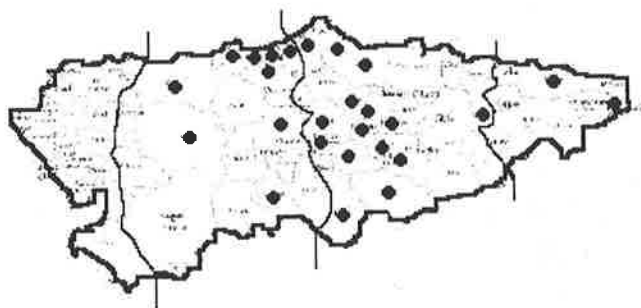
The participants of such a course in 1995 responded to a survey conducted for the purposes of this thesis; the results of that survey are dealt with in Chapter 13. These courses have been offered for a number of years and targeted different audiences; some of the courses were offered sequentially upon completion of earlier ones. The 1994 program of the University of Oviedo consisted of 40 courses in which 495 teachers and 1,500 students participated.

In Chapter 13 it is noted that a number of participants in that intensive course had indicated they had previously also attended *cursinos* [*short courses*] offered under the auspices of local councils. Though in the 1990s the number of councils involved was only about thirteen, in 1989-90 twenty six councils had offered such courses (*Cursu de la llingua asturiana p'adultos*) in association with the regional ministry of education and culture. Map 9.2 charts the distribution of those councils offering courses.

³² LNE 29.04.97

† *Yo diría este otro: 'Pixuato nas iscualas'*.

Map 9.2: Distribution of councils offering courses in Bable



In 1994, the University of Oviedo created a formal course for the study of Bable, *Filología Asturiana* [Asturian Philology] which commenced its offering in the 1995 academic year with 520 course hours. Subsequently this was replaced by two courses *Títulu d'Espécialista en Filoloxía Asturiana* [Specialist course in Asturian Philology] of 560 hours designed to enable students to teach Bable at secondary school level; and *Títulu d'Espertu en Filoloxía Asturiana* [Expert course in Asturian Philology] of 420 hours aimed at primary school teaching.

The combined effect of Bable educational offerings at all levels was reported by the ALLA to have involved some 25,000 students in 1998.³³

9.3 LANGUAGE ACTIVISM

The *Xunta pola Defensa de la Llingua Asturiana* [Junta for the defence of the Asturian language] was established in Oviedo in 1984 as a group which was *plural, unitaria y democrática* [plural, unitary and democratic]. The group has organised campaigns, demonstrations, seminars, concerts and interviews as part of its campaign in support of officiality for Bable. It also published a *Llibru blancu de la recuperación y*

³³ F G-Fierro Botas, op.cit., LLAA 72, 1999, ALLA, Uviéu, p 169.

normalización llingüística d'Asturies [*White book on the recuperation and linguistic normalisation of Asturias*]. The group listed five goals:³⁴

- **Schooling:** the immediate introduction of the teaching of the language in all centres, starting with those where it has been available as a voluntary option.
- **Means of communication:** moving the presence of Asturian from *meramente testimonial* [*merely token*] in the media to a more normal presence, particularly on radio and television.
- **Toponymy:** introduction of Asturian toponyms in official usage and that they would be the only ones used. Reactivation of the *Xunta de Toponimia* [*Toponymy Council*].
- **Officiality:** raising the status of the language to co-official in regional legislation.
- **Social normalisation:** assuring the full social normalisation of Asturian so that its dignification, and hence its survival, would be achieved.

Another group, the *Pautu pol Autogobierno y la cooficialidá del Asturiano* [*Pact for self-government and coofficiality of Asturian*], had as its slogan *Por Asturias, por lo que ye nuestro* [*For Asturias, for that which is ours*].³⁵ Mario Suárez, a member of the *Pautu*, outlined five amendments the group wanted to Article Five of the Autonomy Statute; they were:³⁶

- The recognition of Asturias as an historic nationality.
- The capacity for the Xunta to be dissolved and early elections called (note: this right at the time only existed for the Catalan, Basque, Galician and Andalusian regions).
- The declaration of Asturian as an official language.
- The creation of new institutions such as Defender of the People and Audit Tribunal (note: again this had previously only applied in the four regions named above).
- The creation of a Consultative Council and the capacity of levying taxation which would assure *nuestra autonomía económica* [*our economic autonomy*].

³⁴ Internet, homepage for Xunta pola Defensa de la Llingua Asturiana, <http://194.179.127.98/xunta>

³⁵ LNE 11.1.98

³⁶ <http://asturies.com/asturia/entrevvista.htm>

Two other groups which have been active are *Conceyu pol estudio y proteición de la Llingua Asturian* [*Council for the study and protection of the Asturian Language - CEPLA*] which has issued the periodical *El Canciu'l Cuélebre*, and *Coleutivo Siero pola oficialidá* [*Siero Collective for coofficiality*].³⁷

CEPLA, based in Xixón, has the objects of :

deepening the consciousness of the study of the Asturian language, so as to develop an effort of supporting of its survival and normalisation.^{38 t}

9.4 LITERARY COMPETITIONS

Literary competitions (poetry, prose, tales and theatre) have been a feature of Spanish cultural life. They have thus also become means of promotion for vernaculars as regional governments, local councils, cultural associations and schools offer prizes for works in the local language. Sometimes these competitions have been only available for works in the vernacular, at other times they have been bilingual competitions.

In Asturias, the number of such competitions have grown in recent times. The first known competition admitting a Bable work is recorded as having taken place in 1639 (*vide* page 261). The next recorded instance occurred in 1948, a lyrical poetry competition convened by RIDEA in the year of its establishment. With only a couple of other such events during the Franco era, such competitions became more frequent in the 1970s, as commentary earlier in this chapter has noted.

³⁷ L060/350.

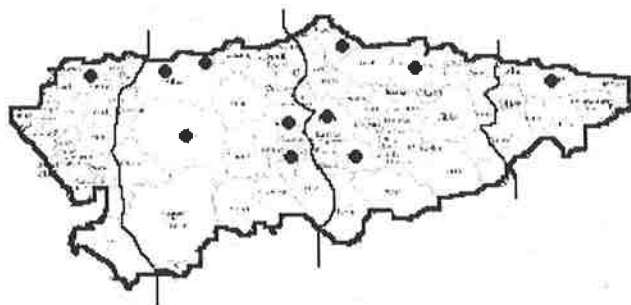
³⁸ www.geocities.com/Capitol Hill/Congress/1852/index.htm

^t *afondar na conciencia ya l'estudiu de la llingua asturiana, asina comu desendolcar un llabor d'afitamientu de la so sobrevivencia ya la so normalización*

Scanning reports of such competitions in LNE revealed reports of twenty competitions admitting works in Bable and one for works in Gallego-Astur.* Of the twenty competitions admitting Bable works, eleven were totally focussed on that language, while the remaining nine conducted sub-categories for Castilian as well as Bable. A feature of most bilingual competitions has been a disparity in the purse offered in each sub-category, with Castilian-language award winners receiving normally about twice as large as Bable-language award winners. A further twenty two literary competitions were identified in LNE; one of those indicated that it was for Castilian-only language entries, while the reports of the remaining twenty-one did not specify any language criteria.

Of the twenty competitions admitting works in Bable, ten were offered by organisations or government entities covering the whole region; four were convened by the local ministry of culture, two by ALLA, one by a publishing house and three by cultural groups. The remaining ten were offered by local groups, schools or councils. The spread of those ten (and the one for works in Gallego-Astur) is mapped in Map 9.3.

Map 9.3: Literary competitions by location



* *Premio 'Xeira' de relatos cortos en gallego-asturiano*, organized by the *Asociación Cultural 'Xeira'*, in the county of El Franco. This competition appears to have started in 1991 – LNE 17.2.97.

Four of the Bable language competitions were for works of poetry only, five for short stories, one for novels, the remaining ten admitted works in various genres. Twelve of the Bable language competitions indicated the year when they commenced (as did the competition for Gallego-Astur works – 1991). Three of the competitions were established in the 1980s (the first at the start of the decade) and nine in the 1990s (with five being established in 1993).

This chapter has looked at those aspects of Asturian society which have sought to promote the sustainability of Bable. The next chapter looks at the challenges facing the language in the current context and compares the situation with that facing other Spanish vernaculars.

PART B – BABLE

CHAPTER TEN – LANGUAGE ISSUES

Overview

The contrast of opinions expressed within Asturias concerning the vitality of Bable can seem surprising. For example, while on the one hand Ernesto Canton, an hotel owner and a supporter for the future of the language, stated that Bable was:

A dialect to be conserved in the region.^{1 †}

On the other, Sara Suárez Solís, writer and former professor of language and literature, said of Bable that it was:

A speech which has been lost, substituted by an artificial product.^{2 †}

Turning to survey data to resolve the differences of opinion as to the present state and future of Bable is not wholly conclusive as responses to questions concerning the use of Bable have not sufficiently explored utilisation variations in different domains or genres; nor have they probed sufficiently the issue of language change and the symptomatic issue of interference.

More fundamentally, however, the opinion variations underscore the difficulties facing attempts at linguistic *fiats* such as the imposition of standardized forms. In the case of Asturias, the debate has raged over whether Bable should be normalised linguistically, creating a standard version from its dialect base; and/or whether it should be normalised

¹ OS 14.9.96

[†] *Un dialecto a conservar en la región*

² OS 7.12.96

sociolinguistically, expanding domain and genre usage of the language. These difficulties exist because attempts to impose linguistic *facts* have to confront *perception* and *attitude* held by differing groups within the region.

What are linguistic facts in relation to Bable? That the following questions exist in relation to Bable indicates that accepted linguistic *facts* are hard to come by due to variations in perception and attitude :

- Is there one Bable consisting of dialects, or are there various Bables too significantly diverse to be considered part of one language?
- Have changes to the language been reflections of the process of linguistic change or interference (or transference)?

In this section the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages [GIDS] model of Joshua Fishman [1991] is adapted to assess the comparative position of Bable compared with other Spanish vernaculars. In addition, the areas of language interference as well as domains and genres of usage are examined. The diglossic consequences of domain and genre usage are then considered. The issue of normalisation (in both its functions) is then dealt with. Finally, the question of official status for Bable is discussed, given that the end point of the period examined in this thesis is the concluding of the 1998 debate on whether the language should be granted co-official status with Castilian.

10.1 CHANGE

In any language there can be various types of change: lexical, phonetic and morpho-syntactic. The first, lexical, can involve both the introduction or creation of new words

^t *Un habla que se ha perdido, sustituida por un producto artificial.*

as well as the alteration of meanings of existing words. The second, phonetic, involves changes to accent or what might be termed the ‘music’ of the spoken language. The third, morpho-syntactic, in its morphological component involves spelling changes to words and can also include alterations to the shared alphabet. The syntactic component involves changes to word order patterns and other alterations of grammar .

Lexical

Concerning two types of lexical change which have occurred over time in Bable, the following two tables provide some examples of each:

Changes or extension of meaning

<u>Word</u>	<u>Original meaning</u>	<u>New or additional meaning</u>
<i>Dixebrar</i> _[84]	To separate (agric.)	To perceive differences
<i>Esmayar</i> _[*]	To shell a nut	To undertake a very difficult job
<i>Folixa</i> _[57]	Trivial thing	Pleasurable thing
<i>Frayar</i> _[53]	To separate wooden stakes (agric)	Very painful contusion of fingers
<i>Gayola</i> _[119]	Trivial thing	Joy
<i>Güetar</i> _[141]	To rake chestnuts	To seek

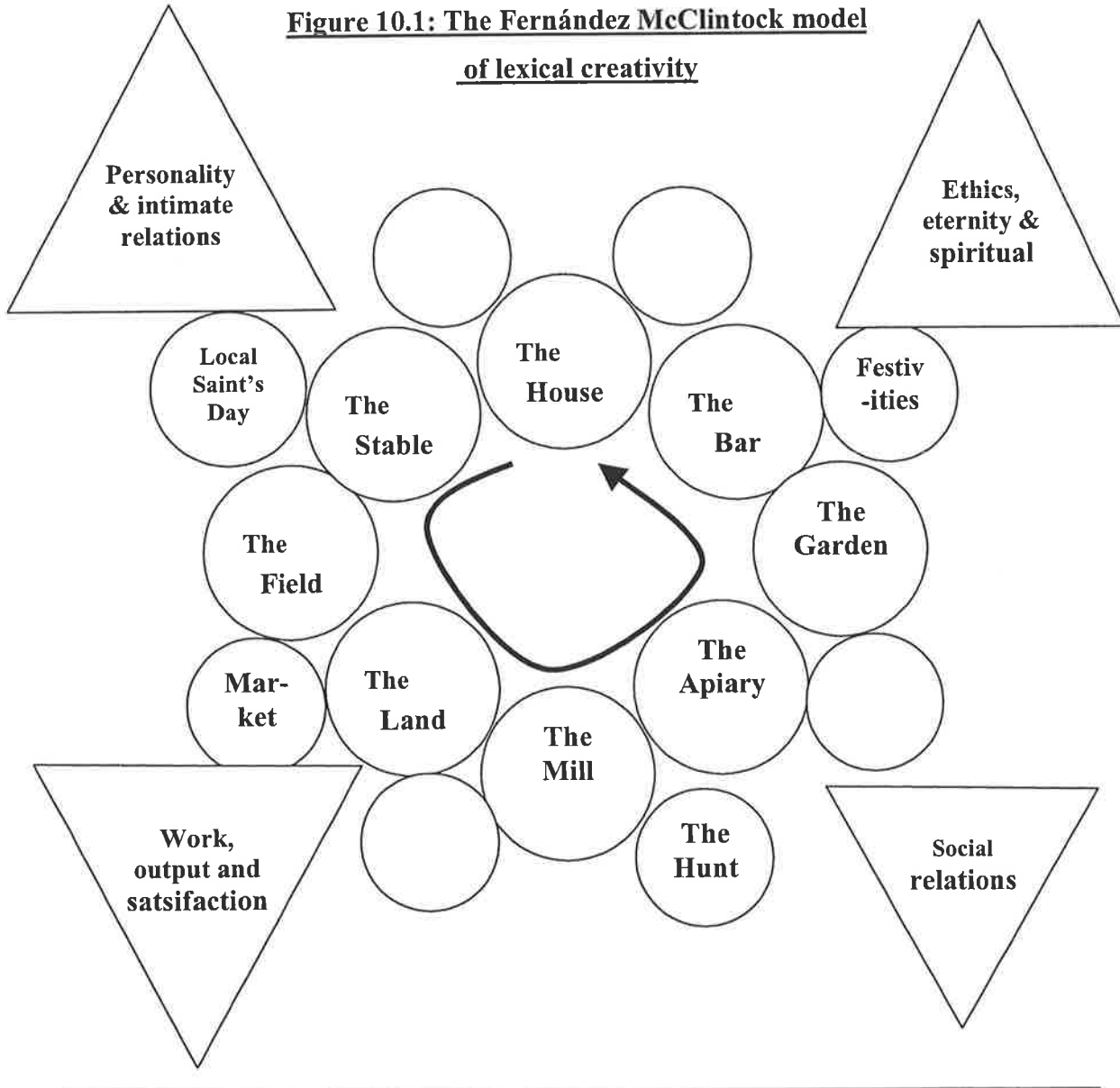
Introduction or creation of new words

<u>Word</u>	<u>Source word</u>	<u>New meaning</u>
<i>Barrenu elétricu</i> _[*]	<i>Barrenu</i> [mining drill]	Electric hand-drill ³
<i>Ecolóxicu</i> _[24]	(international provenance)	Ecological
<i>Esquistu</i> _[*]	<i>Esquistu</i> [shale]	Petroleum
<i>Vagoniar</i> _[*]	<i>Vagon</i> [wagon]	To work (with wagons) [mining]

At this point it is of interest to note the propositions of James W Fernández McClintock re the inter-relationship of domains and the connection with language. He developed a diagram which he proposed recognized the relationship of the rural domain as a source

of linguistic richness and change in Bable. In other words he took a contrary view to Agustín Hevia Ballina (see page 259 in Chapter 8) who felt that the *very deep ruralism* [*acendrado ruralismo*] of Bable was *completely inadequate for expressing the personal attitudes of humans in the face of the supernatural world.*⁴

**Figure 10.1: The Fernández McClintock model
of lexical creativity**



³ L Amado Rodríguez et.al., *Transferencia Llingüística nes Parroquies de Trubia y Godos*, Principáu d'Asturies, Uviéu, 1993, page 133. Only one person from a sample of forty six people gave *Barrenu elétricu* as a response to a visual representation of such a tool.

⁴ J Fernández McClintock, *Campos Léxicos y vida cultural n'asturies*, op.cit., p72.

The model, shown in Figure 10.1, essentially proposed possible pathways by which someone familiar with the rural setting could turn to it for words and phrases whose meaning could be adapted from their prosaic origins to describe more complex ideas.

He gave a number of examples, a couple of which were:⁵

The church is a beekeeper
The saints are the hives
The bees are the women
The drones are the curates
That suck from the bees.[†]

And:

The compost is a holy body
To tell the truth:
It gives life to the fields
And fruits to the homestead[†]

He derived the following theoretical proposition:

The theory which we expound here is a theory ... of the constant necessity of human life to fill lexical holes and in thus filling not only to restructure but also to revitalize our experience.^{6 †}

Phonetic

Phonetic change (or changes to accent) are difficult to identify in the particular but nevertheless appear to have occurred amongst some Bable speakers. The evidence is more by way of reflection by those whose accent has already changed upon the accent

[†] *completamente inadecuado para 'expresar actitudes personales del hombre ante el mundo sobrenatural*

⁵ Op.cit., p72.

[†] *La iglesia ye un colmenar/ Los santos son los caxellos/ Les abeyes son muyeres/ Los zánganos son los cures/ Que chupen de les abeyes.*

[†] *El cuchu ye un cuerpu santu/ por dicise la verdá:/ da vida a los campos/ y frutos a la heredá.*

⁶ Op.cit., p79.

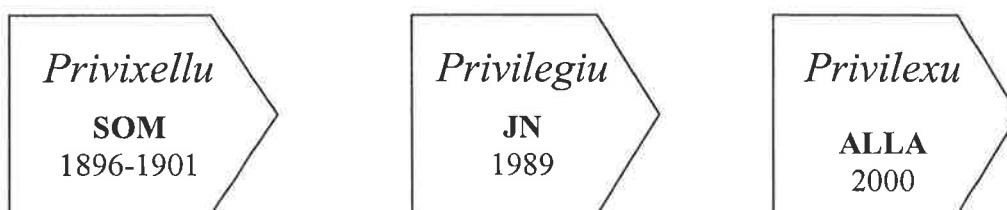
[†] *la teoría que aquí exponemos, es una teoría ... de la necesidad constante en la vida humana, de llenar huecos léxicos y en este llenar no solamente estructurar sino revitalizar nuestra experiencia.*

of those who still speak an older language ‘music’. The word *ho* is an abbreviation of *home* {C: *hombre*} [*man*] and has been noted to have a characteristic pronunciation in Asturias when used at the end of a sentence. It has a downward inflection when used in this context. There is a feeling that the capacity to voice successfully this downward inflection may be in the process of being lost.⁷

The durability of the *ch* sound in Asturian nicknames (eg *Chema*) is also, perhaps surprisingly, indicative of accent loss inasmuch as it represents all that is left of a sound which was much more widespread now generally replaced with the aspirated *j* sound now increasingly more common.

Morpho-syntactic

In the area of morpho-syntactic changes, there have been orthographic changes which have tended to be heterogeneous and this has complicated the process of standardisation. In the case of the shared alphabet there has been greater, but still not absolute, uniformity. While the letter *X* has disappeared from use in all areas where Bable is written, there continue dual ways of representing the sound /tʃ/, namely *ts* and *ʃ*. Other orthographic changes been caused by a variety of influences. For example, tracing the present-day word *privilexu* [*privilege*] through Bable dictionaries provides the following path:



⁷ Anselmo Argüelles Alonso, interview notes.

The first step in this path showed a move away from metathesis towards an orthography influenced by Castilian (perhaps interference). The final step represented an attempt to provide orthographic standardisation.

Yet it needs to be acknowledged that alongside paths such as the example above, there has also been the continued survival of diverse spellings for many words. For example, in Chapter 13 it is noted that, in the responses to the survey of teachers and others, the following alternative spellings were given for the word *maestru/a* [*teacher*]:

Maiestro
Mallestra
Mayestru

Likewise, as recorded in the interview notes with Xosé Anton, there are still in current usages various spellings of the word for *woman* [*muyer*]:

Muyer
Muyere
Mucher
Muller
Muļler

Another example of morpho-syntactic change has been the simplification of abbreviations in the language. Now overwhelmingly limited to *d'*, *l*, *pol* and *pola*, earlier usages included compound words such as:

Ent'empapiellos
*Solitariu'sá'l valle*⁸

⁸ Examples from E García-Rendueles, *Los Nuevos Bablistas*, reprint of original 1925 edition, ALLA, Uviéu, 1987, pp 90-91.

An example of a resistance to morphosyntactic change has been the survival in Bable of enclisis (finite verb followed by pronoun). On the other hand, there has been a tendency to change with respect to previous proclisis (infinitive verb preceded by pronoun) patterns. It is noteworthy that Castilian has seen changes in both areas. Jacques de Bruyne has noted that enclisis/proclisis, a continuing feature of Bable, were both characteristic of medieval Castilian.⁹

The examples of change listed above would seem to be *bona fide* changes that were independent of possible interference from Castilian and thus could be categorised as ‘change’ and not ‘interference’.

10.1.1 Interference

Milio R Cueto cited the following as examples of pure Bable (which he called *Asturianu*), pure Castilian and interfered Bable (which he called *Amestao* or *Meciu*)¹⁰:

Díxome que morrió la muyer de Pepe [Bable]

Me ha dicho (or dijo) que ha muerto la mujer de Pepe [Castilian]

Díjome que murió la muyer de Pepe [*Amestao* or *Meciu*]

[*He told me that Pepe's wife had died*]

By his use of *Amestao* and *Meciu* [both of which mean *mixed*] as descriptors of the third, Cueto was attesting to an interfering effect of Castilian upon Bable. Indeed he referred to *lo presión castellana* [*Castilian pressure*] and the fact that Bable and Castilian are *llingues hermanes* [*brother languages*].¹¹

⁹ J de Bruyne, *A comprehensive Spanish grammar*, op.cit., page 155.

¹⁰ M R Cueto, *Manual de llingua asturiana*, op.cit., page 112.

¹¹ *Ibid*, page 111.

Two further examples of interference, from the Mieres study of Xosé Antón González Riaño, are now added as cases of the reverse (namely, Bable interference on Castilian).

The first was from Angeles, a primary school student, the quote being:

*A Inés rompió-y la hoja y agora diz que nun fai más*¹²
[*Inés tore the page and now says that there aren't any more*]

This compares with what would have been the Bable and Castilian versions:

Bable: *A Inés rompió-y la fueya y agora diz que nun fai más.*

Castilian: *A Inés lo ha rompido la hoja y agora dice que no hay más.*

The second was from Dario, also a primary school student, the quote being:

*Cuando fuimos a Avila yo y el mi hermanu, pasemoslo muy bien*¹³
[*When I and my brother went to Avila, we had a good time*]

This Bable and Castilian versions being:

Bable: *Cuandu fuimos a Avila yo y el mio hermanu, pasemoslu mui bien (or perbien)*

Castilian: *Cuando fuimos a Avila yo y mi hermano, lo pasemos muy bien.*

What do these examples of interference (from whichever direction they may be viewed) indicate? To consider requires some understanding of the nature of interference.

Is interference/transference a negative?

The word 'interference' faces the risk of being 'loaded' as a concept. Carol Renner, of the University of Regensburg in Germany, said in an interview:

You have to accept interference, because interference is what (language interaction) is all about. Interference is where you try to explain differences. Interference, I think, should be seen as something positive, rather than something negative. Interference is where the two languages or the two cultures differ and

¹² X A González Riaño, *Interferencia Lingüística y Escuela Asturiana*, op.cit., page 402.

¹³ Ibid. page 412.

have to be explained to one another. I decided at some point, I'm not going to be worried about interference, I'm going to accept it as natural.¹⁴

As far back as 1967, given the somewhat perjorative suggestion of the word 'interference', Michael Clyne suggested an alternative word – *transference* – defining it as the *adoption of any elements or features from the other language*.¹⁵ This is not to suggest that Clyne believed that a language was not negatively affected by transference for he wrote:

... correlations between language contact and shift studies indicate reduced use of a language in all or some domains accommodating transference.¹⁶

M Sharwood-Smith and E Kellerman, in 1986, suggested an even softer term – *cross-linguistic influence*.¹⁷

In 1968, W F Mackey added another perspective to the topic by distinguishing interference from borrowing, denoting the former as *contingent and individual* with the latter being noted as *collective and systematic*.¹⁸

Given the different angles from which Cueto and Riaño considered interference (indicated in the examples above), it is interesting to note that Clyne also proposed that interference/transference should be looked at from the positive stance of *remembering* (the Riaño examples could be considered thus) rather than the negative one of *forgetting*¹⁹ (which the Cueto example could be so considered).

¹⁴ C Renner, *Language Maintenance: A Conversation with Carol Renner*, www.zait.uni-bremen.de p 160.

¹⁵ cited by S Romaine, *Bilingualism*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, page 51.

¹⁶ M Clyne, *Community Languages: The Australian Experience*, CUP, Cambridge, 1991, page 159.

¹⁷ cited by S Romaine, *Bilingualism*, op.cit, page 51.

¹⁸ Idem.

10.1.2 Change versus interference

Have changes to language been *bona fide* or have they been the result of interference?

The Mieres study of X A González Riaño quoted one teacher in answer to the question

Do your students ... mix Asturian and Castilian by saying:

Without doubt. The situations of interference which you collected in your diary are completely habitual, I am tired of hearing them in my class. I have made a calculation on a student by student basis, of the 27 children in my class, 15 commit similar interferences.^{20 t}

On the other hand, with respect to the interference example of Milio Cueto, alternative explanations could also be proffered. The quoted sequence could point to the durability ('remembering') of features characteristic of Bable in an environment where Castilian has progressively become more dominant. Alternatively, and this is the suggestion of Cueto, they could be indicative of 'forgetting'. However, another possibility is that the first and third versions (Bable and *Amestau/Meciu*) may simply represent two steps in a sequence; evidence of a change process which Bable has undergone and will continue to undergo.

With respect to the two examples from Riaño of interference from Mieres, both could be taken to be situations of Bable durability in L2 settings rather than interference. But again they could seem to indicate a process of change.

As noted in Chapter 13, a significant number of the respondents to the survey indicated serious concern that they spoke Bable which had been interfered with by Castilian. The

¹⁹ Op.cit., page 160.

²⁰ X A González Riaño, op.cit, page 462.

^t ¿Tus alumnos ... mezclan asturiano y castellano? – Sin duda. Las situaciones de interferencia que recoges en tu diario son completamente habituales, yo estoy cansada de oírlas en mi aula. Estuve haciendo un cálculo, alumno por alumno, y de 27 niños de mji tutoría, 15 cometen interferencias similares.

examples of interference cited in their responses may each seem clearly to have represented an erosion of historic Bable-ness in the face of the dominating contact of Castilian.

However once again what has been called *interference* may not so much have been the result of contact with a dominant L2, but may have reflected an inherent predisposition on the part of an L1 to change in a direction predicted by that which the L2 duolect had already traveled.

Possible proofs that such an argument that those two duolects may both be proceeding along similar paths of change albeit at different rates could be found in situations where Bable and Medieval Castilian originally shared common features, but then went through separate rates of change. An example would be the earlier adoption in Castilian of enclisis patterns for infinitive + verb compared with Bable, and similarly of proclisis patterns with respect to finite verb forms.

In examining change in language, analysis can be done on each of these elements (Lexical, phonetic, morpho-syntactic). Each one has the potential for different types of change within it.

	Lexical	Phonetic	Morpho-syntactic
Change	Enhancement of meaning	Accent change	Grammatical or orthographic change
Shift	Meaning shift	Domain & meaning change	Reduction in variety
Additions	Introduction of new words from other languages	Introduction of accent features of other languages	Introduction of Grammatical features of other languages
Subtractions	Loss of words from common usage	Loss of accent	Loss of grammatical Features

The table needs some clarification. Additions and subtractions in the Lexical realm in most instances could be considered to be discrete events. However, in the Phonetic and morpho-syntactic realms, it is more probable that the two operate in a substitutionary manner. That is the loss of a grammatical feature would see its replacement by an external feature (ie from another language); similarly, accent loss would be as the result of replacement by new accent features.

Examples of each would be:

	Lexical	Phonetic	Morpho-syntactic
Change	<i>Folixa</i> expanding from meaning of <i>trivial thing</i> to include <i>pleasurable thing</i>	[lack of electronic recording over time limits access to examples]	<i>Privixelu</i> to <i>privilexu</i> (loss of metathesis)
Shift	<i>Güetar</i> moving away from <i>to rake chestnuts</i> to <i>to seek</i>	<i>Gochu/gocho</i> [refer page 195]	Standardising - introducing single forms
Additions	<i>Ecolóxicu</i> – addition of word to lexicon.	Introduction of the English <i>J</i> as in <i>jazz</i>	Adoption of Castilian proclisis patterns in infinitive
Subtractions	<i>Añaciar</i> – loss of word from lexicon.	Loss of capacity to intone <i>Ho</i>	Loss of traditional enclisis pattern in the infinitive

We can now turn now to the question of whether the above were the result of change or interference or some more neutral concept such as transference. Furthermore is there a Castilian mirror to the table above for Bable? The examples of *guapa* and *fabes* indicate that there would be such a mirror table. Would understanding the comparative size of each table determine whether there has been change or interference? Does the above methodology help identify change separately from interference as well as answer the above questions?

A number of elements has been raised as germane to whether an instance of language change has been interference, borrowing or change. These elements include polarities such as individual vs systematic, contingent vs collective as well as more neutral concepts such as ‘influence’ and ‘adoption’. These elements are then players in a process which leads to a language evolving from earlier phases of its existence. Finally, according to those referred to earlier, that evolution, which represents ‘change’, has either resulted from ‘borrowing’ or ‘interference’. Considering these polarities and using the examples in the above table the following assessments could be made:

	Lexical	Phonetic	Morpho-syntactic
Change	Change	[Interference]	Change/Interference
Shift	Change	Change	Change
Additions	Transference	Transference	Interference
Subtractions	Change	Interference	Interference

10.1.3 A pathology of language loss

In one of my interviews with him, Professor José Antonio Martínez García asserted that in terms of language loss there are distinct phases – phases which make up what could be called a structural ‘pathology’ of language loss. Professor Martínez argued that there is a process of loss which occurs in the following steps (represented from the first, or easiest, to be lost through to the last, or most resistant) as an L1 gives way to an L2:

- loss of lexicon
- loss of accent (phonetic)
- loss of grammar (morphology & syntax)²¹

Analysing the three previous statements gives the following indications of types of loss:

Díjome que murió la muyer de Pepe

A Inés rompió-y la hoja y ahora diz que nun fai más

Cuando fuimos a Avila yo y el hermanu pasemos bien

Lexical interference

Phonetic interference

Morpho-syntactic interference

It is important to remember that the first statement was cited as an example of Bable interfered with by Castilian, while the latter two were Castilian statements interfered with by Bable. The analysis above has identified differences between components of the statement and what would have been the correct Bable forms. The three examples reveal one lexical interference, three phonetic and five morpho-syntactic. This would seem contrary to the proposition of Martínez García.

Xosé Antón González Riaño, in his study of interference in the language of students in the city of Mieres,²² cited empirical evidence which looked at the subject of interference from the L2 perspective – that is how much an L2 is retained, or is interfered with by, features of an L1. The study appeared to provide contrary evidence to the loss hierarchy thesis of Martínez García. In particular, González Riaño provided statistical evidence which attested to an apparent lack of durability of grammar (as opposed to the maintenance of accent and lexicon) in the case of Bable. In his study he analysed oral and written statements from 572 students at a primary school in the coal mining city of Mieres. As indicated above, his work looked at the interference of Bable upon the Castilian spoken by the students, rather than the interference of Castilian on Bable.

²¹ Interview notes 27.9.95.

Table 10.1 indicates the incidence of interference in different categories found in the study of written interference (from 286 samples).²³

Table 10.1: Interference by category from the Mieres study

Category	Incidence	Example (interference shaded)
Phonetic	119	<i>Llueve mucho en tolos países</i>
Lexical	112	<i>Tiene un focico muy guapo</i>
Morphological	36	<i>Están haciéndolu o coloreándolu</i>
Phonetic-Morphological	10	<i>No tenían ni un güesín</i>
Syntactic	9	<i>El mi hermano estaba aburrído</i>

A further work which noted varying categories of interference was the research project into linguistic transference by Lucinda Amado Rodríguez et.al. The research project conducted in the communities of Trubia and Godos (both near Oviedo, but on the boundary between the Bable Central and Bable Oriental zones) was based on interviews with 250 general respondents, 150 students (Grades 4-5 and 7-8) and 82 adults. Table 10.2 indicates the recording of instances of linguistic transference on the part of a seventh grade girl.²⁴

Table 10.2: Categories of Linguistic Transference in the Trubia/Godos study

Category	Percentage	Example
Phonetic	50%	<i>Llocu (vs loco)</i>
Lexical	100%	<i>Tar (vs estar)</i>
	53%	<i>Ye (vs es)</i>
Morphological	100%	<i>-y (vs le)</i>
	83%	<i>-n, -z, -l</i>
Syntactic	66.6%	Enclisis
	25%	<i>El mío (vs mio.)</i>

²² Op.cit.

²³ Op. cit, page 322.

²⁴ L Amado Rodríguez et.al., *Transferencia llingüística nes parroquies de Trubia y Godos*, Principáu d'Asturies, Uviéu, 1993, page 34.

Whatever the case regarding a loss hierarchy, both Martínez Garcia and Gonzalez Riaño acknowledge that interference exists at all levels (phonetic, lexical, morphological and syntactic) when two languages engage; though Amado Rodríguez et. al. use the alternative term *transference*, the significance of their findings is the same.

In the case of Asturias, it is clear that there is a substantial discussion there about the nature of the interface between Bable and Castilian. In Chapter 13 for example, where the responses of those attending a conference on language recuperation have been analysed, many of the responses referred directly to the issue of interference of Castilian with Bable.

The *perspectivismo* proposition of Ortega y Gasset (referred to on page 87) can be taken beyond the personal to the conceptual and applied to the issue of perception regarding the effect of contact between languages. That is to say analysis of issues such as interference and change can probably not be dealt with solely on the basis of linguistic *fact* but also require treatment of the *perception* of those closely involved in any particular language. The viewpoint of *perception* may be further modified by opinion and in such cases would be termed *attitude*. Later in this chapter the link between attitude and linguistic ‘facts’ is explored.

The 1991 Llera study found that 23.7% of the population considered that their first language was a *mezcla entre castellano y asturiano* [a mix between Castilian and Asturian]. While, as mentioned earlier (on page 133), the same study noted that 66% of people believed that Bable is *closed or primitive Asturian* [*cerrado y primitivo*] while

Asturian is *what is spoken normally* [*que se habla normalmente*] with the implication that part of the difference had been due to interference.²⁵

Had Bable not been coexistent with another closely-related Romance language (Castilian) the differences between *what is spoken normally* and the *primitive* versions would be little more than evidence of a process of language change. However, Bable is coexistent with Castilian and therein lies a problem: to what extent is the language which is *spoken normally* the result of change from the *primitive* or the result of interference from the dominant language (in this instance Castilian)? And can this question ever be answered in a scenario where Bable would in any event have been subject to change processes just as any other language? To what extent would the skew of the change process caused by the presence of a dominant Castilian compromise the validity of that change?

Asturian linguist Jesús Neira argued against a negative perception of interference when he wrote:

Castilian has been transformed and is being transformed by pressure from ancient, but still living Bables. All of us who were born here and live here are dialectical in speaking Castilian. None of us escape the phonetic, morphological or syntactic characteristics which are not Castilian.²⁶ †

So too did Emilio Alarcos Llorach, on the occasion of the I Asamblea Regional del Bable (held in November 1973) when he said:

²⁵ F J Llera Ramo, *Los Asturianos y la lengua asturiana*, Servicio Publicaciones, Principáu d'Asturias, Uviéu, 1994, page 60.

²⁶ J Neira, *Bables y Castellano en Asturias*, Biblioteca Julio Somoza: Temas de Investigación Asturiana, Madrid 1982, page 80.

† *El castellano en Asturias se ha transformado y se transforma por la presión de los antiguos, pero vivos bables. Todos los que aquí nacimos o vivimos somos un poco dialectales al hablar castellano. A todos se nos escapan rasgos fónicos, morfológicos o sintáticos que no son castellanos.*

It is evident that Bable is Castilianised , with a process similar to that which inundated English with Gallicisms in the Middle Ages ... Bable, though it accepts many Castilianisms, conserves grammatical and phonetic features very different from Castilian.²⁷ †

In a related vein Xuan Xosé Sánchez Vicente referred to *asturianización de los castellanismos* [*asturianising of Castilianisms*] in his paper on the series of stories published by LNE in the late 1960s and early 1970s attributed to Xulín de Lluza. These stories contained many such examples of Castilian words being adapted according to Bable norms such as *prinxiplus* {C: *principios*} [*principles*], *obligaxón* {C: *obligación*} [*obligation*] and *dexertu* {C: *desiertu*} [*desert*].²⁸

On the other hand, the Asturian dialectologist who assisted with the normalisation of Gallego, Dr Constantino García, noted that:

The greatest problem for Bable is that the Castilian which is spoken in the Principality is very asturianised.²⁹ †

In answering these questions, there arise examples that are clear cases of a normal change process while others may be perceived to be from interference. The latter cases are often less clear cut than the former as it remains speculative whether they might have occurred anyway even in the absence of the dominant language.

The analysis of whether risk comes to a language from interference or whether there are change processes in place which are important proofs of language vitality relates to the

²⁷ E Alarcos Llorach, *Presentación de la Asamblea*, in Proceedings of I Asamblea Regional del Bable 1973, published Editorial Nacional, 1980. page 21.

† *Es evidente que el bable está castellanizado, con un proceso parecido al que inundó de galicismos en la Edad Media al inglés ... el bable, aunque acepte muchos castellanismos, conserva rasgos gramaticales y fonéticos muy distintos de los castellanos.*

²⁸ XX Sánchez Vicente, *La lliteratura de Xulín de lluz: colonización y sodesarrollu*, in *Estudios y Trabayos*, op.cit, page 253.

²⁹ LNE 27.10.95.

† *el mayor problema del bable es que el castellano que se habla en el Principado está muy asturianizada.*

issue of language ecology. Professor Peter Mühlhäusler, (whose ideas on language ecology will be considered in the next section), made the point:

Preservation or maintenance thus cannot be restricted to rescuing static texts, grammars, or dictionaries, but needs to include the preservation of the possibilities for discourse and change.³⁰

And included in any language ecology analysis is the key question: 'Would the absence of language planning have been worse in any given situation than its existence?'. In dealing with this question there are two implicit presuppositions: firstly what is 'planning' and secondly what is considered a 'desirable' or 'worse' outcome. In the first instance, the consideration of what is planning also has to be dealt with in the context of the pre-planning environment, especially with respect to domains of usage.

Jerzy Smolicz, citing Michael Clyne, has noted that there can be *possible discontinuity between language use and language attitudes*.³¹ In particular, there can be limits to domain and genre use of language in the light of particular attitudes.

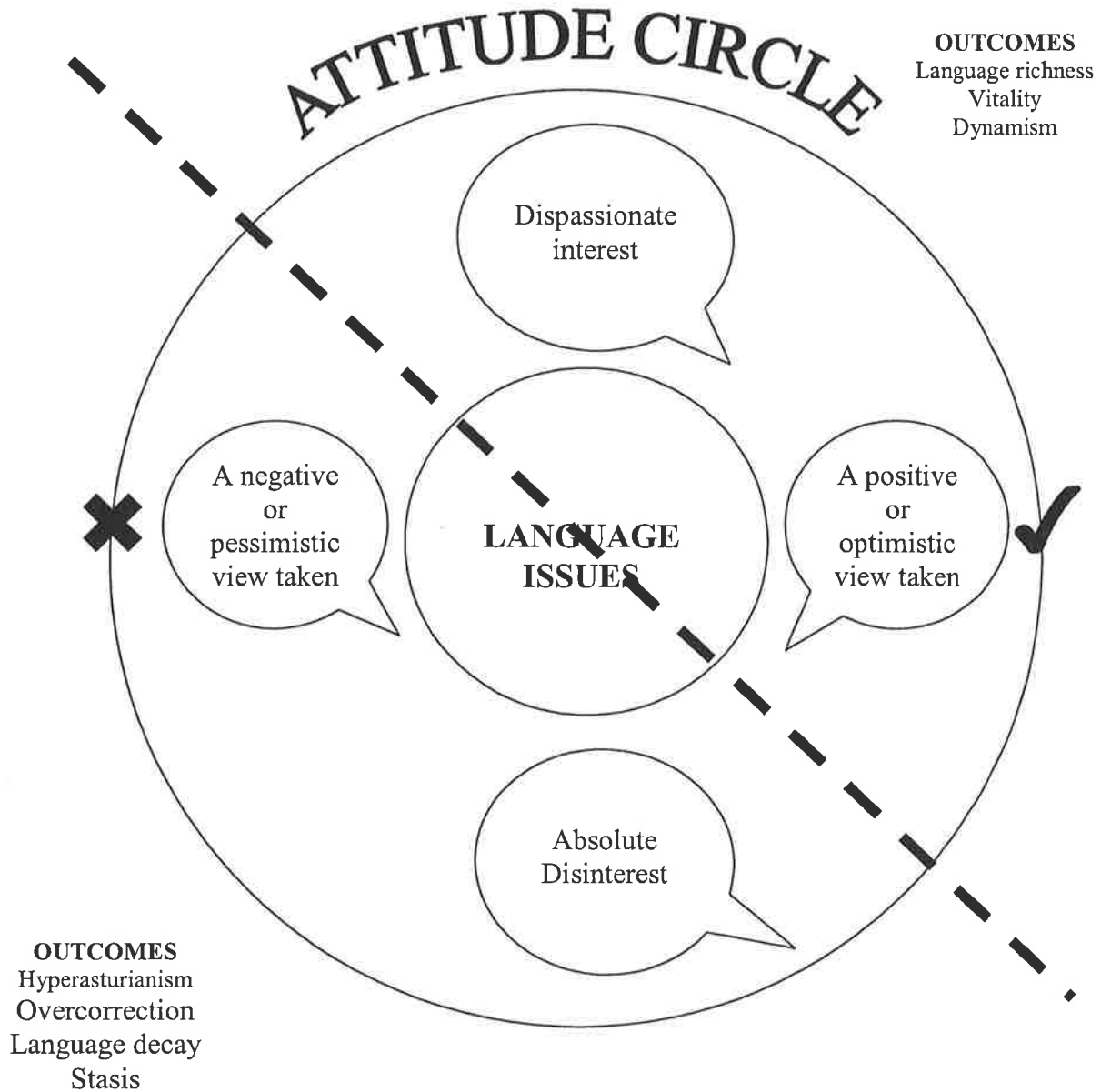
10.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF ATTITUDE OR PERCEPTION

Thus the issue of perception, or attitude, again comes into the analysis. Any particular change can be viewed either as *bona fide* change or as interference, depending upon the attitude of the opinion holder. And that attitude will be a function of a set of linguistic and sociolinguistic factors including perception of the surrounding environment. Moreover the attitudes will be held by experts, semi-experts and non-experts in linguistics, with differing opinions within each group. In Chapters 14 and 15 the wide array of opinions concerning Bable linguistics held by both expert and non-expert alike

³⁰ P Mühlhäusler, *A top-down approach to language survival*, appearing in *Oceanic Linguistics* Vol 31, #2., 1992, page 165.

is revealed through their letters to the editor, column contributions, interviews and chance quotations in news pieces. The result of such an opinion array can lead to a very confused sociolinguistic picture of the language.

Figure 10.2: Attitude circle approach to language questions



³¹ J J Smolicz *et al.*, *Family Collectivism & Minority Languages as Core Values of Culture among Ethnic Groups in Australia*, draft supplied by lead author, page 33.

These opinions then lead to choices from which arise language change. Denise Daoust noted that language change results from *choices, social and linguistic* and she went on to refer to Fasold's concept of *explicit choices* about which language planning is concerned.³²

How can some sense be made of the confused sociolinguistic picture of Bable? Figure 10.2 depicts a schematic showing how the array of attitudes to change in any of the categories (lexical, phonetic or morpho-syntactic) may be mapped. As stated above these types can then be perceived from different perspectives (the positive/optimistic, negative/pessimistic or two types of neutral).

In the schematic the four attitude positions could, in relation to an instance of interference (such as those cited earlier), result in the following statements being made:

- **Dispassionate Interest:** It is an example of the survival of linguistic features.
- **Positive view:** It is an example of Bable affecting (interfering) Castilian.
- **Absolute disinterest:** It is an example of bad Castilian.
- **Negative view:** It is an example of Castilian interference with pure Bable.

The model could then be extended to wider issues. Thus each particular example of a language issue variation from some earlier norm could then be assessed as to whether it was perceived positively, negatively or neutrally. Multiple perceptions can then be arrayed helping an identification of the core issues involved in each assessment. The utility of this analysis would both help clarify individual opinions by going beyond simplistic assessments, as well as map the diversity of opinion held in a community.

³² D Daoust, *Language Planning and Language Reform*, in F Coulmas, *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, Blackwell, Oxford 1997, page 436.

Language issues which could be so considered could be major issues (a proposal to normalise a language, or introduce it as the medium of instruction in the education system, or the introduction of toponymy in the vernacular) as well as minor issues (such as sociolinguistic *yeismo* or the use of *per-* versus *mui* or *muy*).

As examples in Bable of a major issue, the debate over whether Bable should be normalised is considered below. Likewise the topic of *yeismo* is considered as a minor issue. The following table could then be derived from the attitude possibilities suggested by Figure 10.2.

Issue: normalisation of Bable

	Type of view	Opinion
-	Absolute disinterest	Normalised Bable is an invented jargon, that no-one speaks.
	Negative/ pessimistic	Normalised Bable will threaten the varieties (<i>los bables</i>).
+	Dispassionate interest	Normalised Bable could enable the gathering of key elements which differentiate it from Castilian.
	Postive/ optimistic	Normalised Bable will ensure the survival of the language.

A key outcome if negative views prevailed would be to see the individual varieties fail to sustain themselves due to the individual weakness of each against a very overpowering Castilian. A further, related negative view would be the stifling of any natural tendency to standardise as demographics weeded out weaker varieties and tended to support a stronger one.

On the other hand, if positive views applied there would be the prospect of the language surviving and being accepted across a wider range of domains and genres. In this situation the varieties (*los bables*) could become an integral part of the richness of the complete Bable (the standardised version plus the dialects). Turning to a minor issue as

an example to test the model, the following could be the responses to the existence of sociolinguistic *yeismo*:

Issue: existence of sociolinguistic *yeismo*

	Type of view	Opinion
-	Absolute disinterest	<i>Yeismo</i> is a quaint piece of language folklore.
	Negative/ pessimistic	<i>Yeismo</i> represents artifice.(eg view of L192/443)
+	Dispassionate interest	<i>Yeismo</i> represents a marker of identity.
	Postive/ optimistic	<i>Yeismo</i> represents an opportunity to better understand attitudes to domains and genres where Bable can be promoted in the first instance.

A key outcome of the negative would be to see sociolinguistic *yeismo* either actively discouraged (by educating for ‘good Castilian’) or disparaged (with quaintness being linked as the opposite of trendy). With respect to the positive, sociolinguistic *yeismo* could be become not only an acceptable marker of identity but even one with some distinctiveness (such as the Asturian use of *guapo*).

10.3 LANGUAGE STATUS AND DOMAINS OF USAGE:

The most obvious objective of any language planning process is to increase the degree of its utilisation both in quantitative terms (number of speakers) and qualitative (domains of usage). Though it is often said that raising the status of a language is the objective of language planning, the achievement of such a goal would be pyrrhic if it was not also accompanied by increased utilisation.

The Irish experience reveals that the link between status promotion and utilisation improvement can be very tenuous. Yet it would be wrong to draw the conclusion from that example that status is incidental to utilisation. The Spanish experience reveals that

there is a nexus between the two and, while the statement “increased status will lead to increased utilisation” is problematic, it can be said with certainty that “utilisation will not increase unless there has been improvement in the status of the language”.

10.3.1 Fishman GIDS model of language status

In 1991 Joshua Fishman proposed, as an aid to language planning, the use of the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages (GIDS).³³ This scale consisted of eight stages as follows:

Stage 8: Social isolation of the few remaining speakers of the minority language. Need to record the language for later possible reconstruction.

Stage 7: Minority language used by older and not younger generation. Need to multiply the language in younger generation.

Stage 6: Minority language is passed on from generation to generation and used in the community. Need to support the family in intergenerational continuity (eg provision of minority language nursery schools).

Stage 5: Literacy in the minority language. Need to support literacy movements in the minority language, particularly when there is no government support.

Stage 4: Formal, compulsory education available in the minority language. May need to be financially supported by the minority language community.

Stage 3: Use of the minority language in less specialised work areas involving interaction with majority language speakers.

Stage 2: Lower government services and mass media available in the minority language.

Stage 1: Some use of minority language available in higher education, central government and national media.

Considering this scale against the experience of the languages of Spain reveals a number of points. Firstly, as Fishman himself would agree, the scale is analogue rather than digital, representing a continuum with each particular stage being a milestone

³³ J A Fishman, *Reversing language shift: Theoretical & Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 1991, pp 87-119.

along a range rather than discrete and independent elements. Secondly, there would appear to be a further stage beyond Stage 1 where the minority language has reached a higher order of comparative relationship with the dominant language than merely *some use of minority language available ...* . Just such a situation applies to Catalan in Catalonia. Government schools in the region now teach in Catalan rather than Castilian and, in terms of usage by the regional government, the former is of higher status than the latter.

A further point is that Fishman's Stage Four speaks about *formal, compulsory education*, while the stage below it (Five) makes no reference to government-supported education. There is therefore no provision in any of the stages for *formal voluntary education* programs offered in schools. Yet this is the situation which has applied with respect to Bable in Asturian schools. Until 1998, such teaching was voluntary and usually out of normal school hours; after the passage of the legislation, it remained voluntary but now was largely undertaken within school hours. For the purposes of the above table, therefore, Stage Four is taken to include voluntary programs in schools as well as compulsory.

With these comments in mind, the languages of Spain, in terms of their situation as of early 1998 (ie before the passage of the legislation for the promotion and use of Bable) could be mapped against the stages of an adapted GIDS (ie with the addition of a stage O) as shown in Table 10.3. The stage (or stages) applicable to each language being represented by the shaded areas.

With respect to Bable, the table represents the situation up until the passage of the new language legislation in March 1998. That legislation resulted in Bable moving from Stage Five to Stage Four; and Gallego-Astur (Galician – In Asturias in the table above) moving from Stage Six to Stage Five.

Table 10.3: Status of Spanish languages according to an adapted GIDS (as at early 1998).

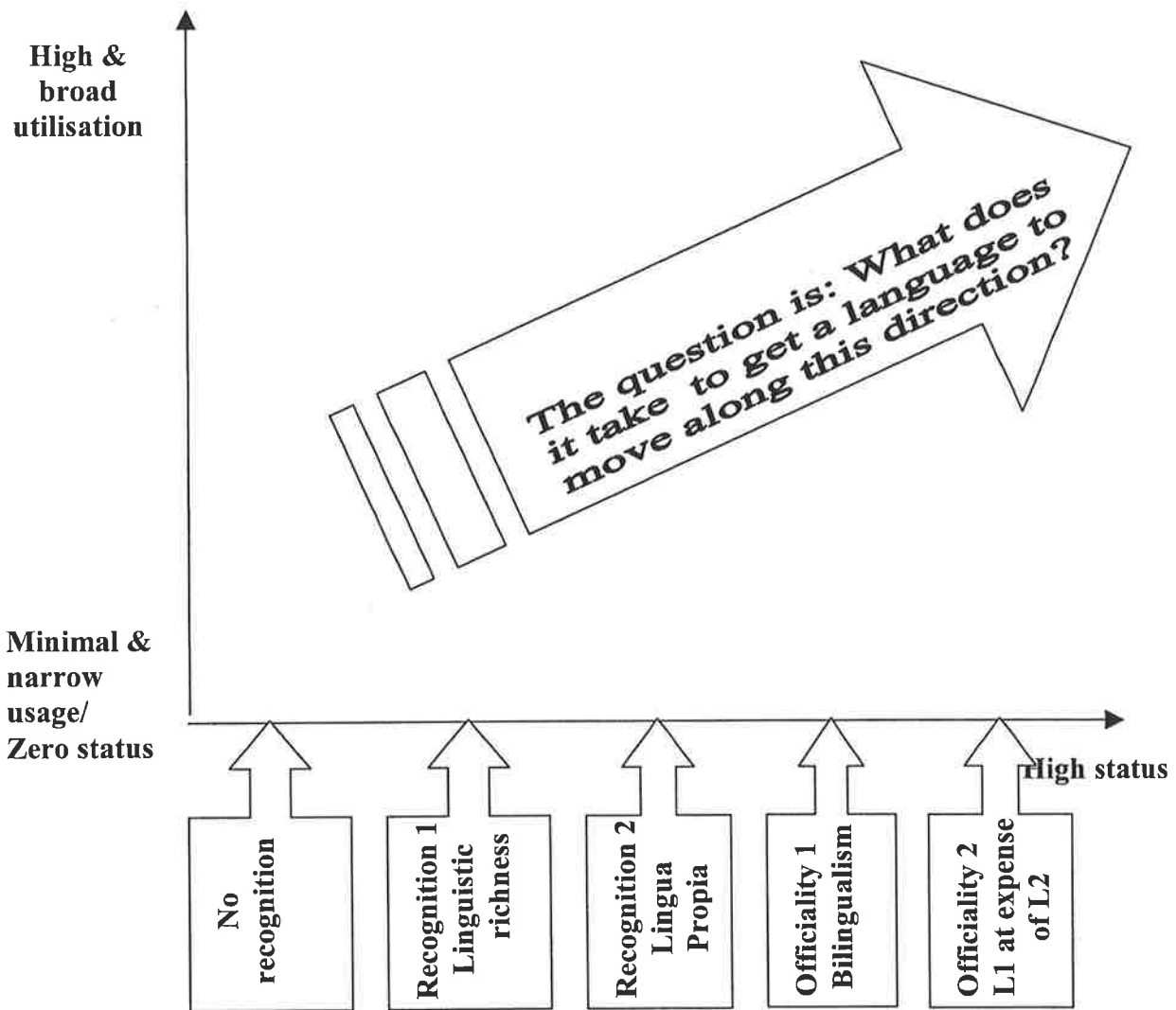
	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
Aragonese									
Aranese									
Bable									
Basque									
In Basque C'try									
In Navarra									
Caló									
Catalan									
In Cataluña									
In Balaerics									
In Valencia									
Galician									
In Asturias									
In Galicia									

What is not clear from the table above is whether the advancement over time through the stages has been dependent on improvements in status. Figure 10.3 proposes a method for representing the correlation between levels of utilisation with status.

Opinion would seem to suggest that the status of a language must improve for its utilisation to improve. Here language utilisation is measured along the Y-axis and status along the X-axis. That is a vertical rise along the Y-axis (which would represent increased utilization), would not seem likely in a situation where lower levels of status recognition remained for a language. The key question such a graphic attempts to

answer has been superimposed. The significance of the question would be determined by the extent to which definitive elements could be identified in status and utilisation which would enable a positive correlation (ie improvements in each) to result.

Figure 10.3: Graphic for correlating language status & utilisation



Before assessing the experience of Spanish vernaculars against such a diagram, it is necessary to note the legal status which applies to each and then identify what utilisation data exist for those languages.

10.3.2 Status and utilization of Spanish languages in the 1990s

Spanish law, after decades of silence (if not outright legal repression) on the non-Castilian languages of Spain during the Franco era, now makes the following references in the relevant Autonomy (or equivalent) statutes to vernacular languages, dialects or patois:

Andaluz: The Autonomous Community will exercise its powers with the following basic objectives (including) ... the access of all Andalucians to educational and cultural levels which will permit their personal and social realisation. To strengthen the consciousness of the Andalusian identity through investigation, diffusion and knowledge of the historic, cultural and linguistic values of the Andalusian people in all their richness and variety.^{34 t}

Aragonese: The diverse linguistic modalities of Aragon deserve protection, as integral elements of its cultural and historic patrimony.^{35 t}

Aranese: The Aranese Speech will be the subject of teaching and of special respect and attention.^{36 t}

Asturian: Bable will deserve protection. It will be promoted in its use, its diffusion in the media and its teaching, respecting, in all cases, the local variants and the voluntary nature of its teaching.^{37 t}

Basque: Basque, the very own language of the Basque People, will have, with Castilian, the character of official language in the Basque Country, and all its inhabitants have the right to know and use both languages. The communal institutions of the Autonomous Community, taking into account the socio-linguistic diversity of the Basque Country, will guarantee the use of both languages, regulating their official character, and will arbitrate and regulate the measures and necessary means to assure their knowledge. No-one will be able to be discriminated against by reason of language.^{38 t}

³⁴ Article 3.2, *Estatuto de Autonomia para Andalucía*, appearing on page 134 in *Leyes Políticas Autonómicas*, Biblioteca de Legislación, Editorial Civitas, Madrid 1989.

^t *Para todo ello, la Comunidad Autónoma ejercerá sus poderes con los siguientes objetivos básicos ... el acceso de todos los andaluces a los niveles educativos y culturales que les permitan su realización personal y social. Afianzar la conciencia de identidad andaluza, a través de la investigación, difusión y conocimiento de los valores históricos, culturales y lingüísticos del pueblo andaluz en toda su riqueza y variedad.*

³⁵ Article 7, *Estatuto de Autonomia de Aragón*, page 304, op.cit.

^t *Las diversas modalidades lingüísticas de Aragón gozarán de protección, como elementos integrantes de su patrimonio cultural e histórico.*

³⁶ Article 4, *Estatuto de Autonomia de Cataluña*, page 70, op.cit.

^t *El habla aranesa será objeto de enseñanza y de especial respeto y protección.*

³⁷ Article 4, *Estatuto de Autonomia para Asturias*, page 163, op.cit.

^t *El bable gozará de protección. Se promoverá su uso, su difusión en los medios de comunicación y su enseñanza, respetando, en todo caso, las variantes locales y voluntariedad en su aprendizaje.*

³⁸ Articles 6.1-6.3, *Estatuto Autonomia para el País Vasco*, page 42 op.cit.

Basque (in Navarre): Castilian is the official language of Navarre. Basque will also have the character of official language in the Basque-speaking zones of Navarre. Statute law will determine such zones, will regulate the official use of Basque and, through the general legislation of the state, will provide for the teaching of this language.³⁹

Catalan (in Cataluña): The very own language of Cataluña is Catalán. The Catalán language is official in Cataluña, as much also as is Castilian, official in all the Spanish State. The Generalitat will guarantee the normal and official use of the two languages, and will adopt necessary measures to assure their knowledge and will create conditions that permit the achievement of full equality in terms of the rights and conditions of the citizens of Cataluña.^{40 t}

Catalan (in the Balearics): The Catalan language is the very own language of the Balearic Isles, it will have, along with Castilian, the character of official language, and all have the right to know and use it. No-one will be able to be discriminated against for reason of the language.^{41 t}

Catalan (in Valencia): The two official languages of the Autonomous Community are Valencian and Castilian. All have the right to know and use them. The Valencian Generalitat will guarantee the normal and official use of the two languages and will adopt the necessary measures to assure their knowledge. No-one will be able to be discriminated against for reason off their language. Special protection and respect will be awarded to the recuperation of Valencian. The law will establish the criteria of application of the local language in Administration and teaching. Through the law the territories can be delineated where the use of one or other language predominates, thus that they can be exempted from the teaching and use of the very own language of the Community.^{42 t}

^t *El Euskera, lengua propia del Pueblo Vasco, tendrá, como el castellano, carácter de lengua oficial en Euskadi, y todos sus habitantes tienen el derecho a conocer y usar ambas lenguas. Las instituciones comunes de la Comunidad Autónoma, teniendo en cuenta la diversidad socio-lingüística del País Vasco, garantizarán el uso de ambas lenguas, regulando su carácter oficial, y arbitrarán y regularán las medidas y medios necesarios para asegurar su conocimiento. Nadie podrá ser discriminado por razón de la lengua.*

³⁹ Articles 9.1-9.2 *Estatuto de Reintegración y Amejoramiento del regimen foral de Navarra*, pages 393-4, op. cit.

⁴⁰ Articles 3.1-3.3, *Estatuto de Autonomia de Cataluña*, page 70, op.cit.

^t *La lengua propia de Cataluña es el catalán. El idioma catalán es el oficial de Cataluña, así como también lo es el castellano. Oficial en todo el Estado español.*

⁴¹ Article 3, *Estatuto de Autonomía para Las Islas Baleares*, page 448, op.cit.

^t *La lengua catalana, propia de las islas Baleares, tendrá, junto con la castellana, el carácter de idioma oficial, y todos tienen el derecho de conocerla y utilizarla. Nadie podrá ser discriminado por razón del idioma.*

⁴² Articles 7.1-7.6 *Estatuto de Autonomia de la Comunidad Valenciana*, pages 272-3, op.cit.

^t *Los dos idiomas oficiales de la Comunidad Autónoma son el valenciano y el castellano. Todos tienen derecho a conocerlos y usarlos. La Generalidad Valenciana garantizará el uso normal y oficial de las dos lenguas y adoptará las medidas necesarias para asegurar su conocimiento. Nadie podrá ser discriminado por razón de su lengua. Se otorgará especial protección y respeto a la recuperación del valenciano. La ley establecerá los criterios de aplicación de la lengua propia en la Administración y en la enseñanza. Mediante ley se delimitarán los territorios en los que*

Catalan (in Aragón): [Refer to the Aragonese reference above].

Galician: The very own language of Galicia is Gallego. The Gallego and Castilian languages are official in Galicia and all have the right of knowing and using them. The public powers of Galicia will guarantee the normal and official use of the two languages and promote the utilisation of Gallego in all walks of public, cultural and informative life, and they will make available the necessary means to facilitate its knowledge. No-one will be able to be discriminated against for reason of language.⁴³ †

The regional statutes do not all deal with relevant local vernaculars, dialects or patois, for example the relevant autonomy legislation of Castille-León, Extremadura and Murcia are silent as to any reference to Bable, *Extremeño* and *Murciano* respectively. Caló, the Iberian variant of Romany, which is spoken by many of the half million gypsies of Spain, is without treatment in any autonomy statute. The same applies to Portuguese, which is spoken by some Spanish communities along the frontier between the two countries, and Arabic, spoken by some residents of the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla.

Finally, though the 1981 Asturian autonomy legislation cited above was silent on the subject of *Gallego-Astur*, it was finally incorporated into relevant Asturian legislation of 1998 (ALLA Statute, the Law on the Use and Promotion of Bable &c).

On page 339 it was stated that an increase along the Y-axis was unlikely without a move along the X-axis. It was also noted that the analagous situation of an improvement

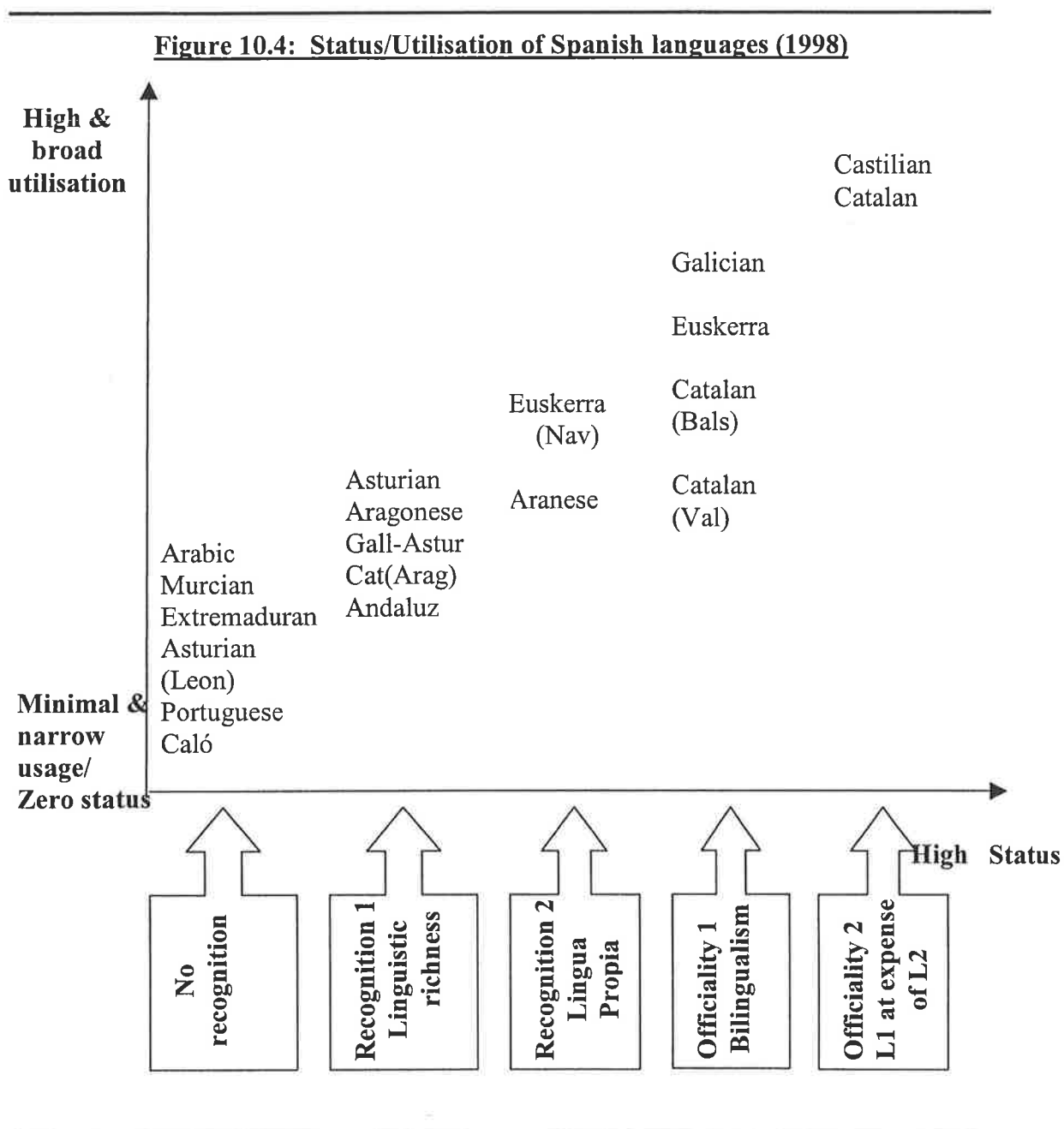
predomine el uso de una y otra lengua, así como los que puedan exceptuarse de la enseñanza y del uso de la lengua propia de la Comunidad.

⁴³ Articles 5.1-5.4 *Estatuto de Autonomía para Galicia*, page 104 op.cit.

† *La lengua propia de Galicia es el gallego. Los idiomas gallego y castellano son oficiales en Galicia y todos tienen el derecho de conocerlos y usarlos. Los poderes públicos de Galicia garantizarán el uso normal y oficial de los dos idiomas y potenciarán la utilización del gallego en todos los órdenes de la vida pública, cultural e informativa, y dispondrán los medios necesarios para facilitar su conocimiento. Nadie podrá ser discriminado por razón de la lengua.*

in Status (ie a move along the X-axis) does not guarantee increases in utilisation (ie a move along the Y-axis).

Figure 10.4 correlates an intuitive assessment as at 1998 of the situation applying in each of the regions concerning status and utilisation of the vernacular in different regions given the respective laws of the regions.



How does trend line data correlate with impact of status provisions? In other words, is there any evidence that more supportive regulatory provisions, with respect to regional vernaculars, saw improved rates of utilization compared with regions that had less supportive provisions.

Table 10.4 charts survey results for various languages of Spain over the period 1981-1996. The table gathers together information from a variety of sources⁴⁴ and, in most instances, has aggregated the percentage scores of those who claimed they could speak, read and/or write in the vernacular. Given the maximum percentage in each case is 100%, the maximum possible score would be 300. (Though, given that Spain reports a 1% illiteracy rate and on the assumption every Spaniard could speak Castilian, the score for that language would be 298 [100 + 99 + 99]).

Table 10.4: Proficiency rates

	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
Maximum	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300
Aragonese																
Aranese						80					131					
Bable			66								168					
Cat.(Cat)	118					157					176					194
Cat. (Bal)						178										236
Cat. (Val)						81						132				
Cat. (Arg)																
Eusk. (PV)	37					42					46					
Eusk.(Nav)										*						
Gall. (Gal)						93								148		148
Gall-Astur																

Bable: 1991 figures list those who speak, read or write very good, quite good and regular

⁴⁴ J Pau i Vidal, *Sobre la lengua catalana y su situación actual*, in proceedings of XIII *Conceyu Internacional de Llingües y cultures amenazaes*, ALLA, Uviéu, 1987, page 125. Generalitat Valenciana, *Dades sobre la situació sociolingüístico de la Comunitat Valenciana*, Valencia, 1990, page xx. F Ruiz et.al *Historia social I política de la llengua catalana*, Contextos 3i4, Barcelona, 1996. Secretaria General de Política Llingüística del gobierno vasco., *Comparencia, a petición propia, ... ante la comisión de instituciones e interior del parlamento vasco*, Bilbo, November 1992, page 27. F Nagore Laín, *El Aragonés hoy: informe sobre la situación de la lengua aragonesa*, Publicazións d'o Consella d'a Fabla Aragonesa & iberCaja, Husca, 1985. page 24. www.uoc.es/euromosaic/web/document.html sites for varieties of Catalan, Galician and Basque.

Catalan (Catalunya): 1981 census figure adjusted by a factor of 1.75 as census results only indicated capacity to speak and read; factor reflects relative capacity as revealed in 1986 census.
Euskerra (Navarra): Gallego: 1986 figures list those who speak, read or write *sin dificultad*.

The table reveals that there is a correlation between status and the degree of utilisation. However, within each status band, there are variations which recognise that there also have been other factors at play to explain the differences. For example attitude variants and chronological differences are two factors which may help explain some of the differences in utilisation.

10.3.3 Relationship of domains to genres of use

Aside from the issue of domains of usage is that of *genres* of usage. Unlike *domains*, which involve situations where language may be used, *genres* deal with the forms in which the language may appear. Ralph Fasold cited such usage in the context of *poems, myths, proverbs, lectures and commercial messages* and also noted Hyme's view that casual speech *is not the absence of any genre, but a genre of its own*.⁴⁵

As indicated in Chapter Fourteen, dealing with letters to the editor of *La Nueva España*, episodic usage of Bable in a number of *genres* is relatively commonplace. The questions which arises are whether these genres occur in a wide spread of domains and whether the extent of such usage is a material factor in the survival or growth of the language in a broader and more profound sense.

Table 10.5 the issue of genre usage by domain is plotted. The table attempts to analyse 'usage' in both the active and passive senses. That is to say there is 'active' use when a person authors something in Bable (ie speaks or writes in the language), while there is

Table 10.5: Domain & Genre utilisation of Bable

	FAMILY	FRIENDS	LOCAL C'TY	SCHOOL	WORK	BUSINESS	LOCAL GOVT.	REGIONAL GOVT.	NATIONAL GOVT.
NOMENCLATURE									
PERSON	■	■	■	■	N	■	■	■	■
PLACE	■	■	■	■	■	N	■	■	■
ICONS	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
STORIES									
PROVERBS	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
STORIES	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
CULTURE									
SONG	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
POETRY	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
THEATRE	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
FICTION	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
RELIGION	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
DISCOURSE									
INFORMAL	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
FORMAL	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
MESSAGES									
ADVERTS	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
NOTICES	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
MEDIA									
PRESS	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
RADIO	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
TV	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
INTERNET	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

STRONG	AVERAGE	WEAK	NOT RELEVANT	NO INFORMATION
■	■	■	■	N

‘passive’ usage when a person receives something in Bable (ie hears or reads). Active usage is recorded in the left hand portion of each table segment, while passive usage is indicated within the right hand portion. Each segment is then pattern/colour coded

⁴⁵ R Fasold, *Sociolinguistics of Language*, Blackwell, Cambridge, 1990, page 46.

according to the strength of Bable usage. A position of strong usage indicates that there are either actual patterns of such usage amongst a significant section of the population or there is the capacity based upon current resource. For example the active segment of the genre of informal (or casual) discourse in the family domain is coded as strong, as there is substantial evidence that Bable is the dominant language used in this area in many homes in Asturias, even if not the majority. On the other hand, the active use portion of poetry in the family domain is listed as strong, not because it is Bable poetry would be in the majority in any home in Asturias, but because it has the current capacity to be so.

10.4 DIGLOSSIA

In 1959 C A Ferguson proposed the concept of *diglossia* to explain the nature of the relationship between co-existing languages in certain contexts. It aimed to explore the complex of relationships between two languages for which a simple categorisation of *bilingualism* was unsatisfactory.

Is Bable in a diglossic relationship with Castilian? And if so, what features of that diglossic relationship are in stasis and what features predispose towards a lessening of the usage of Bable? And how would the domain and genre utilisation depicted in Table 10.5 change in a situation of greater parity of circumstance between Bable and Castilian.

Harold F Schiffman has summarised the variables which subsequent research on the topic of diglossia has identified.⁴⁶ Table 10.6 examines the situation confronting Bable in terms of those variables.

Table 10.6: Analysis of diglossia in Bable usage

Variable	Proposition	Bable's situation
Function	H & L are used for different purposes.	L used for familial and festive purposes
Prestige	H more highly valued than L	'bad Spanish' syndrome.
Literary heritage	Literature overwhelmingly in H; only 'dialect' poetry & other 'low' restricted genres in L.	Poetry originally dominant genre but current wider range still outnumbered by L2 output
Acquisition	L is learned first, in home; H acquired at school	Yes
Standardisation	H strictly standardised; L rarely, often by outsiders	Not done by outsiders, but local conflict
Stability	Generally stable	Survey data inconclusive
Grammar	H grammar more complex than L's	Not absolutely so
Lexicon	Lexicon often shared, but also differentiation	Significant – refer Figure 6.2
Phonology	H and L either have shared system; or H more complicated than L	L more diverse than H
Difference between diglossia & standard with dialects	No-one speaks H as mother tongue, it is only acquired as a second system	Not so; H primary for a significant percentage local population
Distribution of diglossia in language families, space & time	Not limited to any area or language family.	Quite focussed
What and how is diglossia engendered?	a) historic precedence of H; b) role of literacy c) take time to develop	a) Yes b) Yes, but complex c) Outcome of history

⁴⁶ H F Schiffman, *Diglossia as a Sociolinguistic Situation*, in F Coulmas (ed), *The Handbook of*

10.5 NORMALISATION

The word *normalisation* in Asturias is not just a word describing a process and goal, it is also charged with opinion. There are two categories of opinion: one to do with the merits of the normalisation and the other with the capacity. Regarding the merit of normalisation, it has been opined by opposing sides as, alternatively, essential for its survival and, by contrary opinion, as no more than the creation of *una jerga inventada* [an invented jargon]. That opinion array is considered in more detail later.

The second category of opinion – capacity – assesses the likelihood of success of a normalisation process for Bable. There are sceptics, even among those who are proponents of the concept. The doubts arise from the condition in which Bable has found itself in the post-Franco era compared with other languages such as Basque, Catalan or Galician (where normalisation processes have fared well).

One such observer, José Antonio Pascual Rodríguez, after noting the success of Basque, Catalan and Galician normalisation processes, commented on Bable and Aragonese thus:

We cannot overlook the fact that for several years now, attempts have been made, some more successful than others, to group together what remains of Leonés and Aragonés, both saturated with Castilian, to produce an Asturian and Aragonese language.⁴⁷

Or there is the opinion of Ralph Penny:

The most notable experiment of this kind (standardisation) has taken place in Asturias, where many Asturo-Leonese and other non-Castilian features have resisted Castilianisation down to the present, at least in rural speech. Critics object that such proposed standards are uneasy mixes of dialect features drawn from several different varieties, but rarely shared by all, and it remains to be seen

Sociolinguistics, Blackwell, Oxford, 1997, pp 206-8.

⁴⁷ J A Pascual Rodríguez, *The languages of Spain*, in *Spain in search of modernity: Society & Culture*, ed A Ramos Gascón, Cátedra, Madrid, 1991, page 244.

whether such experiments (a similar one has been made, more tentatively, in Aragon) will succeed, and whether serious writers will be persuaded to write in the proposed standard forms of Asturian and Aragonese.⁴⁸

Before proceeding to consider either the merit or capacity of normalisation in the case of Bable, there needs to be clarification of what, in Spanish linguistics and sociolinguistics, *normalización* means compared with its English corollary *normalisation*.

In English there are linguistic and sociolinguistic definitions of the term. The linguistic definition, according to G Finch is:

(normalization) is a process by which listeners judge sounds to be equivalent even when acoustically they may be very different.⁴⁹

In the sociolinguistic context, *normalization* refers to the process of norm selection from amongst the available array of lexical, orthographic or phonetic possibilities in the context of any language. *Standardisation* is also used in this context.⁵⁰ Rebecca Posner posed two words:

Normalisation or 'status planning' (fitting the language for a wider range of social roles) and normativization or 'corpus planning' (codifying the language).⁵¹

Charlotte Hoffman noted that:

Spanish linguistic terminology can be quite different from that used by sociolinguists writing in English.⁵²

⁴⁸ Ralph Penny, *Spanish*, entry in G Price (ed), *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe*, Blackwells, Oxford, 1998, page 455.

⁴⁹ G Finch, *Linguistic terms and concepts*, St Martin's Press, New York, 2000, page 38.

⁵⁰ For example see W Bright, *Social factors in language change*, in F Coulmas, (ed), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, Blackwell, Cambridge, 1998, page 82.

⁵¹ R Posner, *The Romance Languages of Europe*, CUP, Cambridge, 1996, page 215.

⁵² C Hoffman, *Monolingualism, Bilingualism, Cultural Pluralism*, in *Current Issues in Language & Society*, Vol 2. No. 1, 1995, page 71.

She then discussed the elements of normalisation from the particular perspective of Catalan writers on the subject, quoting two – Ninyoles (writing in 1972) and Torres (1984):

Normalisation entails placing a language on an equal footing with other languages (neither higher nor lower: at the same level. – Ninyoles; and

(it is) a process during which a language gradually recovers the formal functions it had lost and at the same time works its way into those social sectors, within its own territory, where it was not spoken before. - Torres ⁵³

Thus Hoffman concluded that normalisation involves *language spread* as much as *language recovery*. This may alternately be stated as issues of quantity and quality.

This bifurcation of the aims of normalisation occurs in the Asturian situation. In 1987 Ramón d'Andrés referred to two processes: *Normatización* [*standardisation*] and *Normalización social* [*normalisation of use*], while writing on the social situation of Bable. The following is a summary of what he considered to be the important elements of each:⁵⁴

- **Standardisation:** orthographic standardising of the language, compilation of a dictionary and a standard grammar; and the establishment of a language academy.
- **Normalisation of use:** the presence of Bable in teaching (under the slogan *Bable nes escueles* [*Bable in the schools*]), its presence in the mass media (TV, radio and press); promotion of the traditional toponymy used by people in official domains; and promotion of Asturian literature in new genres and themes *fluxendo de los prexucios diglósicos* [*fleeing from diglossic prejudices*].

For effective language outcomes, the first, *standardizing*, is usually considered a tool for achieving the second. In any event it cannot be considered an end in its own right.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ R d'Andrés, *La situación social de la llingua asturiana*, in *Informe so la llingua asturiana*, ALLA Uviéu, 1987, page 33.

In terms of the graph on page 338, the ‘normalising’ goal of language planning is to move the language up the Y axis.

The decision of language planners in situations like that of Bable (ie highly dialectised) has been that such a movement requires a standardising of the language before it can be normalised. This leaves the residual issue of whether, in any language planning context, there can remain any future place for the original dialectal richness.

The debate has been repeated many times before. In Spain alone, the standardising of Basque, Galician and Catalan have all seen this issue raised. And beyond Spain’s borders, Belarussian and Slovenian are but just two examples of the same. Indeed the former – Belarussian – in many respects parallels the situation facing Bable (high identification of dialects in a language which feels itself the subject of significant linguistic interference from a more dominant duolect – in that case Russian).^{*} In the case of Slovenian, Professor Newton Sabbe Guimaraes of Paraná, Brazil, noted thirty dialects of Slovenian which were standardised into one shared form.⁵⁵ However, such standardization has not been without its critics. P Herry, noting the *heterogeneity of its dialects*, wrote of standardized Slovenian:

The standard language as presented in grammars and taught in schools and universities is to a large extent an artificial language in that its norm is modeled on an idealized Slavonic pattern which differs from the general colloquial language ... and does not agree in detail with any of the living dialects.⁵⁶

A participant in a wide variety of efforts to normalise Bable, Xulio ‘Xune’ Elipse Rapaso provided a synthesis of the contending positions when he said:

^{*} Jim Dingley treats with this subject in his entry on Belarussian in G Price (ed) *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe*, op.cit. pp 29-32.

⁵⁵ LNE 26.07.95

I believe that twenty years with the Academy (of the Asturian Language) signifies that an academic authority exists which determines the norms for writing so that we could all do it equally. Then, in the spoken language, each one would utilise the variety of his/her village.⁵⁷ †

Certainly there is a need to define the relationship between normalised and non-normalised forms. For if there is not some high degree of shared understanding regarding this relationship, there would continue to be polarisation as to the merit of normalisation. Hoffman commented on such a polarisation in the Galician situation:

Speakers (of dialect) now find that their dialect variety risks becoming a liability as it does not conform to the standard that is being promoted, which represents a superimposed variety. Having to accept and acquire literacy in this new form may well be perceived as an alienating element. Culturally, it is probably hard for them to recognise *gallego normalizado* as part of their heritage. Yet not accepting it bears some risk ... One thing seems sure: constant contact with these two varieties will remind rural speakers that they use neither of them well – and this ‘not speaking well’ is an old, well-known complex they have had to live with for generations. So now the situation is even more difficult than before for them. As John Green so poignantly comments, it is a repetition of the old situation of ‘conflict diglossia’.⁵⁸

10.6 COOFFICIALITY

As stated earlier the 1981 Autonomy Statute had defined the status of Bable as *deserving protection* and that its use would be *promoted, (along with) its diffusion in the means of communication and its teaching, respecting in all cases, the local variants and the voluntary nature of its learning* (see page XX, note below #xxx for original Castilian version). In arriving at that final text, a series of amendments to the original wording proposed in the draft bill had been considered in the regional parliament. The

⁵⁶ P Herrity, entry for Slovenian in G Price (ed), *Encyclopedia of the languages of Europe*, Blackwells, Cambridge, 1998, page 446.

⁵⁷ LNE 15/8/96.

† *Yo creo que veinte años con la Academia significan que existe una autoridad académica que dicta las normas de escritura para que todos lo hagamos igual. Luego, en el idioma hablado, que cada uno utilice las variantes de su pueblo.*

⁵⁸ C Hoffman, op.cit, pages 81-82.

draft bill presented to the legislature had copied without change wording of an earlier working document where the relevant language reference had read:

Promotion of the investigation and of the culture with special reference to their regional manifestations and linguistic peculiarities.^{59 t}

Amongst amendments considered were the following which were either defeated or withdrawn:

- Amendment of the *Grupo Parlamentario de Coalición Democrática* [Parliamentary Group of the Democratic Coalition]: *Bable, as the vernacular linguistic modality of Asturias, is part of its cultural patrimony and as such will be the object of special promotion and protection.* – defeated (1 for, 24 against);^{60 t}
- Amendment of the *Grupo Parlamentario Centrista – UCD* [Centrist Parliamentary Group]: *Bable, as the linguistic modality of Asturias, is part of its cultural patrimony and as such will be the object of special promotion and protection. It will be promoted in its use, its diffusion in the means of communication and its teaching, respecting, in all cases, the local variants and the voluntary nature of its learning.* – withdrawn.^{61 t}

The final successful version was carried with 22 votes in favour, one against and two abstentions. It was moved by Pedro de Silva Cienfuegos-Jovellanos of the *Grupo Parlamentario Socialista* [Socialist Parliamentary Group], who was later to serve a term as President of the Principality.

Thus, during the process of consideration of the legislation which became the 1981 Autonomy Statute, there had been a considerable move from a position of promoting

⁵⁹ Principado de Asturias, *El Proceso Autonómico Asturiano*, Vol. II, Oviedo, 1989, page 105.

^t *Fomento de la investigación y de la cultura con especial referencia a sus manifestaciones regionales y a sus peculiaridades lingüísticas.*

⁶⁰ Op.cit., pages 70 and 385.

^t *El bable como modalidad lingüística vernácula de Asturias es parte de su patrimonio cultural y como tal será objeto de especial fomento y protección.*

⁶¹ Op. cit., page 385.

^t *El bable, como modalidad lingüística de Asturias, es parte de su patrimonio cultural y como tal será objeto de especial fomento y protección. Se promoverá su uso, su difusión en los medios de comunicación y su enseñanza, respetando, en todo caso, las variantes locales y la voluntariedad en su aprendizaje.*

investigation of the *linguistic peculiarities* to one of recognition of *Bable* and accepting an obligation to promote its use (albeit whilst still insisting that its teaching only be voluntary and maintaining the focus on *local variants* as opposed to a normalised version of the language).

This change during the consideration of the legislation had been significant, but it was soon to be considered insufficient and by the mid-1980s there arose a push for *Bable* to be accorded the same status as languages such as Basque, Catalan and Gallego - namely that of coofficiality. Lobbying for this continued throughout the remainder of that decade and became more intense in the 1990s coming to a conclusion, at least in the medium term, with the passage in March 1998 of the revised Autonomy Statute for Asturias.

The political parties contesting the 1995 regional elections took contrasting viewpoints on the subject of *Bable*. In summary, according to reports in the LNE, then policies were:

- PSOE: The then regional president, Antonio Trevín Lombán, said the PSOE government's objective was: *algamar que la ufierta del aprendizax voluntaria de la llingua asturiana seya dafechamente obligatoria pa tolos centros escolares*⁶²
- PP: In support of defence of *Bable* and the local variants. No mention of officiality.⁶³
- IU: Support for recognition of *Bable* as an official language; promotion of its use in the media.⁶⁴
- PAS: In support of coofficiality by reform of Article 4 of the Autonomy Statute *which would open the bridge to coofficiality*; also supported a total recovery of *Bable* toponymy.⁶⁵

⁶² LNE 5.5.95

⁶³ LNE 7.7.95

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁵ LNE 4.5.95

- Centristas Asturianas: discussing the similarity of many of their policies with PAS, this group stated: *It is true that there are things that separate us, such as the defence which PAS expresses for coofficiality of Bable ...*^{66 †}

The new statute was to contain no reference to official status for Bable that is specific entitlement to its use in all domains. However, as something of a compromise, the regional legislature, passed on 18 March 1998 the *Ley de Uso y Promoción del Asturiano* [Law of the use and promotion of Asturian].

This new law altered the nomenclature used in the 1981 Autonomy Statute (which had referred to the language as *Bable*) by using the term *Asturiano* in the title and *bable/asturiano* in the body of the text. Then legislation also included reference for the first time to *Gallego-asturiano*, the vernacular of the westernmost part of Asturias (spoken between the Eo and Navia rivers). In Article 3 the law proclaimed the following objectives:⁶⁷

- To protect the right of citizens to know and use Bable/Asturian and to establish the means by which that could be done effectively.
- To encourage the recuperation and dissemination, defining measures for promoting its use.
- To guarantee the teaching of Bable/Asturian, in the exercise of the competencies assumed by the Principality of Asturias, paying attention to the principles of voluntariness, graduality and respect for the sociolinguistic reality of Asturias.
- To assure its free use and non-discrimination of citizens for doing so.[†]

Other articles of the legislation dealt with the following areas:

[†] *abriría la puente a la cooficialidad.*

⁶⁶ LNE 20.5.95

[†] *Es verdad que hay cosas que nos separan, como la defensa que el PAS hace de la cooficialidad del bable.*

⁶⁷ Article 3, 1/98 - *Ley de Uso y Promoción del asturiano*, BOPA # 73, 28 March 1998, Oviedo.

[†] *Amparar el derechu de los ciudadanos a conocer y usar el bable/asturiano y establecer los medios que lo hagan efectivo. Fomentar la recuperación y desenvolimiento, definiendo medias para promover su uso. Garantizar la enseñanza del bable/asturiano, en el ejercicio de las competencias asumidas por el Principado de Asturias, atendiendo a los principios de*

- Article 4: Administrative use of the language.
- Article 5: Publications.
- Article 6: Promotion of the language in the functions of government.
- Article 7: Translation service (including of some official documentation).
- Article 8: Local government and the promotion of the language.
- Article 9: Teaching.
- Article 10: Education Curriculum.
- Article 11: Teacher training and accreditation.
- Article 12: The media.
- Article 13: Diffusion of Bable/Asturian through budget provision and cultural support.
- Article 14: Subsidies.
- Article 15: Toponyms.
- Article 16: Consultative and Assessment bodies (University, ALLA, Toponymy Council, Ministry, RIDEA).
- Article 17: University of Oviedo.
- Article 18: Academia de la Llingua
- Additional provision on Gallego-Asturiano.

Two of the education-related articles read as follows:

- Article 9: The Principality of Asturias, in the exercise of the competencies (on education), will guarantee the teaching of Bable/Asturian and will expand its use in the education system, within the terms of the Autonomy Statute of Asturias.
- In the exercise of its competencies, the Principality of Asturias will guarantee the teaching of Bable/Asturian in all levels and grades, respecting at the same time the voluntary nature of its learning. In all cases the teaching of Bable/Asturian has to be imparted within school hours and has to be considered as material integral to the curriculum.^{68 t}

The provision relating to Gallego-Asturiano stated:

voluntariedad, gradualidad y respecto a la realidad sociolingüística de Asturias. Asegurar el libre uso y la non discriminación de los ciudadanos por este motivo.

⁶⁸ Quoted in X A González Riaño, *El Proyeutu Llingüísticu de Centru*, Estaya Pedagóxica 13, ALLA, Uviéu, 2000, p14.

^t *Art. 9. El Principáu d'Asturies', nel exerciciu de les competencies de so, garantizará la enseñanza del bable/asturianu y esparderá'l so emplegu dientro del sistema educativu, nos terminus previstos nel Estatutu d'Autonomía d'Asturies. Art. 10. Nel exerciciu de les sos competencies, el Principáu d'Asturies garantizará la enseñanza del bable/asturianu en tolos niveles y graos, respetando sicasí la volunteriedá del so deprendizax. En tou casu, el bable/asturianu ha ser impartíu dientro del horariu escolar y ha ser consideráu como material inxerta nel curriculum.*

Gallego-Asturian is going to have a similar treatment to Bable/Asturian and the regime of protection, respect, protection, teaching and use is going to be established through special regulation in those zones which have this linguistic modality.¹

The provisions in relation to education maintained the voluntary nature of its learning which had first been enshrined in the Autonomy Statute of 1981, but raised its status by bringing its teaching to within school hours and indicating that it be *consideráo como materia integrante del curriculu* [*be considered as subject matter integral to the curriculum*]. The legal provisions on education also provided for adult education, subject accreditation and teacher certification.⁶⁹

While coofficiality has not been accepted at the regional level, there was in 1997 a period during which Bable achieved such status in seven counties. The counties were Bimenes (the first to do so) followed by Caso, Morcín, Teverga, Laviana, Langreo and Castrillon – five from in the central zone, two (Castrillon and Teverga) in the occidental with none from the Oriental or Astur-Gallego zones. The decisions of those municipalities were subsequently overturned by the *Tribunal Superior de Justicia de Asturias* (Asturian equivalent of the Supreme Court).

A further four counties (San Martín del Rey Aurelio, Mieres, Aller and Riosa – all in the Central zone) had been planning to conduct votes on the subject prior to the bringing down of the Supreme Court's decision. In another two counties (Lena and Nava, again both in the Central zone) such votes had already been held and rejected. In the case of Nava, interest focussed on the fact that its mayor was the only Asturianist (PAS) mayor

¹ *El gallego-asturiano va tener un tratamientu similar al bable/asturiano y el so réxime de protección, respetu, tutela, enseñanza y usu va establecese mediante regulación especial naquelles zones nes que tien calter de modalidá llingüística propia.*

⁶⁹ Article 10.1, Ley del uso y promoción del Asturiano, op.cit.

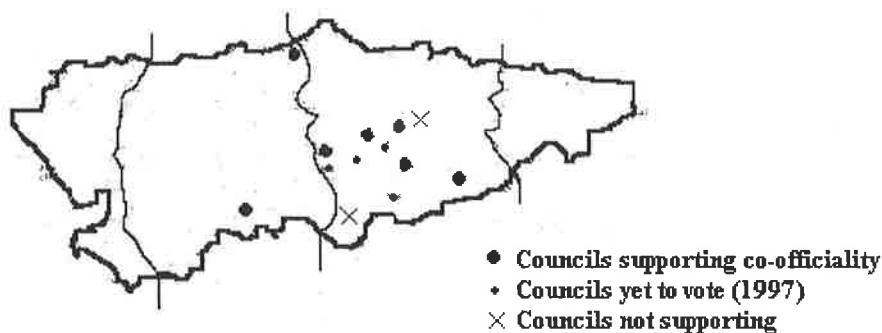
in the province. While in the case of Lena, the negative decision of the councillors seemed not to indicate opposition to the use of Bable so much as a questioning of the need for such a proposition. After the ballot the mayor said:

We are in a council where the utilisation of Asturian has always been assumed by everyone and from the Council's perspective we have facilitated that use.^{70 t}

Also of note, in this spate of council consideration of the status of Bable, was the response of the mining communities. Only two mining communities did not support such proposals (Lena, as indicated voting in the negative; and Sobrescobio, where no motion was moved).

The map of Council decisions with respect to the status of Bable is depicted in Map 10.1.

Map 10.1: Distribution of councils voting on co-officiality



To date the only place where any surviving descendant of Astur-Leonese has received official status has been in Portugal. By virtue of the existence of Mirandes (*Lhéngua*

⁷⁰ LNE 5.10.97.

^t *Estamos en un municipio en el que la utilización del asturiano ha sido siempre asumida por todos y desde el Ayuntamiento se ha facilitado este uso.*

Mirandesa) as a vernacular in the northeast of that country, on 17 September 1998 the Portuguese National Assembly declared the language to be official.⁷¹

However, notwithstanding the failure to date of legislative measures for official status for Bable, there have been other resolutions of the Principality which were language related such as:⁷²

- Authorising the allocation to cultural associations and private enterprise of subsidies for the promotion of Asturian.
- Authorising the allocation of subsidies for studies and research which promotes Asturian.
- Authorising support for production of films and music in Asturian.

Having considered the issues currently facing Bable, the next chapter reviews a number of theoretical approaches to sociolinguistic issues and assesses their relevance to the context facing Bable.

⁷¹ www.Asturies.com 18-25.09.98.

⁷² <http://www.asturies.org/asturia/subvenciones.htm> decisions dated 26.01.98 and 3.2.98.

PART C – THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

CHAPTER ELEVEN – SOME RELEVANT THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Overview

Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen deal with the research undertaken for the purposes of this thesis. This chapter provides a summary of some of the theoretical approaches which are used in analysing the output from the research work. In Chapter Twelve, some additional comments are made on some philosophical perspectives relevant to the outcomes of the research and in particular connected to the development of a model for analysing sociolinguistic coexistence between an L1 and L2.

The theories detailed in this chapter have been chosen because of their approach to humanistic sociology which go beyond quantitative measurement to observation of behaviour and assessment of attitudes and perceptions held by the observed.

Five theories are discussed. Those of Peter Mühlhäusler on Language Ecology, Robert Kaplan & Richard Baldauf on Language Planning, Jerzy Smolicz on Core Values, Howard Giles *et.al.* on Ethnolinguistic Vitality, then finally James and Lesley Milroy on Social Networks. In that discussion some consideration is also given to the critique of Glyn Williams on sociolinguistic approaches. The discussion of the theories in this chapter leads in each case to critical questions which form the basis of Chapter 16, the conclusion. Also, particularly with respect to the policy on Ethnolinguistic Vitality, the theory of Giles *et.al.* is further developed.

11.1 MÜHLHAÜSLER - LANGUAGE ECOLOGY

Language ecology was a concept devised by Einar Haugen and defined thus:

This struggle between dominated and dominant groups for the right to survive includes what I have called 'the ecology of language'. By this I mean that the preservation of language is a part of human ecology, which in turn is a brand of the larger disciplines of sociology and political science.¹

Peter Mühlhäusler indicated that there were two questions raised in a language ecology analysis, not just one. They were:

- What is the minimum ecology needed to keep a language going?
- How much language is needed to provide speakers with a sense of linguistic identity?²

From this he proposed two alternatives with respect to language survival which either aim to:

(a) preserve existing language ecologies, or (b) restore/reconstitute ecological conditions for language maintenance.³

He also rejected the idea of treating a language in isolation from others and stated:

The widespread belief that the normal case of language development is primarily an internal matter is one that cannot be maintained in the light of growing evidence of borrowing and contacts among languages in all parts of the world.⁴

Furthermore, Professor Mühlhäusler opined that a healthy linguistic ecology needs, rather than is harmed by, a situation *where dialectical variation abounds and where closely related languages can borrow from one another.*⁵

The ecological approach can very usefully be applied to the situation facing Bable.

Mühlhäusler cited nine *ecological questions* posed by Haugen as being relevant to the

¹ P Mühlhäusler, Op.cit. quoting a statement by E Haugen in 1985, page 163.

² Op. cit., page 171.

³ Op.cit., page 172.

⁴ Op.cit., page 174.

question of *what constitutes an adequate home for languages to survive in?*⁶ The consequence of treating with these nine questions is the potential to develop a:

typology of ecological classification which will tell us something about where the language stands and where it is going in comparison with other languages.⁷

Thus it offers a tool for defining more clearly both the current situation and the possible futures of Bable. Paraphrasing these nine questions to Bable, and the consequences for the research ambit of this thesis, the following table can be constructed:

Table 11.1: Language ecology issues with respect to Bable

Issue	Question	Answer	Consequential issues
Classification	What is Bable?	A Romance language close to Castilian.	Diglossia, interference, change dynamics.
Users	Who speaks Bable?	400,000 Asturians	Demographic profile
Domains	Where is it spoken?	Non-official settings	
Other langs.	What else is spoken?	Castilian	Relationships between the dialects & with Castilian over time
Varieties	What varieties?	3 dialects, 1 duolect & various argots	
Written trad.	How extensive?	Over many centuries but not prolific	Type of literature and readership patterns
Codification	Is there a standardised Bable?	Yes.	Effect on varieties, usage patterns, degree of acceptance
Inst. Support	What level?	Official respect not recognition. Education.	Significance of coofficiality as goal <i>cf</i> standardised norm.
Attitudes	Degree of identification?	High but folkloric skew	Identification & Status

The final box ('Identification & Status') is the key to this thesis, not just for the sake of each, but for the usage outcomes that result. In Chapter 10 the suggestion was made that high volume and breadth of usage bear a direct relationship with Status (and implicitly with Identity as well). However, Mühlhäusler up-ends the question cited earlier of *what*

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ P Mühlhäusler, *op.cit.* page 164.

is the minimum ecology needed to keep languages going with one demanding more complex investigation:

How much language is needed to provide speakers with a sense of linguistic identity?⁸

A further seminal point to Mühlhäusler's analysis is the contention that:

Of particular importance is the maintenance of dialectal and linguistic variety, for such diversity is the basis of language regeneration.⁹

With respect to the Asturian situation, the focus is thus on the Bable vs bables debate. The contention that the dialectal richness of Bable would be the *basis of (its) regeneration* contrasts with the traditional view of many language planners that opts for an exclusive standardisation as being key to ensuring a sustainable language future. However later I will contend, on the basis of my research, that a complex and hybrid response can and should be constructed which finds a place for *dialectal variety* whilst at the same time establishing a strong linguistic core around which such variety can thrive – ie an inclusive standardization (which integrates with the language's dialect diversity).

11.2 KAPLAN & BALDAUF - LANGUAGE PLANNING

In their book *Language Planning: from practice to theory*,¹⁰ Robert Kaplan and Richard Baldauf analysed language planning experiences in a number of different countries.

They made the point:

Most general frameworks (of language planning) ... suggest that language planning is a large-scale activity, *ie* it occurs mainly at the macro level. However, language planning actually occurs at many different levels ... For large-scale

⁷ P Mühlhäusler, op.cit. page 165.

⁸ P Mühlhäusler, op.cit. page 171.

⁹ P Mühlhäusler, op.cit. page 178.

¹⁰ R B Kaplan & R B Baldauf Jnr *Language Planning: from practice to theory*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 1997.

planning to meet popular needs, and indeed for it to succeed at all, it must have effect across all levels of language and society.¹¹

They observed that microlevels of language planning *are not well documented* and are *not seen to be as prestigious*. They further noted the work of C H Williams in examining language planning in Wales at the *macro, meso and micro levels of planning impact*.¹²

In addition to this hierarchy approach, Kaplan and Baldauf stated that language planning is *ultimately about human resource development (and) ... who has the right to do what to whom for what purpose*¹³.

Kaplan and Baldauf further noted:

In an eco-system approach to language planning, individual decisions about language use are the ultimate test for the language planner. Involving participants in the planning is therefore a critical 'problem' in wider situational contexts if language planning is to be meaningful and successful.¹⁴

In developing this theme, Kaplan and Baldauf then applied J L M Trim's suggestion that human resource development *can either be right branching (RB) or left branching (LB)*.¹⁵ Left branching activity is said to be a *top-down approach* while right branching activity is *bottom up*. The dilemma for language planners they believed was:

... while language planning appears to be mainly LB, the information for and the ultimate success of a language plan depends on RB activities. Devising a plan for a particular language eco-system which creates an appropriate balance between these two approaches needs to be carefully considered.¹⁶

¹¹ Op. cit., page 52.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Op.cit., page 303.

¹⁴ ibid.

¹⁵ ibid.

¹⁶ Op.cit., page 304.

With respect to language planning for Bable, methods followed in the period 1975 to 1998 appeared to be echoes of the early stages of language recuperation in Galicia and Catalonia. Given the achievements of each of those programs (which involved standardisation and normalisation), why should not the same have worked for Bable?

The question appears valid enough, but the circumstances and contexts were not entirely similar. Firstly there were differences in the period in time when the first stages were undertaken in each, as well as the effect of national reaction in key periods such as the 1920s and then later under the Franco regime. Secondly, there were important demographic differences between the communities and their L1 speakers. Thus the answer cannot automatically be assumed to be in the affirmative; namely that similarities in language planning principles between Galicia, Catalonia and Asturias would have similar outcomes.

Therefore in the Asturian situation, the relevant questions would appear to be:

- Has language planning for Bable achieved the goals set at the outset? If not, why have the outcomes been different from situations such as those which applied in Galicia and Catalonia?
- Will the legislation of 1998 for the promotion of the use Bable/Asturian accelerate the recuperation of the language or will it make no difference to what may transpire to have been a pre-determined future?

Furthermore, in terms of the *Bable vs bables* debate, does micro-level planning, RB, appear to offer some viable options for resolving that debate and leading to some consensus between the contending groups?

In trying to develop a model for language planning, Kaplan and Baldauf presented a diagram which *attempts to illustrate the various forces at work in a language planning*

activity.¹⁷ Below, in Figure 11.1, I have adapted that diagram to the Asturian situation by overlapping Bable and Castilian in a contrasting sense to that signified by Kaplan and Baldauf. They described an overlapped minority language circle as representing a *non-standard variety of an official language*.¹⁸ However, I have chosen to use overlapping circles, not to depict Bable as a non-standard variety of Castilian, but to reflect its duolect relationship with it (refer to Chapter 5) and in the same sense that the two are depicted as overlapping in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 earlier.

Figure 11.1 - Forces at work in the Asturian linguistic eco-system¹⁹

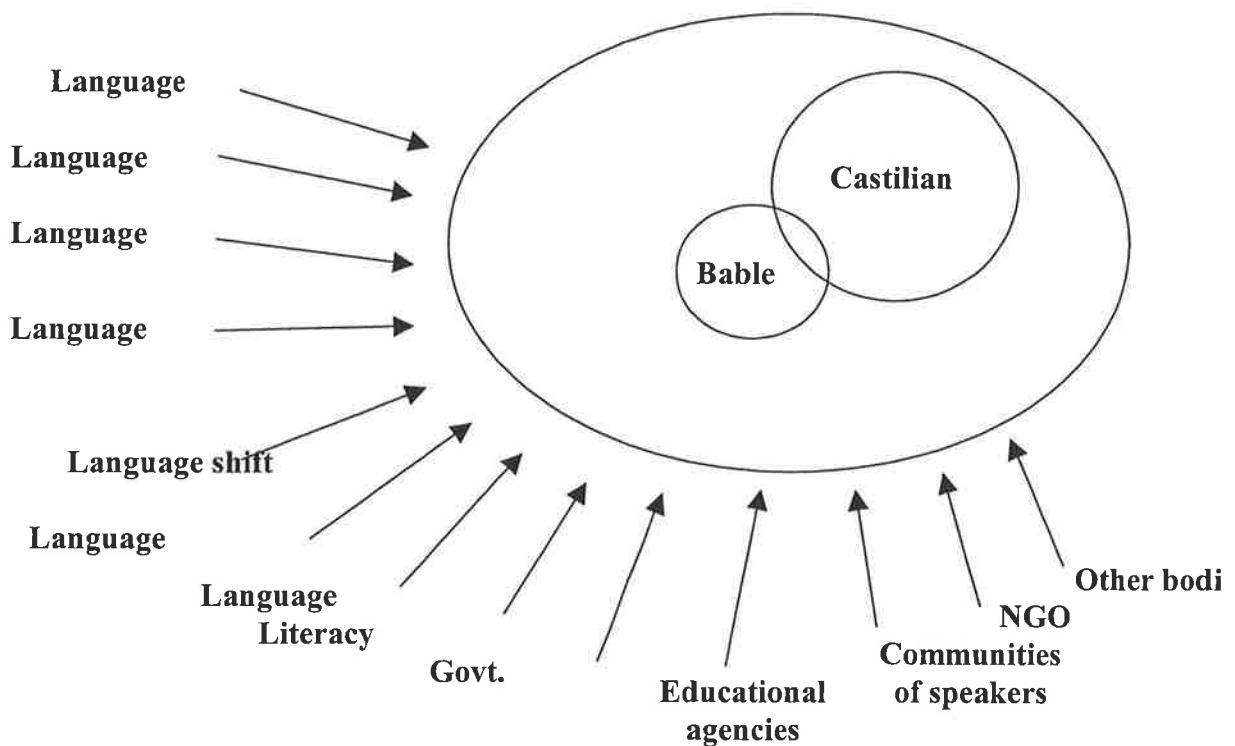


Figure 11.1 provides an inventory of the forces at work in a linguistic eco-system (in this case the Asturian) though it does not, of itself, provide any understanding of the interrelationship of the factors so identified, nor of their comparative significance.

¹⁷ Op. cit., page 311.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Since diagrammatically the factors are shown to be impacting the larger outer circle (which signifies the linguistic eco-system) the model implies that such factors do not or cannot have effect at the particular or micro level in an isolated or discrete sense (*eg* directly and separately impacting the Bable or Castilian circles) but rather impact at a more general, higher ambient or macro level (*ie* affecting the whole eco-system of which both Bable and Castilian are inseparable and interactive components). This leads to the conclusion that the following statements (each related to various of the impacting arrows in Figure 11.1) are more likely to be correct or probable than statements of the opposite type (those indicated in brackets):

- **Language death:** Bable could cease to be spoken in the community (Bable could die).
- **Language survival:** Bable will survive if the community of potential speakers wishes to use it (Bable will survive with the correct regulatory framework).
- **Language change:** Bable, like other languages, is subject to the forces of change (Bable is a victim of interference).
- **Language revival:** Bable can only be revived by a complex series of actions which involve various aspects of the community (Bable's revival depends primarily on official actions)
- **Language shift:** Bable will experience language shift as part of the normal process of language change (Bable is a victim of interference when language shift takes place).
- **Language amalgamation:** Bable's prospects for survival do not depend on differentiation at any price from Castilian (Bable needs to protect its lexical integrity even if that means adopting hypercorrection).
- **Government agencies:** Government agencies need to provide a broad framework for encouraging the use of Bable in a wider range of domains and provide status recognition (Government agencies can take a staged approach introducing Bable education into the school system and then later consider status questions).

¹⁹ This diagram is a modified version of the one which appears in R Kaplan & R Baldauf, *Language Planning*, op. cit., page 311.

Which of these sets of statements may be deemed the more applicable is considered in the light of the research undertaken.

11.3 SMOLICZ - CORE VALUES

In terms of determining a group's sense of identity Jerzy Smolicz has propounded the theory of cultures having core values; his proposition has been that in many instances 'language' has been a key core value. The theory has been used as a tool in the analysis of dynamic situations facing minority languages (particularly in plural societies such as Australia) in addition to other sociological applications. He wrote:

(E)ach culture possesses a number of basic characteristics which are essential for the transmission and the maintenance of that culture; these core values identify a given culture. For example, in the Italian community in Australia, family, religion and language (dialect) appear to be three relevant core values, whereas for the Jewish community they are religion, cultural patrimony and historicity ... When language is the core value of a cultural group, it may be an important factor in determining the members' cultural identity. In extreme cases it might even appear as the sole cultural value.²⁰

However, anticipating Fishman's conclusion of 1985 that *language attitudes do not always lead to language maintenance*,²¹ Smolicz also noted that:

A group's resilience in maintaining its language and culture can be seen to depend on the degree to which its heritage successfully interacts with new cultural inputs both from within (in a multicultural setting) and from without (through diffusion from other sources).²²

Core values form the *heartland of a group's culture*²³ and consist of those features of identification valued by a community whose maintenance is important to the self-

²⁰ JJ Smolicz, quoted in H F Schiffman, *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy*, Routledge, London 1996, pp11-12.

²¹ Cited by M Clyne in *Multilingualism*, page 310, in F Coulmas (ed), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1997.

²² JJ Smolicz, *Minority Languages as Core Values of Ethnic Cultures*, in W Fase et. al (ed), *Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages* Studies in Bilingualism 1, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1992, page 278.

²³ Op.cit., page 279.

perceived integrity of that community. However, core values need also to be assessed as to whether they are solely symbols or serve also as tools of social interaction.

Thus with respect to religion as a core value, the statement “I am a Christian” may be such a value solely at the level of the symbolic or emblematic. That is to say the person may be a non-participant in any religious activities, but still identify himself/herself as a Christian on the basis of cultural inheritance and ambient environment. Alternatively, the expression of faith practices by others who proclaim themselves as Christian sees the core value becoming a tool of social interaction.

Smolicz has often used the model in order to examine questions of maintenance and promotion of minority languages. With respect to Australia, for example, he stated:

It is important, therefore, to recognize that activation of a minority tongue and its persistence in Australia is dependent not only on the linguistic tenacity of the group concerned, and on whether language is recognised as a core value, but also on the way the majority perceives the language in question, and on the majority’s toleration of linguistic pluralism in the society as a whole. Other factors influencing the minority’s language retention include the degree to which the minority feels attracted towards the culture of the majority; the degree to which the minority’s cultural values overlap with that of the majority; as well as to the extent to which the majority is prepared to socially and culturally ‘embrace’ the minority to its bosom. One would also need to examine any advantages which minority members might derive from a shift to the majority language, and whether the same benefits would be available if they maintained their ethnic tongue alongside English.²⁴

The Asturian situation is qualitatively different from immigrant minority languages in a country such as Australia. Bable is autochthonous, not introduced; the dominant language with which it competes for domain space has coexisted with it for centuries and is also related to it linguistically. However the theory of core values can be applied

²⁴ Op.cit., pp 298-9

equally as well (as indeed Smolicz has done himself with research concerning the languages of the Philippines).

However, while language (whether as the language of immigrants or autochthonous speakers) will frequently be a core value, it need not always be. Where it is a core value, as with religion as a core value, there will still be variations in its significance, relative to other cultural factors such as family structure, class, demography and religion.

Thus while Bable may be the language of Asturians, an individual may neither speak it nor feel any imperative to do so or may restrict its use to culturally determined domains. The result is that the actual number of Bable speakers who use it across a wide range of domains and genres represents only a small proportion of those who may deem Bable as a core part of their Asturian identity.

How likely in any context is it that there will be an individualist approach taken, or a collectivist? And what of the Asturian situation? This brings into focus the issue of the connection between social structures and language which Smolicz *et.al* have dealt with as germane to Core Value theory. They have noted the roles both of family collectivism and minority languages as core values of culture among some ethnic groups in Australia.²⁵ They have then have compared the contrasting patterns of the individual versus collective approach to domains of life between what they refer to as ‘Anglo-type societies’ and ‘Some other European and Asian societies’. Their classification of social systems is represented in Figures 11.2 and 11.3. The first table recognises that both individuals and groups have two categories of relationships – primary and secondary;

²⁵ JJ Smolicz, M Secombe & DM Hudson, *Family collectivism and minority languages as core values of culture among ethnic groups in Australia*, draft paper supplied by authors in 2000.

the first table gives some examples of such relationships. The second table examines the types of approaches that two competing types of cultures take to primary and secondary relationships.

Figure 11.2: Classification of social systems ²⁶

Type of system	1°	2°
Personal	Close friends	Acquaintances & colleagues
Group	Family	Workplace

Figure 11.3: Ideological values and social systems in different societies ²⁷

	Anglo-type societies	Some other European & Asian societies
1°	Individualist	Collectivist
2°	Collectivist	Individualist

In proposing this analysis, Smolicz *et.al.* concluded that:

Respondents from the groups under investigation strove to achieve their linguistic goals by relying on their families and other ethnic social structures in ways that were characteristic of their cultural heritage, as encapsulated in their core values.²⁸

Given that Asturian society at the village level is collectivist, it can be understood how

Bable (or the bables) has survived. However as the authors also noted:

Not all ethnic groups have been equally adept at radiating the collectivist family ethos into ethno-specific ethnic secondary systems.²⁹

²⁶ Based on table appearing in *op.cit.*, page 5.

²⁷ *Op.cit.*, page 13.

²⁸ *Op.cit.*, page 37.

²⁹ *Op.cit.*, page 13.

The challenge for Bable is whether it can survive as the collectivism of the rural and mining context declines and the urban setting of individualist primary relationships becomes more predominant.

The collectivist model of primary relationships has reflected reality for those Asturians living in rural and mining communities. Smolicz, citing work by Clyne in 1991 noted the *extensive “intertwining” of ... dialect and ... family* and related this to the *valuation accorded to (a) regional language or dialect as opposed to that of the official standard*.³⁰ With respect to the impact on Bable, it is nurtured in the primary but not empowered to fare well in the secondary. Different drivers and processes are needed for each. For example, stories at the *esfoyaza* need groups; while fiction needs its own youth culture to connect with the individualist.

The Asturian village, even the mining community, can be interpreted as having mutually dependent and reinforcing core values of communalism and solidarity which have connections with language. In a situation of changing demographics (including urbanisation breaking down rural and mining bonds) there has been a move away from the collectivist to the individualist. This means that those traditional core values are weakened and ultimately replaced by others more suitable for the urban context in which most Asturians find themselves. The question is whether those new core values can continue to have connections with the vernacular and if so, how they might be fostered.

³⁰ Op.cit. page 33.

From these various issues raised by Core Value theory, there are a number of questions in relation to Bable which arise from the point of view of core value theory:

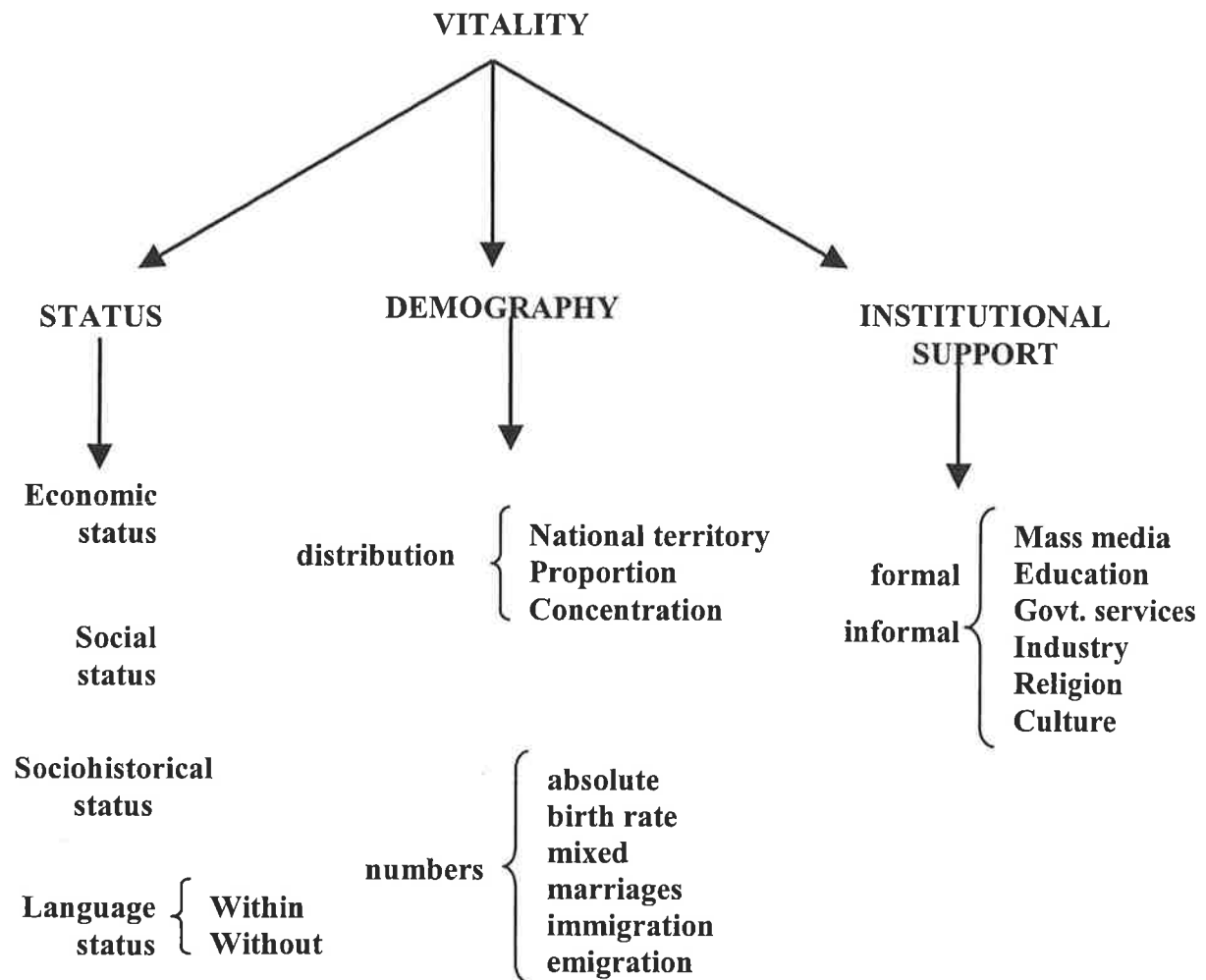
- What are the core values of Asturian society?
- Are they the same for all sections of the population?
- Are there significant individualist versus collectivist perspectives?
- What differences of perception are there in the core value of *Asturianidá* [*Asturianity*]?
- In what way may Bable be a core value? Can it change its nature as a core value as context changes?
- What are the implications arising from a dominant L2 (Castilian) for Bable as a core value of Asturians?
- Are there core value variations among different Bable dialects (in relation to any Bable dialect and Castilian as well as the dialects versus normalised Bable)?
- Are there differences as to the perception of what Bable ('language') is in terms of its possibly being a core value?

11.4 GILES et. al. - ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY

in 1977 Howard Giles *et.al.*³¹ proposed the concept of assessing ethnolinguistic vitality as a means of better understanding the relationship of group and language status. They wrote of a *Taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality*. Figure 11.4 depicts that taxonomy.

³¹ H Giles, R Bourhis & D Taylor, *Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations*, Academic Press, London, 1977, page 309.

Figure 11.4 -Taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality³²



This taxonomy is then used to determine a *vitality configuration* for an ethnic group with high, low and medium values being assigned to each of the three variables (Status, Demography and Institutional Support). Grant McDonnell stated that:

What was really innovative from a sociolinguistic point of view was the juxtaposing of group and language in terms of presence and usage, as well as the ‘three factored view’ of reality construct, which proposed an objective set of situational and structural variables in what was basically a cognitive approach.³³

³² H Giles *et.al.* *Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations*, op.cit., page 309.

In the same way that various languages of Spain were represented as to status and usage in the figure on page 346, a number of the elements of the taxonomy can be applied to those same languages. However, the attribution of 'High', 'Medium' or 'Low' values can more easily and consistently be done for Status and Institutional Support Variables than for Demography variables. For example the following statement can be made with the same degree of applicability to any of the languages of Spain:

A higher economic status for a region (ie better indicators of economic activity and more significant comparative economic power) is more conducive to ethnolinguistic vitality than the opposite.

Thus Catalonia and the Basque country both rank higher in the economic status tables for Spain than Aragon or Murcia; and their vernacular language situations are likewise stronger. Similarly the statement:

The more vernacular mass media available in a region the greater its ethnolinguistic vitality.

However, the following statement cannot be made with the same consistent degree of application to all Spanish languages:

Immigrant communities within a region affect the utilisation rates of vernacular languages and hence can impact ethnolinguistic vitality.

Thus, for example, many commentators have noted the intransigence of Andalusian immigrants to Catalonia in the face of Catalan.³⁴ Yet immigrants from this same region going to Asturias, participate in Bable classes³⁵ and self identify with the language.³⁶

³³ G D McDonnell, *Global Scale Sociolinguistics*, in *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed F Coulmas, Blackwell, Oxford, 1997, page 354.

³⁴ Joan Colomines, in *La Lengua Nacional de Catalunya*, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992 noted (page 192) that the competence coefficient for learning Catalan was lower for immigrants from Andalucia (0.32) than for any other part of Spain except the much less numerous immigrants from Extremadura (0.30) – the national average figure being 0.35. with the figure for those born in Catalan-speaking regions being 0.61, and for those born in Catalunya 0.74. However the situation may be overstated. Bonifacio Jiménez and Gabriel Comes in their work *Actitudes de los castellano-hablantes ante la enseñanza de y en catalán. Analisis global* (contained within Miquel Siguan [coord] *Las lenguas en la escuela*, ICE/Horsori Editorial, Barcelona, 1994) noted that while 81% of students surveyed who were born outside of

As a consequence a table can be constructed for two categories of variables – Status and Institutional Support - but not the third (Demography), when matching them against the recognition hierarchy of Figure 10.3. Table 11.1 applies ‘Low’, ‘Medium’ and ‘High’ status to each of the sub-categories in the table.

Table 11.2: Correlating Status with Language Support

Element / Status	No recognition	Recognition 1	Recognition 2	Officiality 1	Officiality 2
Status					
Economic status	Low	Low	Low	Med.	High
Social status	Low	Low	L-M	Med.	High
Sociohistorical status	Low	L-M	L-M	Med.	High
Language status – within	Low	Low	Med.	High	High
Language status – without	Low	Low	Low	L-M	High
Institutional support					
Formal					
- mass media	Low	Low	Low	Med.	High
- education	Low	Low	Med.	High	High
- govt. services	Low	Low	Low	Med.	High
Informal					
- industry	Low	Low	Low	Med.	High
- religion	Low	Low	Low	M-H	High
- culture	Low	Med.	Med	High	High

Thus, for example, no language in Figure 10.3 categorised as having Recognition 1 language status could also be assessed as being of medium or high economic status. Contrariwise none of the languages in either the Officiality 1 or 2 categories could be deemed as being in low economic status environments. Similarly, by way of example, formal educational support for language would not be high in situations of Recognition 1 status, but would be in that of Officiality 1 or 2.

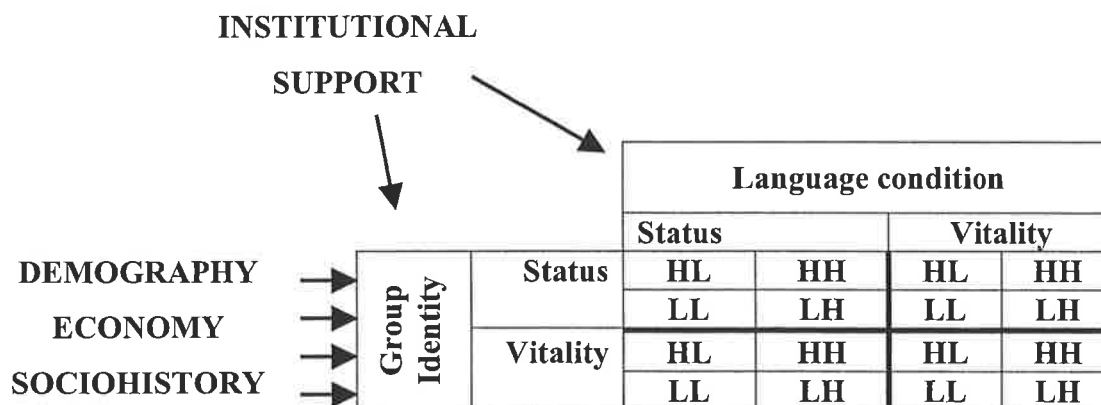
Catalunya (principally from Andalucia) rejected all subjects being taught in Catalan, 85% supported some being so done.

³⁵ LNE 29.09.97.

How can the taxonomy be further developed in a way which becomes indicative in terms of McDonnell's claimed value of the model – namely *the juxtaposing of group and language in terms of presence and usage* - in ways which might be useful for understanding implications for language policy.

One possibility would be to construct a matrix comparing Group Identity with Language Condition. This is done in Figure 11.5. In this figure demography, economy and sociohistory are treated as inputs to Group Identity. Institutional support is considered as capable of being applied in two ways: directly (by the implementation of language programs) and indirectly (by providing a supportive environment for language within a group).

Figure 11.5: Correlating Group Identity and Language Condition



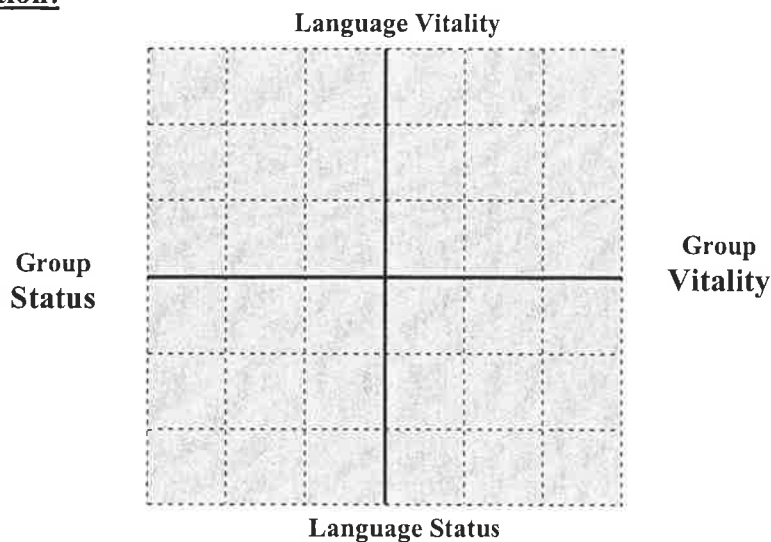
The matrix then provides four areas of examination. The relationship of Language Status with Group Status, Language Status with Group Vitality, Language Vitality with Group Status and, finally, Language Vitality with Group Vitality. Each of these four areas can be measured in a range between 'Low' and 'High'. Thus in any particular situation Group Status might be high yet Language Status low, and vice versa.

³⁶ ... survey responses ...

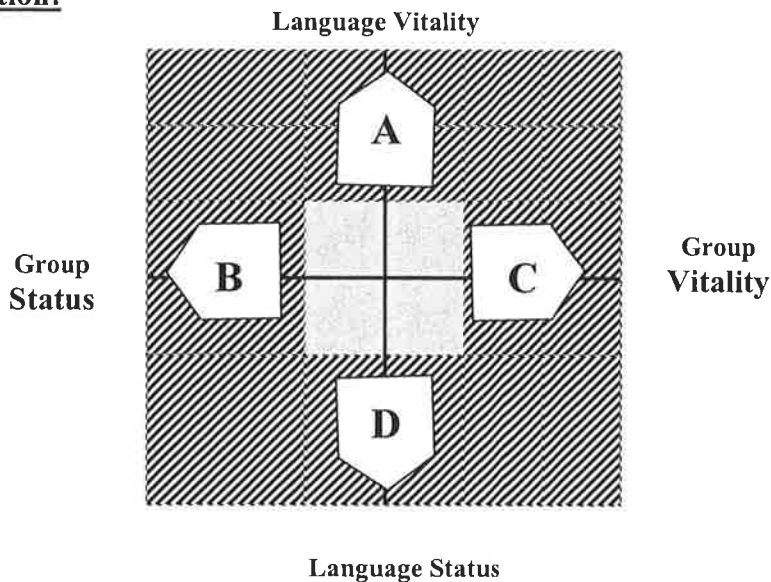
If numeric values are then ascribed from 1 for 'low' up to 3 for 'high', languages in situations variously of minimum and maximum optimisation could be graphed as shown in Figure 11.6. The first shows the optimal situation possible, namely both high status and vitality for Language Condition and Group Identity. The second shows the minimal position. The hatched area in the second denotes the deficit zones which would need policy responses to be overcome. Thus A indicates that policies focussed on Language Vitality would be needed to raise the level from low to high. Similarly with areas B, C and D for Group Status, Group Vitality and Language Status deficits.

Figure 11.6: Optimal & minimal situations concerning Language & Group Status and Vitality

Optimal situation:



Minimal situation:

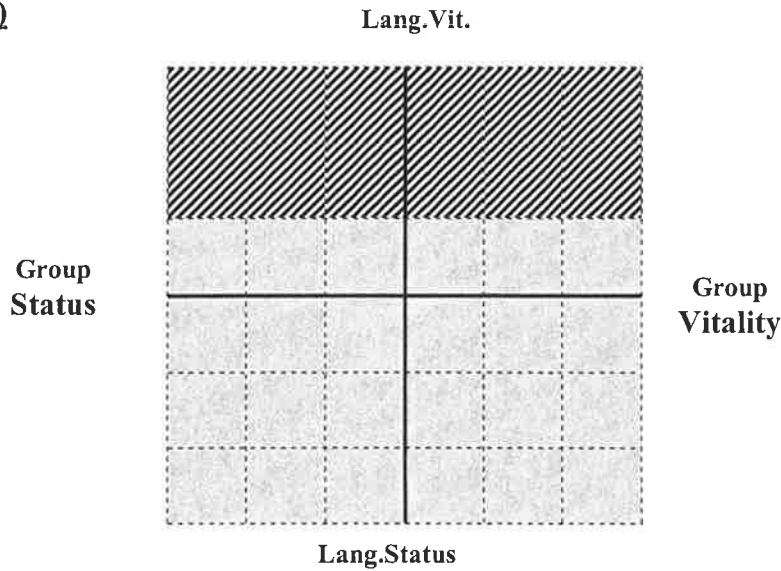


The following examples of national or regional language situations can be assessed by the application of this matrix:

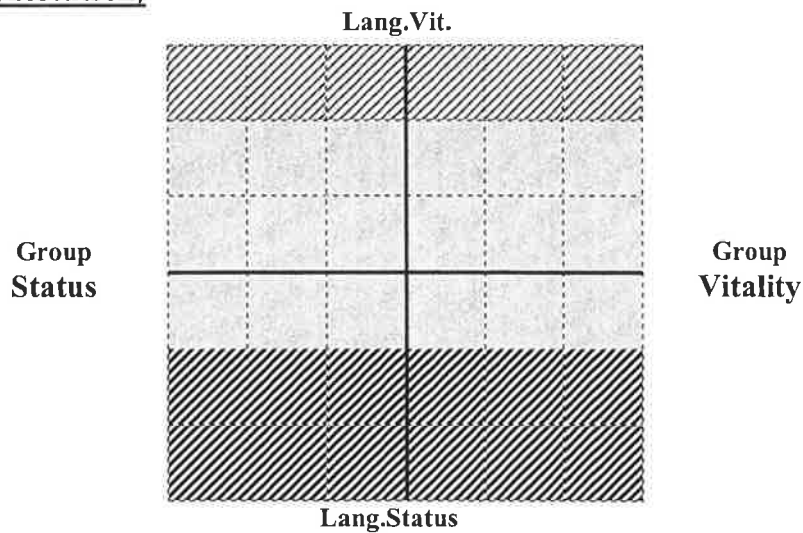
- **Irish:** Language Status – High; Language Vitality – Low; Group Status – High; Group Vitality – High.
- **Swiss German:** Language Status – Low; Language Vitality – High; Group Status – High; Group Vitality – High.
- **Gypsy:** Language Status – Low; Language Vitality – Medium; Group Status – Low; Group Vitality – High.

These would then be graphed as shown in Figure 11.7

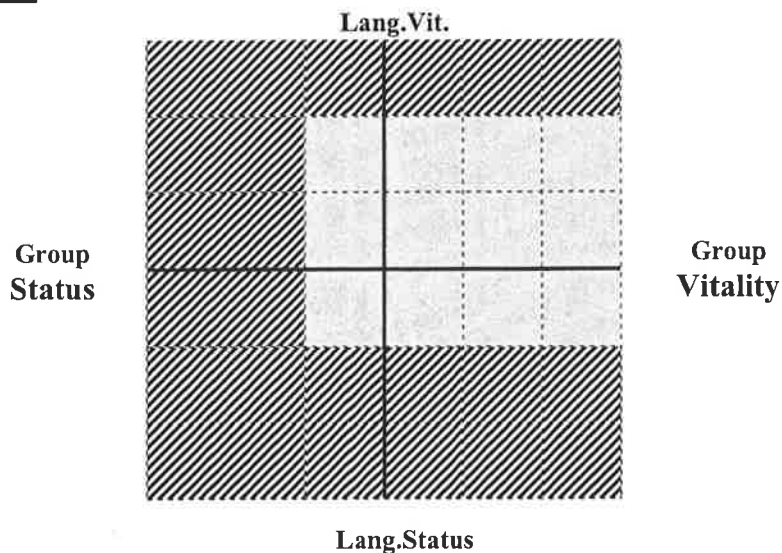
Figure 11.7: Language & Group Status and Vitality of various languages
Irish (Gaelic)



Swiss (Schwyzertütsch)



Gypsy (Romany)



Thus in the case of Irish Gaelic the area needing policy attention is Language Vitality. Which is to say that there is sufficient Language Status (through existing legislation and education policies) and there are no requirements for proactive official responses to enhance either Group Status or Group Vitality.

The case of Schwyzertütsch is more complex. As Richard Watts has pointed out, it involves not only issues of status and utilisation within German-speaking (ie essentially mono-lingual) cantons of Switzerland but also within the context of the remaining cantons of pluri-lingual (as opposed to multi-lingual) Switzerland.³⁷ Within the German-speaking cantons Schwyzertütsch does not have institutional status but does achieve a type of *praxis* whereby high rates of utilisation within non-written or official contexts are complemented by a perceived status which is the product of German Swiss reactions to German hegemony beyond the frontiers of the country. In Watts' view the dialects of Switzerland *serve a very important political and cultural function in marking*

³⁷ R J Watts, *Language policies & education in Switzerland*, in R Watts & JJ Smolicz (eds), *Cultural Democracy and Ethnic Pluralism: multicultural and multilingual policies in education*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt, 1997.

off Switzerland from its germanophone neighbours.³⁸ However, the relationship of Swiss German to a larger Germanic hinterland is not the only issue germane to language policy. There is also the question of the nation-reinforcing needs which language policy may need to address in the unique Swiss context given the pluri-lingual federal composite of largely monolingual territoriality. Watts concluded:

A federal policy on languages which can counteract the effects of the Territoriality principle and which can help inject new life into language teaching and a positive evaluation of multilingualism ... is an urgent necessity.³⁹

On the other hand, the situation in many jurisdictions with respect to Romany would appear to require policy responses in the medium term that are more directed towards the areas of Language Status and Group Status than towards Language Vitality. The reason being that in terms of current measures, there is a reasonable level of Language Vitality, however the long term prognosis is not good for that level of vitality to be maintained in the absence of satisfactory levels of status for the language and for the self-perceptions of the group as to their status.

The Group/Language Status comparison for the purpose of measuring ethnolinguistic vitality need not be restricted to entire groups; it can also apply to contrasting situations within a language where there are discrete sub-groups. Thus Michael Clyne's example of the condition of Yiddish in different situations; firstly amongst Hassidic Jews and secondly amongst Yiddish ideologues in the US gives rise to the comparative tables in Figure 11.8.⁴⁰ These would then be graphed as in Figure 11.9.

³⁸ Op.cit. page 279.

³⁹ Op.cit. page 300.

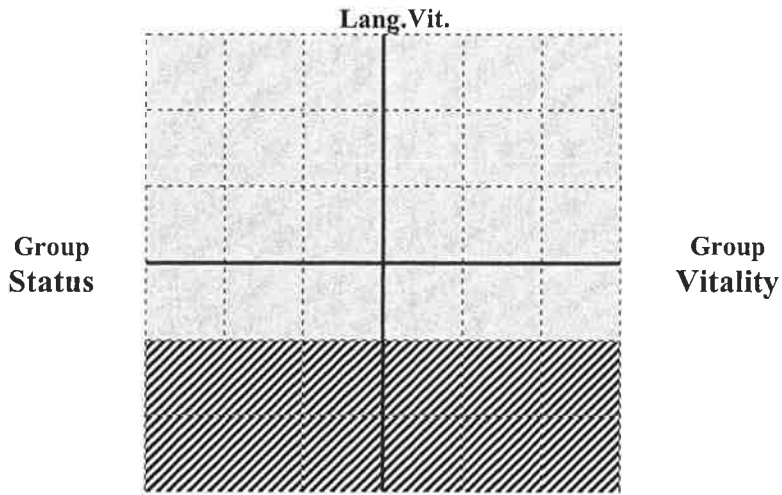
⁴⁰ M Clyne, *Multilingualism*, in *Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed. F Coulmas, Blakewells, Cambridge, 1997, page. 310.

Figure 11.8: Ethnolinguistic comparison of Yiddish-speaking groups

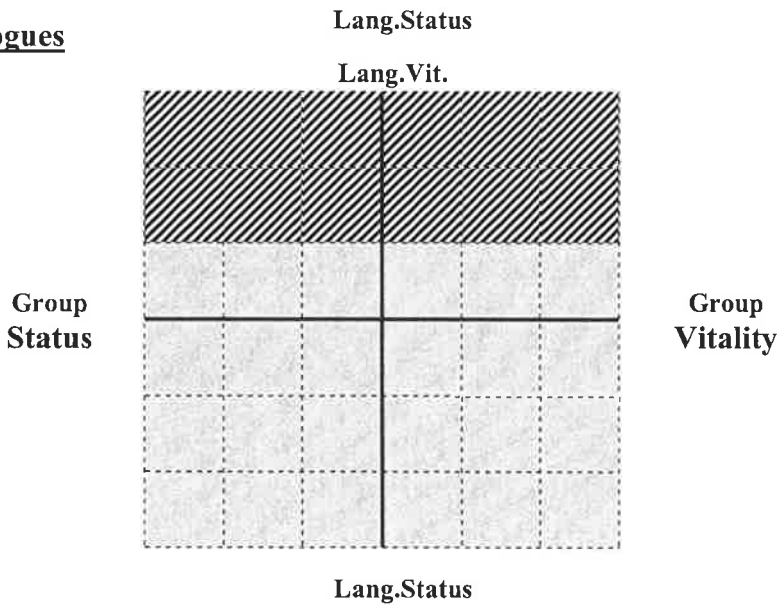
		Hassidic Jews		Ideologues	
		Language		Language	
		Status	Vitality	Status	Vitality
Group	Status	HL	HH	HH	HL
	Vitality	HL	HH	HH	HL

Figure 11.9: Language & Group Vitality and Status in the case of Yiddish

Hassidic Jews



Yiddish Ideologues



The significance for Bable of this model would be to provide a guide to useful directions for development of language policy.

11.5 L & J MILROY - SOCIAL NETWORKS

In an attempt to better understand the complexity of the processes of language maintenance and language loss in situations of minority L1, James & Lesley Milroy proposed the concept of *social network*. This concept was proffered as the means to answer the question:

Why do people continue to use low status varieties when they know that it may well be in their economic and social interests to acquire a variety of high prestige?⁴¹

In particular, the Milroys examined the density and multiplexity of social networks such as exist in villages. Ruth Wodak and Gertraud Benke explained the value of the analysis of such networks by saying they:

... capture group structures, and the explanations of the observed sociophonological phenomena trace particular language behaviour back to certain peculiarities of the obvious network structures, enabling a very fine-grained analysis, in complete contrast to the macrosociological approach of former studies.⁴²

Lesley Milroy was particularly interested in investigating how a stable set of linguistic norms emerged and maintained themselves in a community. She called these *vernacular norms* which were *perceived as symbolising values of solidarity and reciprocity rather than status, and are not publicly codified or recognised*.⁴³ These ‘symbolising values of solidarity and reciprocity’ nourished themselves by links within group structures (ie norm enforcement). At the same time these links could not exist in isolation but were

⁴¹ J & L Milroy, *Authority in Language: Investigating Language Prescription and Standardisation*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1985, page 57.

⁴² R Wodak & G Benke, *Gender as a Sociolinguistic Variable*, in F Coulmas (ed) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, Blackwells, Oxford, 1997, page 136.

interconnected with the world which surrounded them in a wider cobweb of links of varying degrees of strength.

Strong ties are defined as *close-knit and multiplex relationships* which bind and insulate relatively self-contained communities. Weak ties are defined as *weak, uniplex interpersonal ties*,⁴⁴ and essentially the opposite to strong ties in their sociological implications.

What do strong or weak ties mean in linguistic terms? What is embodied in the line between groups re language support? Can this be a language reinforcer or a point of stress for a the language?

In terms of linguistic implications, the Milroys noted that strong ties seem *to be implicated in a rather negative way in linguistic change* (though they would still have a role as language reinforcers) leading them to suggest that *a closer examination of weak network ties might be profitable*.⁴⁵ That is to say, strong ties covertly and conservatively nurture a language while weak ties become a source of change. This is diagrammatically represented in Figure 11.10.

In this regard they point to the work of M Granovetter with regards to the nature of weak ties that:

may be subjectively perceived as unimportant (but) are in fact important channels through which innovation and influence flow from one close-knit group to another, linking such groups (to) the wider society.⁴⁶

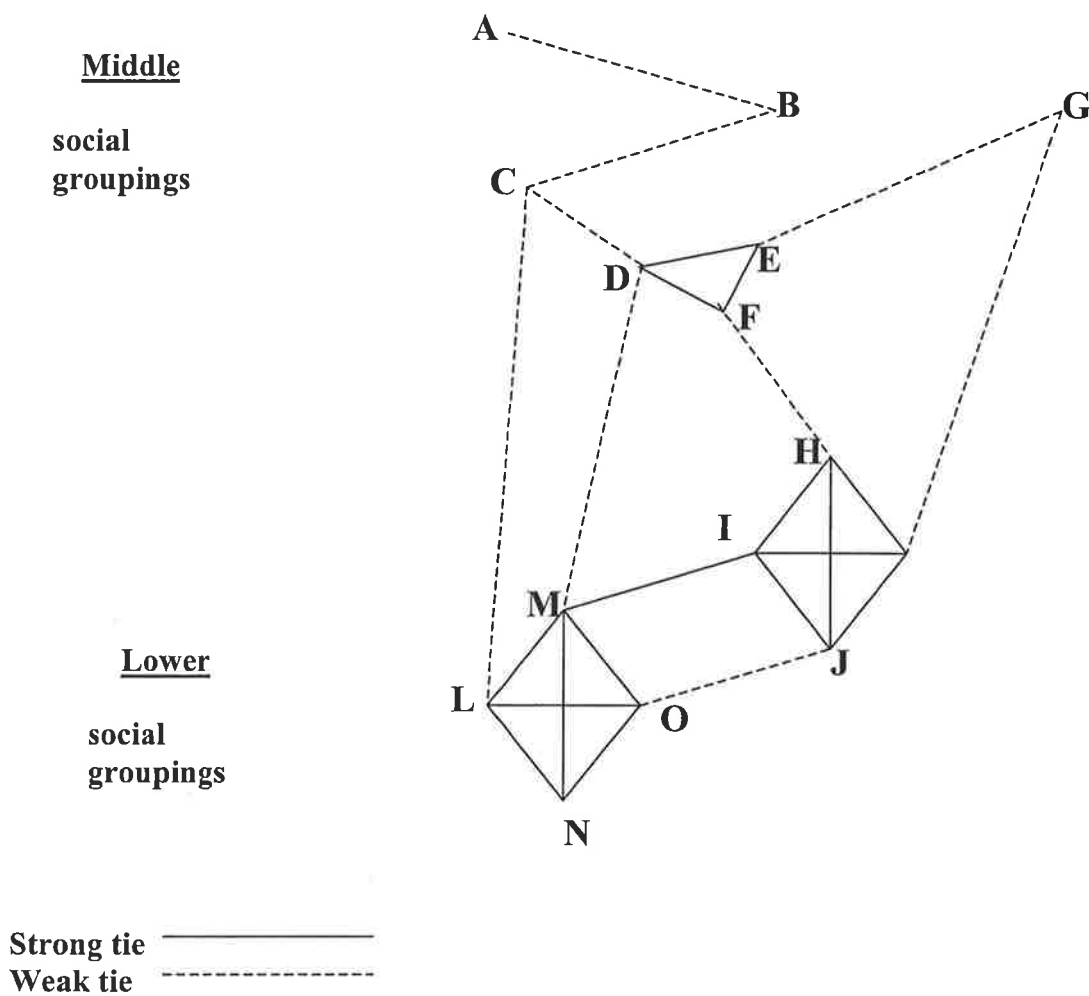
⁴³ AK Pugh, VJ Lee & J Swann, *Language and language use: a reader*, Heinemann, Lond.1980, pp 35-36

⁴⁴ J & L Milroy *Network Structure and Linguistic Change*, in N Coupland & A Jaworski (ed) *Sociolinguistics: A Reader and Coursebook*, Macmillans, London, 1997, page 200.

⁴⁵ Op.cit., page 200.

⁴⁶ Op.cit.

Figure 11.10: Diagrammatic representation of Milroy networks and links



And that examining this from a linguistic point of view:

Has a number of important implications for a socially accountable theory of linguistic change and diffusion.⁴⁷

How weakened therefore is a vernacular when these norm enforcers are reduced or eliminated? In the context of Asturias with significant rural depopulation and employment decline in mining zones, the question takes on real significance. This

⁴⁷ op. cit.

would especially be so when the vitality of the language is a function in part of these norm enforcers.

Some of the interviews I conducted provided some answers to these questions. First example one person interviewed, Marino, a village person, said of his descendants who have now moved to the capital:

The young use more Castilian that I would. Closeness to Oviedo is a great influence. Links with the village will not be sufficient to reinforce the villages – it has the illusion that it is not forgotten.

And also noted that:

The young understand (Bable) but respond in *Castellano mezclao* [*mixed Castilian*], this includes with their parents.⁴⁸

The analysis of the Milroys also dealt with status and postulated that that there is an inverse relationship between status and ‘closeknitedness’ of networks. The Milroys wrote:

a close-knit network structure appears to be very common ... in low status communities ... the close-knit network may be seen as an important social mechanism of vernacular maintenance, capable of operating effectively in opposition to a publicly endorsed and status-oriented set of legitimised linguistic norms ... they enable those who use them to show their solidarity with one another and achieve some kind of group identity.⁴⁹

What significance would the network analysis of the Milroys have for better understanding the sociolinguistic situation of Asturias? Figure 11.10 is suggestive in terms of Asturian socio-economic reality. The close-tie grouping L-M-N-O might be an Asturian village setting with the M-I strong tie being a rural person connected perhaps with someone in the mining industry and thus linked with a mining close tie grouping H-I-J-K. Both of these may have links with a now urban based grouping (D-E-F) which

may consist of children and grandchildren who have moved away but still talk of their 'village' (in this situation as indicated in Section XX, it could be argued that the D-M tie would probably be a strong rather than a weak one). A, B, C and G might be such significant others as employers, shop floor managers, union leaders and administrative contacts.

In linguistic terms, the close-knit ties would be sustainers of L1 (Bable in this instance) while such ties as C-D and C-L might constitute pressures for change. The pressures might either be 'intentional' (the imposing of 'correct' forms of speech) with the consequence of diglossia; or 'unintentional' (the erosion of pure L1 due to its being exposed to a dominant L2) with the consequence of linguistic interference.

Such pressures would lead to change which might be deemed language 'decay'. Can there be a situation where a language may have been deemed to have 'evolved' rather than 'decayed' as weak ties have their impact? In other words, would it be possible for status to be maintained for a language which had changed/evolved/decayed due to the impact of weak ties?

Answering these questions requires identifying what are the change agents which have an inherently nurturing or reinforcing effect as opposed to those which are negative. And whether these change agents can exist in the new social networks which a community finds itself facing.

⁴⁸ Interview notes with Marino, Campo de Caso, August 1995.

⁴⁹ L Milroy cited in R Wardaugh, *op.cit.*, p 43.

In the case of the vernacular of Asturias, it is clear that the strong ties of low status networks have been positive towards the idea of the 'bables' (the range of disparate and diverse speeches), but they may also have been detrimental to the idea of Bable as a unitary concept. As the strong ties weaken, will it be possible for the Bable/bables debate to be resolved in a way which reinforces language status and vitality?

11.6 THE WILLIAMS CRITIQUES ON ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

Glyn Williams in 1992 wrote *Sociolinguistics: A sociological critique*⁵⁰ which provided, according to Joshua Fishman in his introduction:

a theoretical sociological perspective ... (that) bring(s) specialised sociological knowledge, based on specialised sociological theories, hypotheses and methodologies, into the sociolinguistic heartland from which these have all been excessively absent for so long.⁵¹

In the course of the book, Williams provides thought-provoking analyses of the works of many sociolinguists. Of direct interest here, are his comments on the theory of Giles *et.al* on ethnolinguistic vitality and the theory of J & L Milroy on social networks.

Ethnolinguistic vitality

In providing a critique of the ethnolinguistic vitality model of Giles *et.al*, Glyn Williams noted a number of areas needing further work. Four of particular interest were:

- Culture as opposed to ethnicity
- Issues of stasis versus change
- Language status and social status
- Issues of class

⁵⁰ G Williams , *Sociolinguistics: A Sociological Critique*, Routledge, London, 1992

⁵¹ Op.cit., page viii.

The first posed the difficulties associated with considering together cultural and ethnic matters. Williams noted that

If the ethnolinguistic group is a cultural group, and if status evaluation is a feature of culturally conditioned values, the out-group evaluation derives from a different set of values and it is futile ... to suggest that 'often, this amount of group self-esteem closely resembles that attributed it by the out-group'.⁵²

In a related vein, Roberto González Quevedo, writing on *La cultura asturiana* [*The Asturian Culture*] also noted in 1990 that the two concepts of culture and ethnicity are not automatically the same. He wrote:

Discussing what is Asturian culture ... in order to enlighten the problem of cultural identity in general and of the Asturian cultural identity in particular. Intelligently, Ramón Valdés made mention of another key problem, the problem of ethnic consciousness. How in Asturias is the idea of the group constituted, the ethnic frontier? Here there will be seen anthropologically as the idea of the Asturian cultural identity is manipulated, as much in a common sense as any other.^{53 t}

From this can be deduced that Williams believed there was an interaction of assessments between the in-group and out-group which makes it impossible to consider each discretely. In other words the statement - *I am who I am because of what I am* - (where the 'what' is the cultural inheritance of an individual) is impossible to separate from the statement - *I am who I am because of what I am not* - (where the 'what' is the understanding by self of the out-group's assessment of self and of, correspondingly, self's assessment of the outgroup).

⁵² G Williams , *Sociolinguistics: A Sociological Critique*, Routledge, London, 1992 , page 208, referring to page 310 in Giles *et al.*

⁵³ R González Quevedo *La cultura asturiana*, LLAA 38, 1990. Author refers to work of R Valdés, page 238, in S Cañada (ed) *Sobre Asturias y la cultura asturiana*, Xixón, 1987, page 133.

^t *Discutiendo so lo que ye la cultura asturiana ... pa faer lluz nel problema de la identidá cultural en xeneral y de la identidá cultural asturiana en particular. Intelixentemente, Ramón Valdés fixo mención a otru problema clave, el problema de la conciencia étnica. ¿Cómu n'Asturies se constituyete la idea de grupu, la frontera étnica? Equí habrá de ver antropólogu cómu se manipula la idea d'identidá cultural asturiana, tantu nun sen comu n'otru sen.*

Thus to be Asturian would not simply be a self-ideation of Asturians independent of the opinions of others, but would be the result of interactivity between self-perception and of self's interpretation of the views of self held by others. An example of such interactivity was provided by a sequence of letters to the editor on the comments by Nobel Literature Prize winning author José Camilo Cela on Asturians. On 29 January 1994 he had made some comments about Asturias and Asturians that generated two months of correspondence. Among the comments he had made were:

If the Virgin of Covadonga *ye pequeñina y gallana* [is tiny and beautiful] then it is stuffed.

And

Severo Ochoa would be a slow witted chicken ... a scared one from Lluarca ^t

Cela's comments played with metaphors (including the proximity of the words *pavo* [turkey] and *espavoria* [scared one]). He has also used some Bable (including the iconic *ye*) and a diminutive as well as leveraging his criticism off the Virgin of Covadonga.

The reaction was swift and strong and included the following:

How can he opine in this way about Asturians and (their symbols)? [L141/064]

Severo Ochoa is a universal Asturian worthy of admiration [L323/072]^t

Secondly, Williams also dealt with the tension ('struggle' in his terms) between stasis and change, Williams noted:

Groups that are referred to are merely a feature of their markers – the various language markers that pertain to the situation. Therefore, the groups will disappear when their markers disappear as a result of failure in the struggle that is

^t *Si la Virgen de Covadonga 'ye pequeñina y gallana' que se joda and Severo Ochoa 'sería una pita fata ... espavoria de Lluarca.*

^t *como pueda opinar de esta forma sobre los asturianos y símbolos and Severo Ochoa 'sería una pita fata ... espavoria de Lluarch.*

an essential feature of language group relations ... Little reference is made to struggle and there is a tendency for the discussion to lead to suggestions of tautological ethnic conservatism and primordial allegiances.⁵⁴

Williams seemed to assume that there is only one set of optional outcomes from such struggle – absolute disappearance or absolute continuity. It begged the question, however, as to whether there might not be an alternative set of optional outcomes – relative disappearance or relative continuity. Both these might be taken to be the same, but in the sociolinguistic context it would be possible to rephrase them as an example of the absolute – language loss through interference (diglossic change) - as opposed to an example of the relative - language change through interaction (bilingual change) – an evolutionary change.

Thirdly, Williams dealt with the relationship between language status and social status.

He noted:

Language status ... in which ‘history, prestige value and the degree of standardisation may be a source of pride or shame’ ... if a language group is a social group, then how does language status differ from social status? ... Pursuing this issue of the relationship between variables it seems that we have both subjective and objective variables seemingly holding the same analytical position *vis-à-vis* the determination of vitality. Yet one would expect that the objective dimension would assume the status of independent variable with the subjective dimensions being dependent variables.⁵⁵

This raises the question as to whether there can be variable status relationships and also the issue of what variables can be isolated. This is a corollary comparative analysis to that indicated earlier with respect to questions of Group Vitality/Status matched with Language Vitality/Status. Therefore similar graphics as shown on pages 379-381 could be drawn to highlight diagrammatically areas needing policy attention.

⁵⁴ Op. cit., page 209.

⁵⁵ Op.cit., quoting page 312 in H Giles *et.al.*, pp 209-210.

Fourthly, he noted the absence of any class analysis in the model of Giles et.al.

Williams stated:

a (Weberian) analysis is obliged to demonstrate how the status group which ... is constructed out of cultural attributes, relates to the objective class structure as an inherent feature of the economic order. It should also demonstrate how conflict derives from the denial of the rewards of power, wealth and status to specific incumbents and it (is) ... evident that the work of those associated with ethnolinguistic vitality systematically fails to address this issue.⁵⁶

Class has been a relevant factor in terms of comparative adoption of Catalan (at least with respect to Catalonia, if not so much with the Valencia region or the Balaeric Isles).

The question here becomes: Has class been a factor in the Asturian context with respect to attitudes towards and take up of Bable?

What appears to have been the case is that Bable has been associated with the traditional common person (the rural, later also the miner) and with the modern. In the latter case there has been more sense of alienation than idealisation.

Social networks

Glyn Williams also criticised the social network analysis of the Milroys on a number of counts not least being its failure to deal with issues of individual action and class. On the former, he wrote:

Yet another feature of network analysis that must be mentioned is its link to rational choice or exchange theory with the emphasis upon individuals operating on some principle of optimisation.⁵⁷

On the second, in the lead up to comments on the lack of a class analysis by the Milroys, Williams stated:

Solidarity is a feature, not of an allegiance to some norm whose source of origin is unspecified, but of a socioeconomic unity which must have political dimensions.⁵⁸

And:

The class polarisation is reduced to one involving status and solidarity, individual upward mobility and working-class cohesion, a perspective which ... inevitably draws (Milroy) into a the concensus orientation of individual liberalism.⁵⁹

Parenthetically it should be noted that Williams seems to have overlooked that the Milroys stated, in noting that strong ties come under pressure as small communities lose their capacity for self-containment:

This observation, in addition to associating social class stratification with the decline of close-knit networks, suggests a framework for linking network studies with large-scale class-based studies in formulating a more coherent multi-level sociolinguistic theory than we have at present.⁶⁰

Returning to the main points, the earlier comments on family collectivism and core values by Smolicz poses a significant counter point to that of Williams on individual optimisation. However, as to the second, the experience of Asturian mining communities, as opposed to superficial observations of the rural context, would seem to support his contentions.

This chapter has dealt with sociolinguistic theories which have something pertinent to say about the condition of Bable. The next chapter pursues some philosophical viewpoints and commences the development of a new paradigm for considering language condition.

⁵⁶ Op.cit., pp 211-2.

⁵⁷ G Williams, *Sociolinguistics: a sociological critique*, op.cit., page 192.

⁵⁸ Op.cit. page 193.

⁵⁹ Op.cit., page 194.

⁶⁰ Op.cit.

PART C – THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

CHAPTER TWELVE – SOME RELEVANT PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVES & THE DOUBLE HELIX MODEL FOR SOCIOLINGUISTIC COEXISTENCE.

Overview

The last chapter considered the theories of various sociolinguists but also included reference to a critique by sociologist Glyn Williams. In this chapter that critique is further considered with particular reference to the dialectic since the role of tension in language-related questions between groups within society merits examination from such a perspective – that of the creative tension of counterpoised ideas leading to change.

In the case of the dialectic, brief consideration is given to such analysis as that of G W F Hegel and Karl Marx in assessing the change engine of Asturian society and the impact of that on Bable. The related area of alienation is considered via the views of Jacques Derrida.

Another area that is examined in this chapter is the particular effect of nostalgic fixation through stereotyping or quasi-role idealisation is explored. The conundrum of how an historic stereotype can at one and the same time both build and yet constrict a society's vision of itself. The contention is that the act of stereotyping along with the creation of role myths can variously be an agent both for change and against it. Much has been written, for example, about the role idealisation of women in terms of the chivalric code and the regressive effect that was actually the outcome with respect to the participation of women in medieval society. The focus in this chapter is on the effect of the quasi-idealising of a class or group in society. In particular the analysis of the early twentieth

century German philosopher Wilhelm Dibelius on the effect of the myth of *the ideal gentleman* [*das gentlemanideal*] upon English self-image in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is applied to the particular role of the *paisano* [*rural person*] or *aldeanu* [*village person*] in the Asturian self-image.

Finally, taking into account the issues of the dialectic, alienation and historical stereotyping, there is developed a ‘double helix model’ of the historical interaction of opposing schools of thought. That model is then further extended in terms of potential application to sociolinguistic themes. The proposition is that a double helix model could be useful to examine issues of language and identity in contexts where there is an unusually close relationship between an L1 and an L2, such as when they are duolects, one of another.

12.1 A CRITIQUE OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACHES

As noted in the previous chapter, Glyn Williams has been critical of the capacity of sociolinguistics by itself to develop tools adequate to the task of analysing language and society. He wrote:

There are those who insist that these areas (sociolinguistics and sociology of language) are not subdisciplines of sociology but, rather, are either subdisciplines of linguistics or constitute a coherent discipline in their own right, albeit one that is in its infancy. Be that as it may, the sociological input is central to both areas and, as such, changes in sociological theory and developments in theoretical critiques cannot be ignored.¹

One particular criticism of Williams was the lack in much writing on sociolinguistics of a power-based class analysis as opposed to analyses that focus solely on issues of status and solidarity.² He also noted the absence in much sociolinguistic writing of other than

¹ G Williams, *Sociolinguistics: A sociological critique*, op.cit., page xiii.

² Op.cit, page 194.

a normative/rational approach to dominance and subordination rather than attempting to understand conflict between groups leading to his assessment that:³

Sociolinguistics then becomes reduced to a discussion of the different identities within ... society and how such identities are expressed through language within the context of the reflection thesis.⁴

In terms of issues of class, it is true that class-related phenomena have been observed in the history of Spanish vernaculars. However, the roles and characteristics of such phenomena have not been the same in each instance. For example, while the middle class have been the key to the current flourishing state of Catalan, it was rural smallholders who kept Gallego alive through key periods of difficulty. And it has largely been the working class and landless peasant who sustained the linguistic richness of Andalucia. In each instance, was the class-related phenomenon of each vernacular indicative of power tensions within the host society or simply a statement of sub-group formation and status?

The case of Catalonia more clearly seemed to support a correlation between language and power relationships than do the cases of Galicia and Andalucia. But whatever the extent of the existence of issues related to power relationships in vernacular language maintenance or erosion, there would be utility in examining the characteristics of tensions which exist between competing groups in terms of language issues.

12.2 CREATIVE TENSION BETWEEN MOVEMENTS

Robert B Pippin wrote of Hegel's attempts at *dialectical resolution of many of the traditional oppositions and antinomies of past thought* and said:

³ Op.cit. p211.

Hegel often argued that what appeared to be contraries in philosophy ... appeared such incompatible alternatives only because of the undeveloped and so incomplete perspectives within which such oppositions were formulated.⁵

Robin Smith further commented that Hegel's contribution (and later that of Marx) to the understanding of dialectic was:

... making dialectic into a theory not simply of arguments but of historical processes with the development of spirit; Marx transformed this still further by replacing 'spirit' with 'matter'.⁶

Two streams of thought can be drawn from this understanding of the dialectic. Firstly, the counterposing of ideas (thesis and antithesis) leading to the synthesis of an outcome idea and secondly the issue of alienation.

Thesis and antithesis

As an example of the first is the historical counterpoising of the Reformation and the Renaissance. There has often been a misconception that these terms were synonyms for each other, describing the same historical process. Modern usage may have reduced them to that status, but the historic movements to which they referred were not only separate from each other but also in a relationship of antinomy. The rationalist humanism of such people as Erasmus and Sir Thomas More was the hallmark of the Renaissance while the Reformation was more aptly symbolised by the pietist, simplist conservatism of Luther and Calvin.

Yet there was an interconnection between the two movements. As Will Durant wrote:

⁴ Op.cit. pp212-3.

⁵ R B Pippin, *Hegel* in R Audi (ed), *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, second edition, CUP, Cambridge 1999, pp367-8.

⁶ R Smith, *Dialectic*, op.cit. page 233.

The debate between Erasmus and Luther goes on, and will, for in these large matters such truth as men can attain is begotten by the union of opposites, and will ever feel its double parentage.⁷

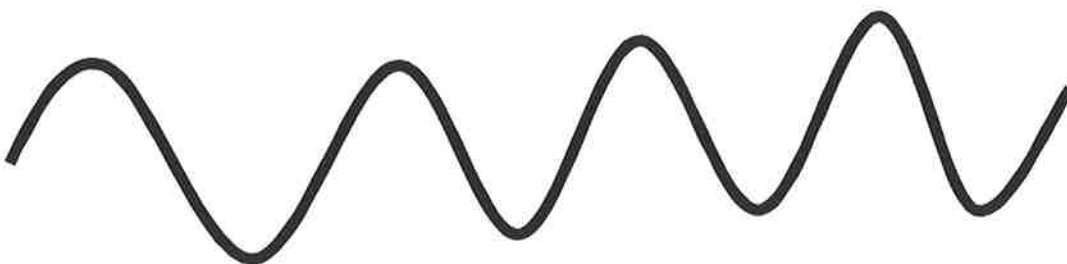
How may we understand the unfolding nature of society, read its history? Reinhold Niebuhr wrote that there were two principal ways by which we seek to interpret our history:

- (A) the classical idea of the historical cycle; and
- (B) the modern idea of historical development.

In his work *The Self and the Dramas of History*, Niebuhr dealt not only with the perspective of each way, and its respective contribution; but also the shortcomings of each.⁸ He suggested that:

The two patterns of the cycle and the forward movement are therefore not so much dramatic patterns as they are the two dimensions of the stage upon which the drama is played.⁹

Can a pattern be developed which might give more 'dimensionality' to the historical analysis of a people and their society? If this were possible, such a pattern would need to both portray and explain the impact of both cycle and forward movement on the final outcome. It would need also to represent the capacity of each separate dimension to interact with the other. In short, diagrammatically speaking how might we integrate the two? The two by themselves might be represented as follows:



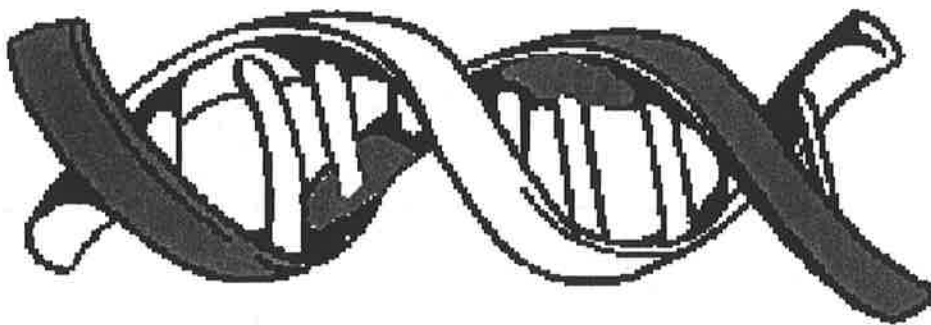
⁷ W Durant, *The Reformation: A History of European Civilization from Wycliff to Calvin: 1300-1564*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1957, page 935.

⁸ R Niebuhr, *The Self and the Dramas of History*, Faber & Faber, London, 1956, page 62.

And:



To my mind the answer lies in the geometric form of the double helix. Such a form integrates the concept of forward movement with an understanding of cycle. It also permits an understanding of the relationship of thesis and antithesis in any one area of society:



Looking at an historical analysis in a similar vein, there has been a relationship between contrasting and continuing themes of Asturian history represented by various polarities: the Celtic myth vs the Gothic myth, regionalism vs nationalism, conservatism vs liberalism, and later liberalism vs radicalism.

⁹ Idem, page 63.

In each instance these polarised themes have not been without interaction. Indeed the interaction could even go as far as coexistence or mutual dependence. Thus for example the coalition of Carlists and federalist liberals in the Republican movement of the nineteenth century. Viewing history from the perspective of actual organizations finds that there have been some alliance changes between groups and also some changes within the characters of groups or their constituencies (representing both membership changes and attitudinal change by individuals).

Figure 12.1: Ideological mapping of Asturian political groups

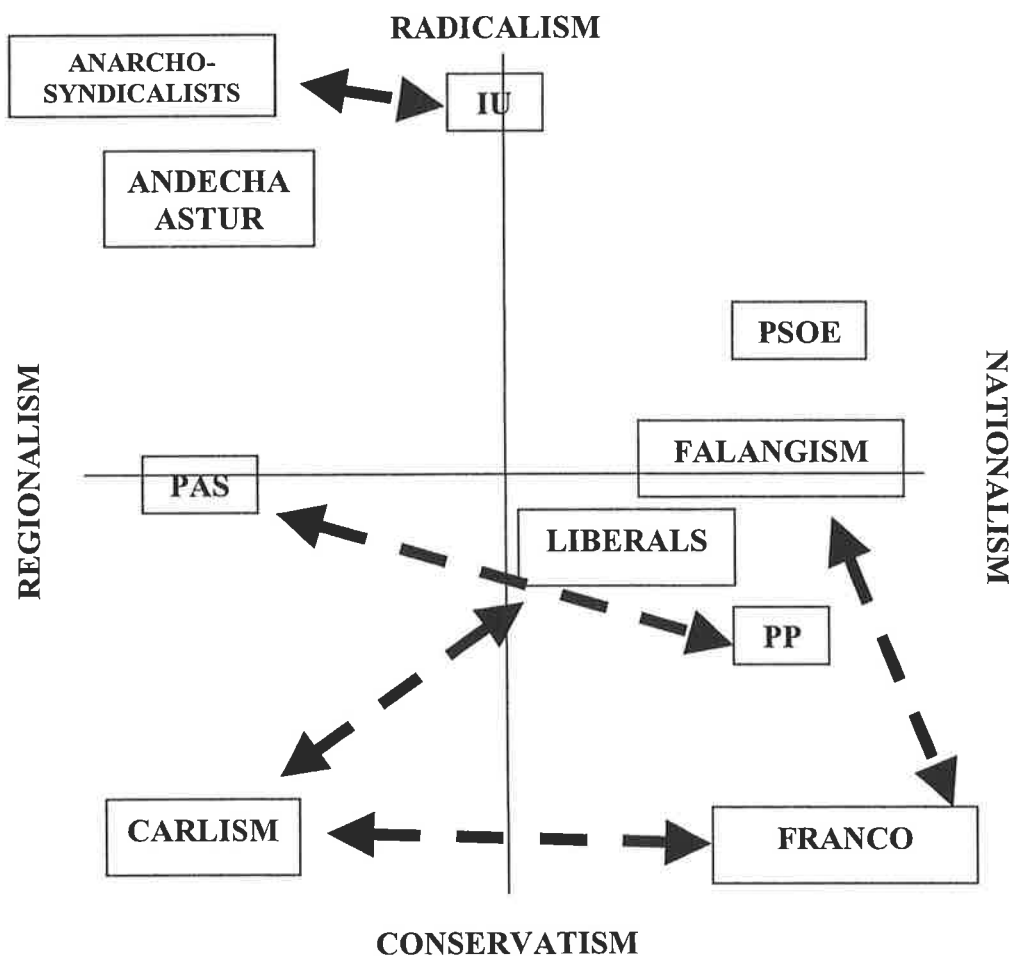


Figure 12.1 portrays both the ideological location of groups within Asturias over the past couple of centuries and also some of the inter-group linkages which have existed

between some of those groups in the region. The figure pits radicalism against conservatism and nationalism against regionalism; other sociological features could be counterpoised in this way (eg working class/upper class, rural/urban &c). The regionalist/nationalist polarity is best described as Asturias as distinctive region versus as proto-Spain.

There had been in Asturias a number of examples of united action between groups seemingly at odds with each other. Thus Carlism, born in the nineteenth century, was both conservative and regionalist in perspective, while the Partido Popular of the late twentieth century has carried on the conservative mantle but has been, in Asturias at least, a nationalist party.* The lines connecting Carlism and Falangism with the ultra-conservatism of Franco reflect the *modus vivendi* established by Franco in the time of the Civil War; this coexistence between the three was to be shortlived with the effective extinction of Carlism and the neutralising of the populist quasi-socialism of Falangism after Franco's victory in the Civil War. The line between PP and PAS is to indicate the relationship they developed as a result of the 1995 regional elections.

Such links across the divide of polarities in Asturias can thus be considered in the double helix model. Figure 12.2 presents such a model using some historical events.

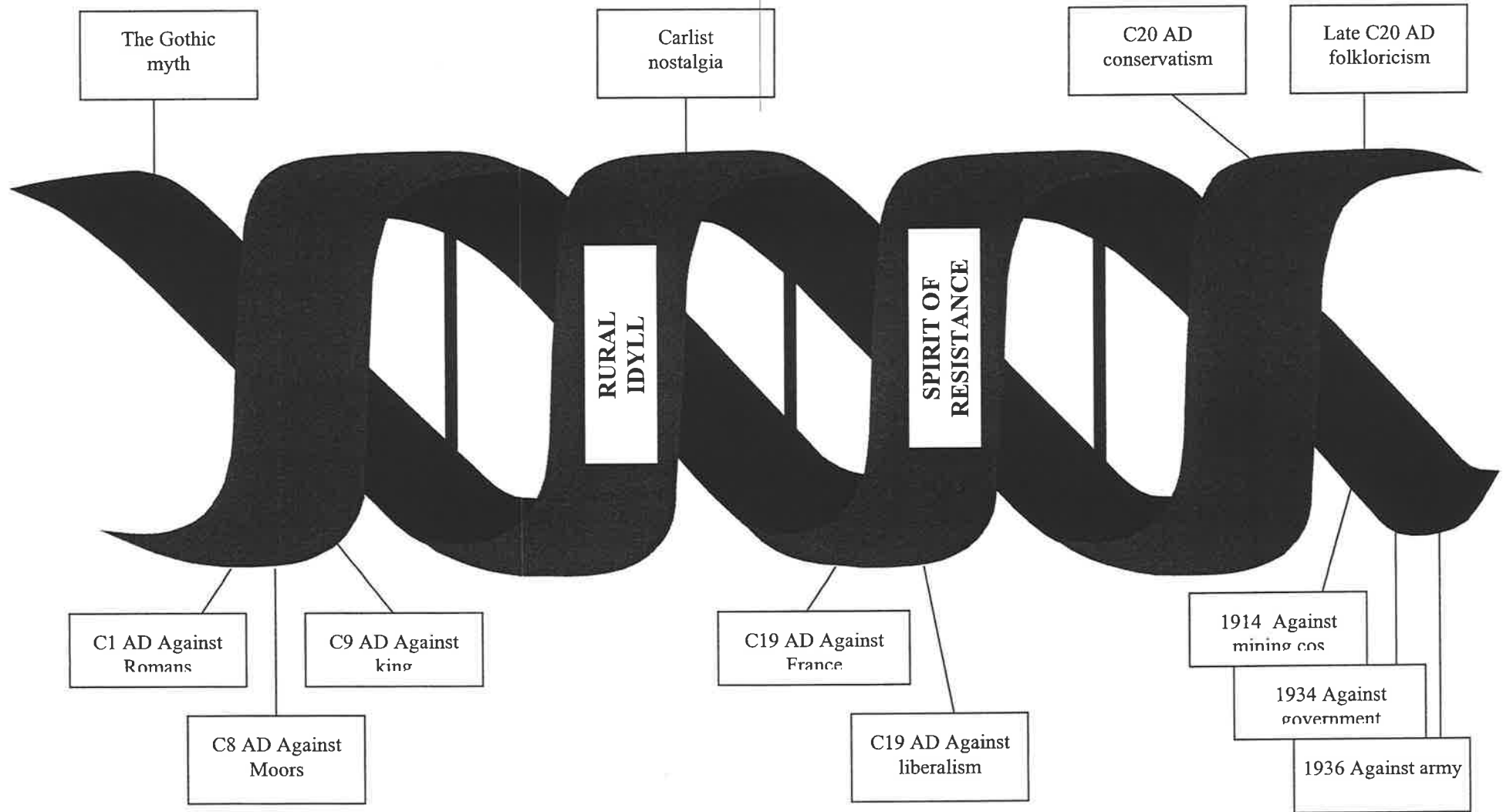
Alienation

On another stream related to the concept of the dialectic – that of alienation – Jacques Derrida, in his work *Monolingualism of the Other or the Prosthesis of Origin*, analysing the statement *I only have one language, yet it is not mine*¹⁰ wrote of an antimony between two propositions:

* This has been in contrast to the strong regionalist sentiment of its sister organisation in Galicia, led ironically by former Franco government (ie highly anti-regionalist) minister Manuel Fraga.

¹⁰ J Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other or The Prosthesis of Origin*, Stanford UP, Stanford, 1998, p1.

Figure 12.2: A double helix perspective of Asturian history



1. We only ever speak one language; and
2. We never speak only one language¹¹

Derrida brought the two together in words he quoted from a friend, Abdelkebir Khatibi:

If ... there is no such thing as *the* language, if there is no such thing as absolute monolingualism, one still has to define what a mother tongue is in its active division, and what is transplanted between this language and the one called foreign. What is transplanted and lost there, belonging neither to the one nor the other: the incommunicable.¹²

He spoke of a *trouble d'identité* [*disorder of identity*]¹³ in the experiences of Franco-Maghrebians such as himself.

The Asturian context finds many feeling sociolinguistically disoriented in the face of a relatively weak L1 confronting a stronger L2 with both being duolects of each other from the same mother tongue. Contrasting perceptions of Bable result, varying from those who take pride in Bable and others who view it as speaking 'bad Spanish'.

12.3 *DAS GENTLEMAN IDEAL*

In 1922 Wilhelm Dibelius, Professor of English at the University of Berlin, visited England so that he could write a book about his country's erstwhile combatants which *was not meant to be a compendium of facts, but to help to make understood the soul of a people.*¹⁴

¹¹ Op.cit. p7.

¹² Op.cit. pp 7-8.

¹³ Op.cit. p14.

¹⁴ W Dibelius, M A Hamilton (tr) *England*, by, Jonathan Cape, London, 1930, page 8.

A D Lindsay, then Master of Balliol College at Oxford and author of the Introduction to the English language translation of the book, noted that Dibelius summarised much of his findings thus:

The English state rests on two specifically English assumptions – common sense, and the transformation of the antagonist into a privileged colleague.¹⁵

Which finding Lindsay stated was *surely an interesting thesis*. More interesting, however, for the purposes of this thesis, was the key message R J H Tawney drew from the work which was:

They analyse the historical elements in English cultural life, and argue, with Herr Dibelius, that it has been impoverished because the tradition of a single group - *das gentlemanideal* – has imposed itself on the rest as a national ideal ... (it) has them by the throat; they frisk politely into obsolescence on the playing-fields of Eton. It is all very characteristic, and traditional, and picturesque. But it is neither good business nor good manners. It is out of tune with the realities of today. What a magnificent past Great Britain has had!¹⁶

Tawney referred to the *class-saturated thinking* which is so pervasive that people *are not even conscious of the fact of its existence*.¹⁷

What then was this idea of *gentlemanideal* and how does it relate to Asturian themes and Bable in particular? As to the former, Dibelius described a *gentleman* thus:

The gentleman is, in fact, the medieval knight with certain modifications of a rationalistic, middle-class kind. The name still preserves the class character of the ideal. The gentleman is the nobleman, and not merely verbally; good birth and good social position are essential parts of the idea, unwillingly as the Englishman may admit it ... They want to spiritualise the ideal, but cannot break away from its class character.¹⁸

But more than the content of the definition was its place in the world view of the society which authored it:

¹⁵ Op. cit. pp 9-10,

¹⁶ R J H Tawney, *Equality*, , George Allen & Unwin, London, 1931, pp 22-23.,

¹⁷ Op.cit., p 22.

Among the things every Englishman is proud of is the fact that the idea of the gentleman is peculiar to England.¹⁹

That this view was not uniquely an English perception was attested by Leopoldo Alas (Clarín) who, in his famous work *La Regenta*, wrote of *aquel aire de gentleman*²⁰ translated in English edition as *that manner of an English gentleman*.²¹

Furthermore Dibelius wrote:

England is alone among modern nations in having permitted its ethical outlook to be confined within the limits of a single one. But this ethical ideal, though not the highest, is certainly high; the type has been developed to the utmost of which it is capable.²²

And therein lay both its noble and dark sides for, in the eyes of Dibelius:

... although the world would have lost something very precious if the English gentleman had never existed, he does not represent the final word in ethical life.²³

What then are the themes from Dibelius exploration of *das gentlemanideal* which may be applied to the Asturian view of their world? Key themes would seem to be:

- The derivation of a core value, based upon significant and ultimately dominant historiographic perspectives.
- The application of that core value as a template for the formation of a contemporary view of one's world.
- The conclusion that such a world view has both strengths and weaknesses contained within it.

And, drawing from Tawney's comments on Dibelius, there is the additional theme that a pervasive consciousness of *class* can be sustained by an ideal such as this.

¹⁸ Op.cit., page 164.

¹⁹ Op.cit., page 165.

²⁰ L Alas (Clarín), *La Regenta*, first published 1884; Sarpe, Madrid 1984, page 169.

²¹ L Alas, *La Regenta*, English translation, Penguin London 1984, page 182.

²² Ibid.

For the sociolinguistic purposes of this thesis, the questions which then arise from these themes are:

- Do differing perceptions of the status and rôles of Bable arise from differences in degrees of attachment to some non-linguistic core ideal?
- Are these perceptions of Bable, in any sense, related to perceptions of class?

I propose that the Asturian equivalent core value to the ideal of ‘the gentleman’ of the English is the *paisañin* or *aldeanu*. The proposition is that for many Asturians there is a view of their world coloured significantly by a widely shared ideal of the countryman, drawn from history, mythologised and cross-referenced to a class view. Furthermore this ideal of the *paisañin* has been a factor in perceptions about the status and future of Bable which has impacted on language planning efforts.

The word *paisañin* would probably best be translated as *the country bloke* (in the sense of Lindsay’s *Sentimental Bloke*), a mixture of unworldly innocent combined in a person of basic rustic commonsense who survives the hardships of living the rural idyll. More literal translations such as *peasant*, *yokel* or *countryman* fail to reach this breadth of meaning. Sometimes the non-diminutive version – *pisanu(o)* – is used in the same context.

A synonym exists in the word *aldeanu(o)* [*village person*].

This concept of *paisañin* (with its cohorts of *pisanu* and *aldeanu*) has weaved a conservative perception of society and language in the minds of some *Bablistas* whilst others, who would label themselves the same, would oppose such views. As examples

²³ Op.cit., page 167.

of such contrasting views are the following two quotations; one from monologist Ludivino Díaz González (aka Pín de la Cotoya) the other from a correspondent to LNE (writing of views held decades earlier):

What image is inferred by Asturian? More than the foolish villager, it deals with a wily person, innocent, but who knows more than nothing. More vague than fool.^{24 t}

and

To speak in Bable signified imitating the *aldeano*, the *paisañín* with the cow, the ignoramus, the illiterate.^{25 t}

Philosophical underpinning of the idealised *paisañín* in his rural context and the implications of both for Bable can be seen in the ideas of Santiago Melón. Jesús Neira Martínez, though admittedly a critic of Melón's views, summed them up thus:

(In Asturias) there is only one countryside: the rural. The urban is an invention of recent geographic science. And it is precisely in the countryside where Bable conserves most vitality. There they are ancient things with ancient names. The man of the city feels attracted to the country, because it has more personality, as much in the countryside as in the language of those who live there ... The Asturian of the city is "orphan of the fatherland", and alleviates that state by directing himself to the countryside: its things and way of speaking. "He finds the speech of the *aldeano* melodious and attractive beyond match". Ruralism is not then a natural mode of being for the Asturian, as Ortega says. It comes to him by elaboration, by an act of will.^{26 t}

²⁴ LNE 16.08.97

^t ¿qué imagen se infiere del asturiano? Mas que un aldeano tonto, se trata de un personaje pícaro, inocente, pero que resulta saber más que nadie. Más despistado que tonto.

²⁵ L320/081.

^t *Falar en bable significaba imitar al aldeano, al paisañín con la vaca, al ignorante, al analfabeto.*

²⁶ J Neira Martínez, *Sobre Asturias, e Bable y la literature en Bable (comentarios a un prologo)*, paper delivered to *I Asamblea Regional del Bable*, 1973. Editorial Nacional, Madrid, 1980. page 188.

^t *(En Asturias) sólo hay un paisaje: el rural. El urbano es un invento de la ciencia geográfica última. Y es precisamente en el campo donde el bable conserva más vitalidad. Allí están las antiguas cosas con sus antiguos nombres. El hombre de la ciudad se siente atraído po el campo, porque éste tiene más personalidad, lo mismo en el paisaje que en la lengua de los que allí viven ... El asturiano de la ciudad está 'huéfano de patria', y alivia esa orfandad orientándose hacia e campo: sus cosas y su modo de hablar. 'Encuentra melodiosos e insuperables atractivos en el hablar aldeano'. El ruralismo no es entonces un modo de ser natural al hombre astur, como decía Ortega. Se llega a él por una elaboración, por un acto de voluntad.*

For his part Neira, accepting that *la población se nutre de la rural* [*the urban population nourishes itself from the rural*],²⁷ posed an alternative view of the rural setting and its language, Bable, to the antique artefacts seen by Melón:

I believe that Ortega was right: there is an Asturian ruralist spirit which is very valiant. It knows how to adapt itself to modern life, without losing the characteristics of the land of its birth.²⁸ †

With the consequence that Neira believed Melón promoted a *falso aldeanismo lingüístico* [*false linguistic aldeanism*]²⁹ and that the true situation was that:

Bable is a living reality in the speech of Asturias, of all Asturias. One doesn't have to go to the mountain or remote *aldeas* to encounter it. It is here, all around us ...³⁰ †

Notwithstanding Neira's views on this subject, it should also be noted parenthetically that he supported the bables perspective of the language instead of a concept of unitary Bable, believing that the varieties entered into a mutually enriching relationship with Castilian and not with each other:

The bables ... did not mutually enrich each other, but they can enrich written Castilian, as they enrich the oral language in an ongoing way.³¹ †

12.4 A SOCIOLINGUISTIC DOUBLE HELIX

Bringing together the juxtaposition of ideas posed at the start of this chapter along with Figure 12.1 and the historical double helix of Figure 12.2 the opportunity is offered of developing a sociolinguistic double helix.

²⁷ Op. cit. page 190.

²⁸ Idem.

† *Creo que tenía razón Ortega: hay un espíritu ruralista asturiano muy valioso. Sabe adaptarse a la vida moderna, sin perder por ello los rasgos de su tierra natal.*

²⁹ Op. cit., page 193.

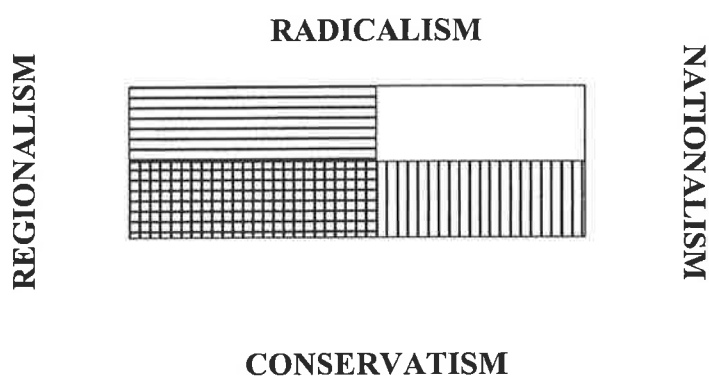
³⁰ Op. cit. page 196.

† *El bable es una realidad viva en el habla de Asturias, de toda Asturias. No hace falta irse a la montaña o a remotas aldeas para encontrarlo. Está aquí, a nuestro alrededor ...*

³¹ Op. cit. page 199.

Starting with the polarities indicated in Figure 12.1 (Radicalism versus Conservatism and Regionalism versus Nationalism), consideration can be given to how proponents in each quadrant would respond to the Bable versus bables debate. The figure could be overlaid with the following shadings with (cross hatching) representing the possibility of support for a unitary concept of Bable and (vertical hatching) for support of the view that there are diverse and disparate bables. This is done in Figure 12.3.

Figure 12.3: Polarity analysis of Bable vs bables debate



Thus radical regionalists are likely to support the concept of a unitary Bable (and thus be supporters of normalisation), while conservative nationalists would support the view of disparate bables as part of the rich folkloric diversity of Spain and would thus be opponents of normalised Bable believing it to be a separatist action against the national *lingua franca* - Castilian. In the regionalist conservative group would be some who support a unitary view of Bable and others who don't. In the radical nationalist camp would be those socialists who favour a centralist view of national development.

¹ *Los bables ... no se enriquecieron mutuamente, pero sí pueden enriquecer al castellano escrito, como enriquecen a la lengua oral de un modo continuado.*

The double helix enables an understanding of how counterposing concepts can interact with each other (indicated by parallel yet dimensionally opposite backbones) and can also feed each others forward progress. The double helix presented in Figure 12.2 dealt with contrasting political tendencies in Asturian history. The model can then be extended to linguistic and sociolinguistic issues involving Bable, bables and Castilian in Asturias.

The idea of using this model for linguistic purposes appears first to have been suggested by a booklet entitled *Alba: Dà Chànan Dualchasach:Scotland a linguistic double helix* on the languages of Scotland (Gaelic, Scots and English).³² The title was evocative of an interactive relationship between the each of the languages. However, the text of the booklet did not specifically pursue the concept of the double helix even though the idea of dynamic relationships was clearly the thesis of this work.

The double helix of DNA fame consists of two *backbones* intertwined around each other. Each of the backbones are joined by the meeting of connecting half strands known as *base pairs*. Thus the relationship of Bable and Castilian could be depicted:



³² I Macleod & A Mac Neacail, *Alba: Dà Chànan Dualchasach/ Scotland: a linguistic double helix*, European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, Baile Áthe Clith, 1995.

Table 12.2 uses this terminology to consider a series of contrasting backbones in a double helix relationship with each other and what might be the *base pairs* connecting them. Also the contrasting directions at any one point of the backbones can be helpful to a comparative analysis. Each backbone at any one point seems to be going in an opposite direction to its companion; and thus forms the perspective that such is the case. Taking the example of Bable, it is apparent that supporters of Bable have at different times in Asturian history come from different camps and held differing views of those who were not supporters of Bable. For example, contrast the view of Bable-supporting Asturian Carlists in the nineteenth century which was assessed from the point of view of the Spanish national perspective as being regressive and reactionary. By the late twentieth century, the baton of support for Bable was being held by such groups as the radical left IU, in addition to conservative regionalists (such as PAS). In the case of the radical left, their view would see the Spanish national perspective as regressive and reactionary.

To continue to use the DNA analogy, what would be the *base pairs* which hold the two backbones in relationship, interacting with each other. Table 12.2 proposes some possible *base pairs*.

Table 12.2: Possible base pairs of a sociolinguistic double helix of Bable and Castilian

Backbone A	Base pairs		Backbone B
Bable (L1)	Iconic words	Asturian usages	(L2) Castilian
	Interference/transference		
Bables (D1, D2 &c)	Source words	Change Audience	(L1) Bable
Rural lang.	Rural iconic words	Creation of new meanings to existing words	Non-rural lang.

Thus in the case of the first – the Bable/Castilian double helix – base pair linkages between the two would include the following:

- **Iconic words:** the maintenance by Castilian of certain Bable words iconic of Asturian life;
- **Asturian usages:** the development of Asturias specific usages of certain Castilian words;
- **Interferencetransference:** The movement of words from one to the other which may variously be considered interference (language deterioration) or transference (language change);

If the base pair relationship doesn't exist or is altered then the backbones lose their double helix relationship.

There is therefore the implication of:

- balance between divergence and convergence
- symbiosis
- appearing at times to be going in an opposite direction from its past and from the other.

Returning to the characteristic of the backbones in terms of their relationships with each other to appear to be going in a contrary direction, there is an additional significance in terms of optimising the L1/L2 relationship for long term sustainable bilingualism not one based on a depreciative diglossia. The significance of this is that perhaps an L1 and L2 in a relationship where both move forward may actually require that at particular points they seem to be going in contrary directions. The implication being that such contrary directions on the part of each may actually be more beneficial (for the survival of both) than if both are going in the same direction.

The history of the relationship between Bable and Castilian offers some support for this theory. For example, in the nineteenth century, when Bable was nurtured in the Carlist camp it was able to find a niche of vitality distinct from the dominance of Castilian in predominantly liberal Spain. Likewise in the era of Franco, the folkloric milieu was contrary to the modernising character of much of the country. The example of the nineteen nineties reveals an ideological flip but still maintains the theme of apparent contrary directions. The identification of Bable with radicalism in contrast with the conservative mainstream has been referred to earlier.

This chapter and the previous one have examined theoretical propositions concerning the issues confronting Bable. The next three chapters report on the research undertaken for this thesis.

PART D – RESEARCH

CHAPTER THIRTEEN – SURVEY OF CONFERENCE ATTENDEES*

13.1 OVERVIEW & OBJECTIVES

122 people, the majority teachers, attended a conference held in Cangas del Narcea under the title *Programa de formación y reciclax de l'Academia de la Llingua Asturiana* [Training and refresher program of the ALLA], organised by ALLA in the period 27-30 August 1995. Conferences of this nature have become an annual feature since the first one was held in 1982. The Program consisted of two courses, one with two sub-units, the other with four.

The first of the two main courses was the *Curso de grado superior e lengua asturiana para enseñantes* [Higher grade course in the Asturian language for teachers] which was offered in two sub-units to primary and secondary teachers respectively. The second main course was *Perfeccionamiento cultural y lingüístico* [Cultural and linguistic improvement] which offered the sub-units of *cultura asturiana tradicional* [traditional asturian culture], *vigencia y criterios de actualización, capacitación para la traducción al asturiano* [demand and criteria for the implementation and capacitation for the translation of Asturian], and *práctica de la traducción al asturiano* [Practice of translation into Asturian]. A number of the attendees had done sub-units in previous years.

* The substance of this chapter was presented as a paper at the Educational Research Conference 2001 held at Flinders University. That paper was printed in the *International Education Journal*, Vol 2. No.4.

I sought and was granted permission from the President of ALLA to attend part of the conference and seek responses from the attendees to a questionnaire I had prepared. The questionnaire, written in Castilian, contained the following open-ended questions/requests of conference attendees:

- Write some words by way of a self-portrait.
- Why did you attend this conference?
- Do you speak Asturian in your daily life? If so, in what domains?
- Do you believe you speak it well?
- How did you learn the language?
- What is your opinion on (i) normalisation; and (ii) officiality for the language?
- Write ten significant words from the Asturian language that occur to you at this time.

With the exception of the question on normalisation and officiality of Bable, none of the questions/requests proposed any possible words which might have prompted the responses.

The explanation, completion and collection of the survey took less than an hour. 121 people completed the survey in full though one person just wrote *¡Oficialidá ya!* [*Officiality Now!*] in response to one question/request, and filled in personal pronouns to the last question leaving all others blank.

The attendees had the following characteristics:

- 54.1% were teachers, 13.9% student teachers with the remainder from a variety of occupations (including miner, lawyer, biologist, journalist and engineer)
- 115 indicated their gender in the survey (84 women and 31 men).
- The average age of those so indicating was 32.2 years (32.6 for women and 31.9 for men). 35.2% of those reporting age were in the 20-29 age group, 27.9% in their thirties and 15.6% forty or more.
- 56.6% indicated they came from the Central zone of the province, 8.2% from the Occidental, 4.9% from the Oriental and 0.8% (one person) from a distinct

language area in the far-west of the province. 29.5% did not indicate a zone or came from outside the region.

- 23.8% indicated a connection (either by birthplace, childhood or adult location) that they were connected with an urban location, 16.4% with a mining community, 36.9% a rural zone with the remaining 23% either not reporting any such location or coming from outside the region.

Two of the responses were written in Castilian, the remainder in either Bable or *Asturianu amestao* [*Mixed Asturian* – ie interferred with Castilian]. The responses were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

13.2 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The responses to six of the questions were tabulated firstly as raw data (Table C1 in Appendix C), then as percentages (Table C2 in Appendix C) and finally as factors according to the formula below. In each instance the results were tabulated by cross referencing Personal characteristics (gender, occupation, age, language zone and birthplace or current setting) with responses regarding Bable (motivation for attending the conference, language capacity, where knowledge of Bable acquired and domains of usage). In many instances the responses fell into more than one subcategory, hence the combined totals sometimes exceeded 122 (the number of conference attendees).

$$\frac{s}{\Sigma s} \div \frac{n}{\Sigma n}$$

Where

s = number in any one individual subcategory of response to questions.

Σs = total of all subcategory responses to each questions.

n = number in any one individual category of personal characteristic.

Σn = total number of conferences attendees (122).

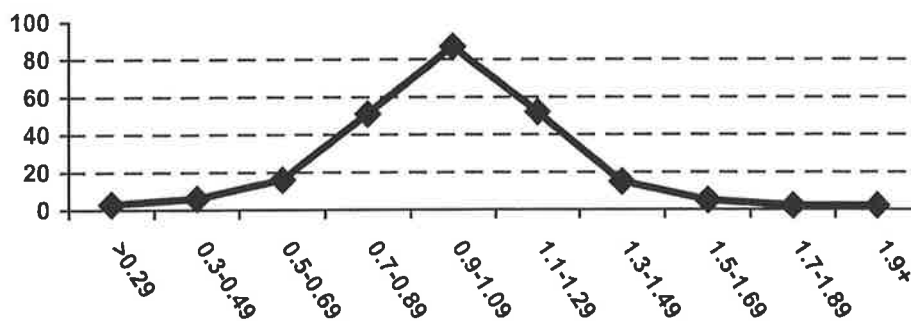
Table 13.1: Factor analysis of responses by conference attendees

Personal characteristics	n =	Motivation for attending							Language capacity					Where learnt					Usage			
		Like to speak	Learn to write	Cultural	Defend/promote language	Want to teach	Further study/work	Overcome diglossia	Nil	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Mother tongue	Home environment	Local community	School	Other	Family	Friends/c'ty	Work	General
s=	122	75	12	21	26	34	8	11	2	19	60	21	16	20	70	49	7	86	87	80	33	34
Gender ns	7	0.93	1.46	-	2.7	-	-	-	-	0.91	0.88	1.67	-	2.63	0.51	0.72	-	0.4	0.6	0.88	0.53	0.51
Male	31	0.89	1.31	1.13	1.21	0.46	2.95	1.07	-	0.62	0.92	2.06	0.74	1.18	1.18	1.13	1.69	1.05	1.27	1.13	1.07	1.04
Female	84	1.04	0.85	1.04	0.78	1.28	0.36	1.06	1.45	1.15	1.04	0.55	1.18	0.8	0.97	0.98	0.83	1.01	0.93	0.96	1.01	1.02
Occup. ns	28	1.16	1.45	0.83	0.83	0.64	1.09	1.58	2.17	1.37	0.8	1.03	0.82	1.09	0.74	0.71	2.48	1.06	0.75	0.65	0.4	0.77
Other	11	0.89	0.92	1.06	1.71	0.32	-	3.03	-	1.17	1.11	1.06	-	0.56	1.43	1.13	-	1.29	1.02	0.83	1.34	0.66
Teacher	66	0.96	0.92	1.14	0.92	1.47	0.46	0.34	0.92	0.97	1.05	0.88	1.27	0.92	0.92	1.06	0.53	0.97	1.08	1.11	1.18	1.03
Student	17	0.96	0.6	0.68	1.11	0.21	3.6	1.31	-	0.38	1.08	1.37	0.9	1.44	1.23	1.17	1.03	0.83	0.91	0.99	0.87	0.85
Age ns	26	1.13	0.78	0.45	1.08	0.83	-	0.85	-	0.74	0.78	1.34	1.47	1.17	0.8	1.05	1.34	0.77	0.81	1.06	1.14	0.69
Twenties	43	0.87	-	0.81	1.09	0.84	1.78	2.33	1.42	1.2	0.99	1.08	0.71	0.99	0.97	0.75	0.81	1.16	1.01	0.92	0.86	1
Thirties	34	1	1.79	1.87	1.1	1.27	0.9	-	-	1.12	1.14	0.68	0.9	0.72	1.03	1.1	1.54	0.91	1.11	1.12	0.87	0.95
Forties+	19	1.12	2.15	0.62	0.49	1.14	0.81	-	-	0.68	1.08	0.92	1.21	1.29	1.28	1.32	-	1.12	1.1	0.89	1.37	1.52
Zone s/ext	36	1.08	1.41	1.29	1.04	0.9	-	0.31	3.39	1.61	0.74	0.64	1.06	1.36	0.73	0.55	-	1.06	0.78	0.81	1.03	1
Central	69	0.9	0.74	0.84	1.09	0.88	1.55	1.45	-	0.93	1.09	1.26	0.77	0.71	1.06	1.15	1.77	1.03	1.10	1.1	1.07	1.04
Occidental	10	1.13	1.01	1.74	-	1.79	1.52	1.11	-	-	1.43	-	1.52	-	1.57	1.49	-	0.85	0.98	0.91	0.74	0.72
Oriental	6	1.37	1.69	-	0.78	1.80	-	-	-	-	1.02	1.94	1.29	4.08	0.88	0.84	-	0.71	1.16	1.02	0.61	1.2
Ast-Gall	1	1.63	-	-	4.75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.88	-	1.75	2.5	-	-	1.38	1.63	-	-
Ext/ns	28	1.16	0.73	0.83	1.04	0.9	0.54	-	2.17	1.6	0.94	-	1.09	1.30	0.81	0.71	-	0.81	0.7	0.76	0.66	0.38
Urban	29	1.01	0.7	0.8	0.84	0.87	0.53	2.67	-	1.77	0.98	1.2	0.26	0.63	0.84	1.03	0.6	1.22	0.97	0.95	0.64	0.87
Mining	20	0.90	1.02	1.16	1.46	0.54	3.05	0.55	-	-	1.02	1.45	1.91	0.91	1.31	1.24	3.48	0.92	1.33	1.29	1.66	1.62
Rural	45	0.94	1.36	1.16	0.87	1.36	0.68	0.74	1.36	0.57	1.04	1.29	1.02	1.08	1.08	1.05	0.78	1.01	1.06	1.05	1.15	1.2

Table 13.1 contains all the factors so calculated. These factors were then graphed in order to highlight any marked variations. A selection of significant graphs is provided in the following sections.

Plotting the distribution of the factors derived for various subgroups of significant size provides an almost normal distribution curve. This curve reflects all subgroups except those whose count numbered less than 10% of the total in any individual category. Graph 13.1 gives the distribution curve for the 240 sets of responses from groups larger than 10% of the total. The peak of responses came within the range 0.9 – 1.09, in other words $\pm 10\%$ of the average.

Graph 13.1: Distribution curve of significant response groups



The significance of this distribution is that it indicated the survey group, topic specific as it was, provided responses which, when analysed by defined sub-groups, varied from the average for the whole group in a comparatively normal distribution pattern. The implication can be drawn that for a majority of the sub-groups the sample size was sufficient for the responses to be meaningful.

However, in the case of 150 subgroups the sample size was less than 10% of the totals of either personal characteristics or response categories related to Bable. Amongst this latter group of responses was a much higher zero incidence (76) and some very high factor ratings due to excessively small samples (for example the sole respondent from the Astur-Gallego zone generated a factor of 4.75 by his interest in defending/promoting the language as a motivation for attending, and a factor of 7.88 in his self assessment as being a very good speaker of Bable).

In the analysis below the most significant variations by personal characteristic are considered according to various of the response categories. Graphs have been drawn based upon the factors in Table 13.1. Generally not included are those graphs where the variations were not particularly significant between the subgroup responses. These are, however, included in Appendix C. Also not included are the figures for those who did not provide information in each personal characteristic category (eg the graph based on gender plots only the factors of those who indicated their gender, not those who didn't). However, comment is made in those sections where the response factors for those who did not indicate a personal characteristic is significantly different from some or all of those who did.

13.2.1 Motivation for attending

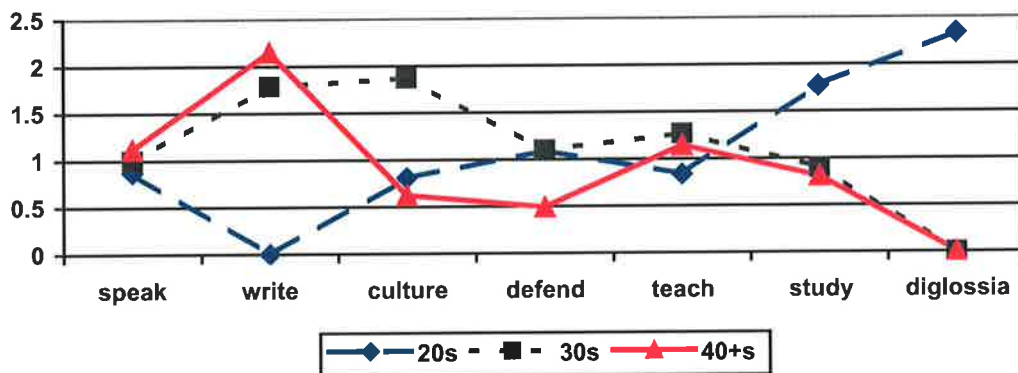
In the survey instrument conference attendees were asked why they had enrolled in the course. The open wording of the question invited responses without specific prompts; as a result the responses were wide-ranging. Nevertheless, the responses were able to be grouped into seven categories which were:

- an expressed desire for speaking Bable [40.1% of responses];
- a wish to learn how to write in the language [6.4%];

- cultural motivations [11.2%];
- linguistic activism (ie wishing to defend or promote Bable) [13.9%];
- an interest in teaching the language [18.2%];
- other study or work interests [4.3%]; and
- an intent to overcome a situation of diglossia with respect to the respondent's use/knowledge of the language [5.9%].

The most frequently expressed reason was a desire to speak in Bable, followed by an interest in teaching the language. Linguistic activism was somewhat higher than cultural motivations.

The graph for motivation by age group is indicated in Graph 13.2. This graph reveals that there was a concurrence of opinion between those in their twenties and those in their forties as to their relative disinterest in cultural motivations for attending compared with the above average interest in this motivation category of those in their thirties.



Graph 13.2: Motivation by age category

Indicative of the higher average interest of those in their thirties on cultural motivations was the response of one attendee who stated *"It is sentimental or intimate; it is a criterion of self-identification and a nexus of the conjunction with others"*.^t

However, those in their forties parted company with their younger fellow attendees when it came to defence or promotion of the language as a motivation, an area where those in their twenties and thirties expressed the greatest interest. One such respondent from this latter group commented

(it is) to push for that which is our right.^t

The issue of diglossia was noted as an area of concern for those in their twenties. However, this did not mean that older age groups did not believe their use of Bable was diglossic, rather that it had not been a motivation for them attending the conference. They were more likely to be concerned, however, at the quality of the Bable they spoke as a result of interference from Castilian. In response to that category, the following quotes from those in their forties appeared:

I don't speak it too well because of the many interferences from Castilian which there are.^t

I believe that I don't speak it 'well' (because it is a very Castilianised Asturian), but the truth is that it embarrasses me to speak it any other way; people don't understand you in Castilian nor in Asturian.^t

Motivation according to responses categorised by language zone is mapped in Graph 13.3. The small sample size for those from the Oriental region (6) and Occidental (10) qualify the conclusions which can be drawn from this graph.

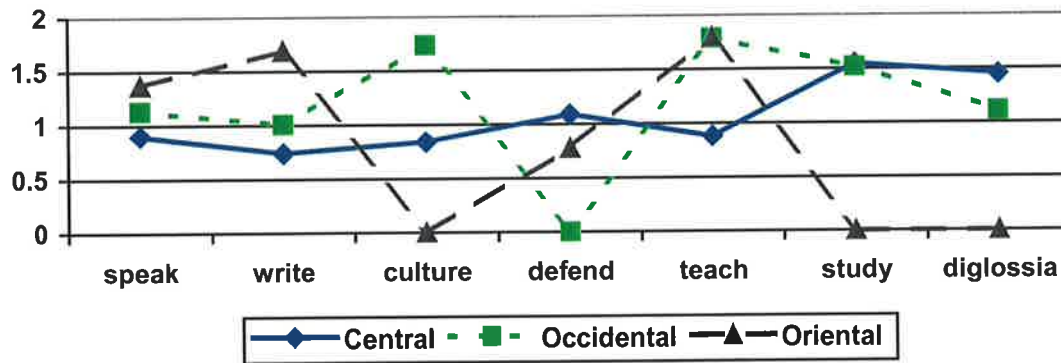
^t *Ye sentimental o intima; ye ama mena d'autoidentificación y un nexu de xuntura pa colos demas.*

^t *Puxa polo que nuestro drechu.*

^t *Nun lo falo bien del too porque son munches les interferencies del castellanu que hai.*

^t *Creo que nun lo falo 'bien' (porque ye un Asturianu mui Castellanizáu) pero la verdá ye que me da vergoña falalu d'otra manera: si la xente nun ti entien de Castellan nin en Asturianu.*

Graph 13.3: Motivation by language zone



Those from the Occidental zone expressed no interest in defence or promotion of the language as a motivation; whilst those from the Oriental zone took a similar position with respect to cultural motivations (which was contrariwise strongly supported by those from the Occidental zone). Not unsurprisingly diglossia and the related theme of interference were most significant motivationally for those from the Central zone (where the urban context is strongest).

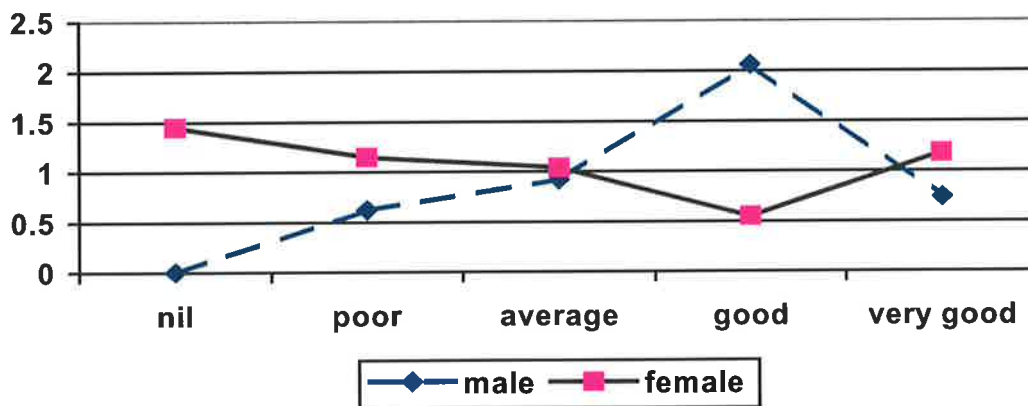
13.2.2 Language ability

More than any other question in the survey, this one was open to subjective interpretation. Respondents were not asked to provide any quantitative measures of language ability. This subjectivity was not seen as a limiting factor in interpreting the responses; rather it was seen as enhancing the capacity to probe attitudes as well as facts. However, some manipulation of the responses was required in order to fit them into a discrete number of response categories.

The categories used for grouping were ‘Nil’ (1.6% of responses), ‘Poor’ (15.6%), ‘Average’ (49.2%), ‘Good’ (17.2%) and ‘Very Good’ (13.1%).

Gender provided an interesting variation with respect to perceived language ability as shown in Graph 13.4. With the exception of those who could be included in the category of having self-assessed their language ability as ‘very good’ (where females gave a higher response rate than males), females generally were more negative about their language ability than their male counterparts. Males were significantly above average in the ‘good’ category. Given the subjective nature of the responses it is more probable that the differences in the quality of Bable spoken was as much perceived as measurable.

Graph 13.4: Language capacity by gender



By way of example of different self-perceptions were the following comments from two men and two women respondents. Firstly the men:

I believe that I speak it well, but not in the normalised form. ^t

and

^t *Yo creo que lo falo bien, pero non el normaticu.*

I could do it better, but I have made a very large leap (in knowledge of Bable) in recent years.^t

Secondly two from amongst the female respondents:

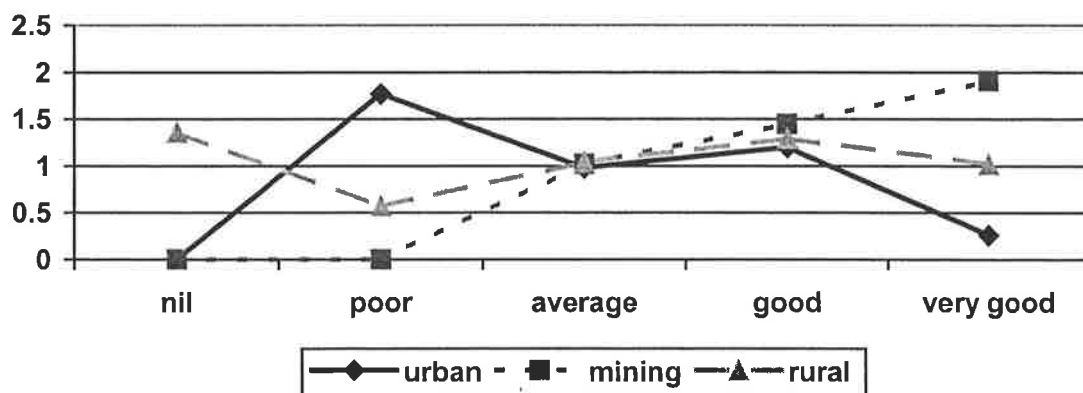
It seems to me that I don't speak it too badly, though still I could improve it^t

and

I endeavour to use (Bable) whenever I can, above all at home, with acquaintances, in school. No, it does not seem to me that I speak it well.^t

The analysis of perceived language ability on the basis of language zone was relatively inconclusive; however, the same did not apply to analysis by significant locality of experience (either birthplace, childhood or adulthood location). Graph 13.5 plots self-assessment according to whether the respondents listed an urban, mining or rural locale as significant in their responses.

Graph 13.5: Language capacity by locale



^t Podría facelo meyor, pero dí un salto pergrande nos últimos años.

^t Paezme que nún lo fal del to mal, anque tovía pueo meyorar.

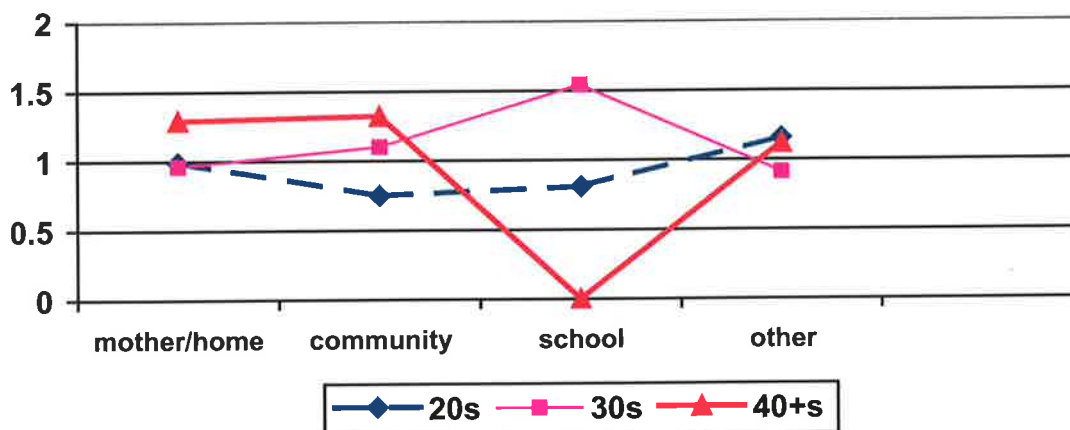
^t Procuero facelo, siempre que puedo. Sobre too n casa, con conocíos, na escuela. Non, nun me parez que lo falo bien.

Whilst those with rural connections roughly matched the whole group average, those from mining areas were clearly more positive in their self-assessment of language ability with those from urban areas less positive. It is notable that the mining zones has provided more support for the positive promotion of Bable than rural areas where there has been a tendency for it to be considered a somewhat archaic aspect of their heritage.

13.2.3 Source of language learning

Survey respondents were asked where they had learnt such knowledge of Bable as they had. They were invited to nominate more than one source of learning; however no possible sources were suggested. The responses were then grouped in four broad categories, with one of them being subdivided into two sub-categories ('Mother tongue' and 'Home environment' – 38.8% of all responses). The other three were 'Community' (21.1%), 'School' (3%) and 'Other' (37.1%). This last category included courses offered by local councils (often referred to with the diminutive *cursinos*), university studies and through the reading of books. As indicated earlier, multiple answers were invited. The 122 survey respondents gave 232 sources of learning.

Graph 13.6: Source of learning by age group

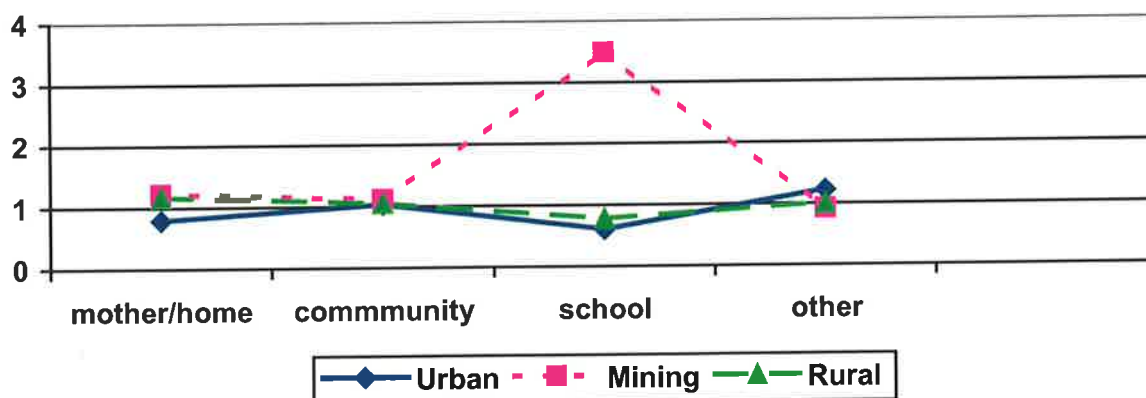


Graph 13.6 plots the spread between learning sources by age grouping. The most notable variation according to age group was in the 'school' category. The nil response rate to this category from those in their forties and above was the clearly the result of Bable classes only having been offered in Asturian schools since 1984. What was perhaps a little surprising was that those in their twenties gave a lower response to this category than those in their thirties. Further analysis of the responses from those in their thirties who indicated school as being a source of their knowledge of Bable, revealed that all of them were in their early thirties.

While those in their twenties were comparatively less likely to have nominated schools as a source of learning compared with those in their thirties, they were slightly more predisposed to nominate other sources than the latter group.

Graph 13.7 plots sources of learning by locale. The most notable variation which was revealed by analysing source of language learning on the basis of locale was the comparatively higher rate of response for 'school' being a source for such learning amongst those from mining communities than other areas.

Graph 13.7: Sources of learning by locale



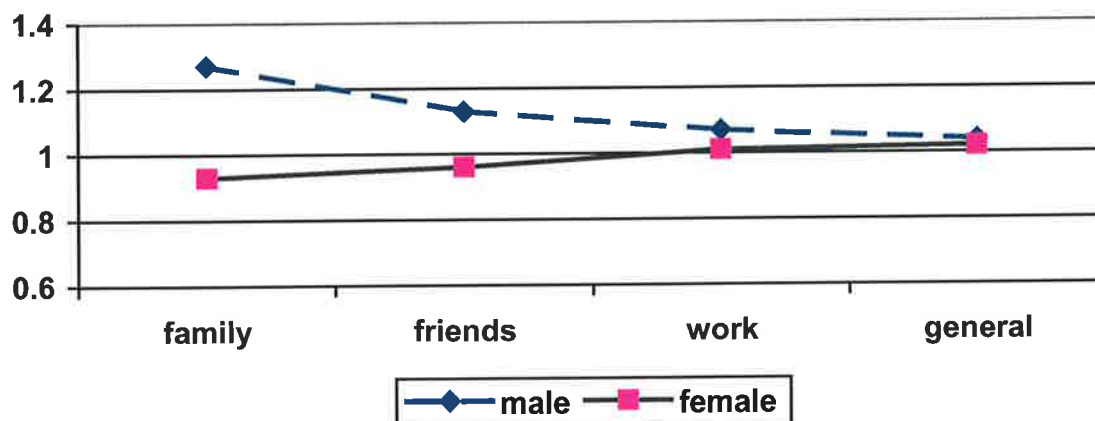
An interesting feature was a lower propensity for urban-connected respondents to indicate ‘mother tongue/home’ as a source for the learning of Bable. The average ranking for ‘community’ and the above average ranking for ‘other’ amongst this group suggests the relatively greater influence on their learning of Bable of peers and courses offered by local authorities than the home environment. The implication may be that high usage of Bable in the home was not a normal feature in the urban zone, and therefore the language learning of these respondents was by way of a recuperative effort.

13.2.5 Domains of usage

Surveys of Bable usage have always contained generalised statistics as to the levels of usage of Bable; what has not always been done has been an analysis of domains where such usage predominates. The data from this survey was aggregated in four categories: family (37.2% of all responses); ‘friends’ (34.2%); work (14.1%); and general (14.5%). As multiple responses were common in this group, the total was nearly double the number of attendees (234).

Graph 13.8 plots usage by gender.

Graph 13.8: Usage domains by gender



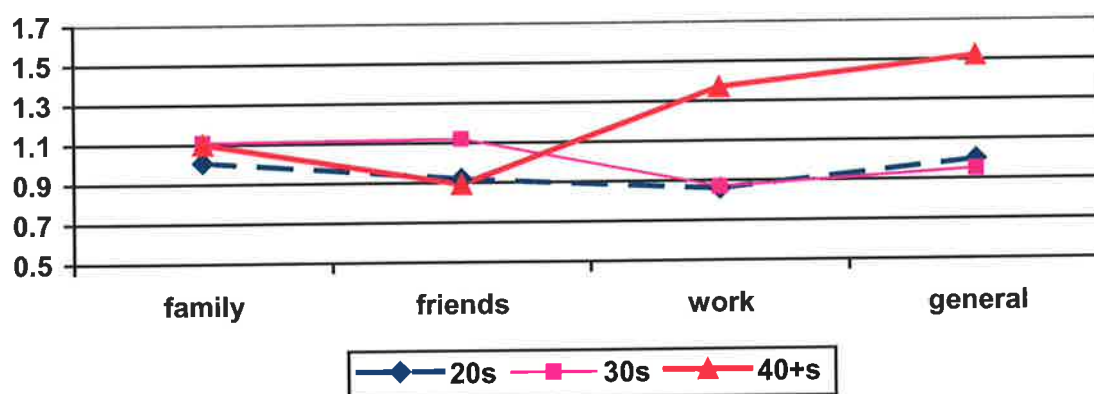
Domains of language use analysed by gender revealed that males were more likely to use Bable amongst family and friends than females.

A particularly interesting comment in terms of differential usage of language according to domain was made by one respondent:

I speak Asturian only in situations of ‘the ghetto’, that is, with people who also know the Asturian speech. In other social situations ... affectively such as the administrative I use a mixed Asturian. In situations of written communication I utilise Asturian most of the time, some 80% of the situations.[†]

Graph 13.9 plots domain usage by age category and reveals that breadth of usage appears to decline amongst younger age groups. Surveys have shown that whilst there has been some increase in the percentage of the population claiming to understand Bable, the increasing depopulation of rural areas and the decline of the mining sector has undermined two key areas where Bable still has any sort of *lingua franca* status. There has been a very significant movement of younger people away from these areas in search of work and lured by the ‘streets of gold’ of the cities.

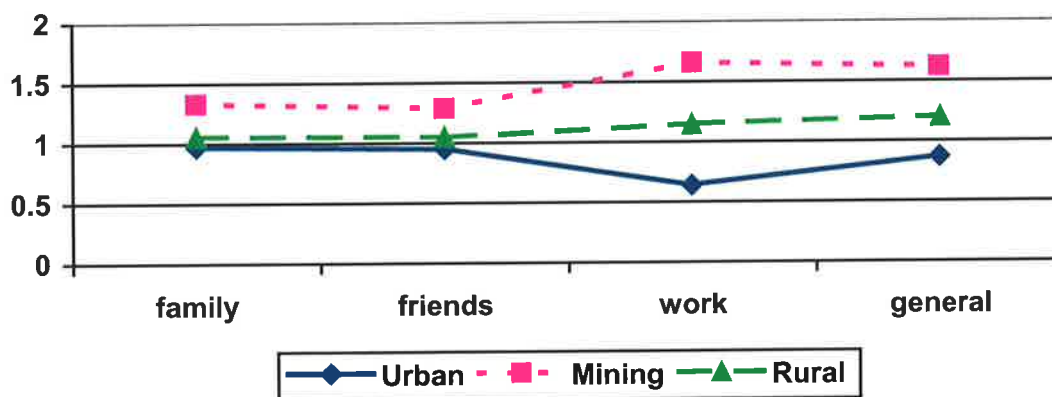
Graph 13.9: Usage domains by age



[†] *Falo asturianu solo nes situaciones ‘de ghetto’, esto ye, con la xente que tamién ‘sé’ que fala asturianu. Nel restu de les situaciones sociales ... afectivu comu alministrativu usu un asturianu*

Graph 13.10 plots the usage domains by locale and reveals a clear hierarchy of usage with the greatest relative incidence being amongst those living or previously connected with mining communities; the second highest relative incidence being amongst those connected with the rural environment. Not unsurprisingly urban connected respondents had the lowest relative incidence in the work and general domains.

Graph 13.10: Usage domains by locale



Exceptions to the norm of relatively lower incidence in the urban locale were invariably from the city of Xixón/Gijón, typified by the following comment made about one respondent's parents:

My parents are from Xixón and are Asturian speakers.^t

Two comments from mining communities indicated contrasting effects on language use of mixed parentage. In both instances one parent was from Asturias and the other from beyond the region. In the first, the father was from Asturias, in the second, the mother:

I was born in a mining zone, daughter of and Asturian father and Castilian mother and I am very happy because in my house Asturian is always spoken.^t

amestáu. Nes situaciones de comunicación escrita utilizo mayoritariamente l'asturianu, nun porcentax del 80% les situaciones.

^t *Los míos pas son Xixoneses y asturiano-falantes.*

and

I live in mining zones ... my father is from Castille and my mother Asturian, in my house Asturian is not spoken.^t

One of the respondents who lived in a rural area made a significant comment of differential usage by domain:

I speak in Castilian or in Asturian ... depending on if I work in the village or in the city.^t

13.3 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The survey responses also provided a wealth of information when analysed qualitatively. Particular attention was paid to the question of normalisation and officiality as well as to the invitation for respondents to provide a list of ten Bable words. However, in addition some analysis was done of the way in which other responses had been written.

13.3.1 Opinions on normalisation and officiality

120 of the conference attendees responded to both questions on normalisation and co-officiality. One of the remaining two responded just on co-officiality (with the comment *¡Oficialidá ya!* [Officiality Now!]); while the other left the segment blank.

All those who responded to these questions were in support of both concepts. Words like *perimportante* [very good] and *pernecessariu* [very necessary] recurred many times.

^t *Nací na cuenca minera, fia de pá Asturianu y ma Castellana y toi percontenta porque na mio casa falen toos l'asturiano.*

^t *Vivo en cuenques mineres ... mio pá ye de Castilella y mio y mio ma asturiana, na mio ca nun se fala asturianu.*

In the case of normalisation there were, however, some nuances in the range of supportive comments. One wrote of the significance of this as a *''seña de nuesa identidá''* [sign of our identity] clearly taking a position in the Bable vs Bables polarity. Yet others, still supportive of normalisation, were concerned for the survival of diverse varieties of Bable with such comments as:

It is necessary for good communication ... (that) the differences between Castilian, normalised Asturian and the distinct varieties be known.[†]

I understand that the normalisation of Asturian is necessary from the point of view that there should exist a grammar and some norms of writing. But on the other hand it seems to me that the dialectical variants, rather than prejudicing the llingua, what they do is enrich it.[†]

It is necessary if we plan for an institutionalised speech, but it is very important that the local versions are preserved.[†]

13.3.2 Free word choice

The conference attendees were asked to nominate ten Bable words which occurred to them at the moment of completing the form. The 1220 choices they made fell into 565 word groupings. A word grouping consisted of nouns, verbs and participles of the same base word as well as different spellings. About ten percent (56) of these word groupings were chosen a combined total of 451 times or 37.0% of the total, each with a minimum of five citations.

[†] *Falo en castellan o n'asturianu ... según trabaye nun pueblu o ciudad..*

[†] *Ye necesaria pa una bona comunicación (que) ... se sepa dixebres ente al castellan, l'asturianu normalizáu y les distintes variantes.*

[†] *Entiendo que la normalización del asturianu ye necesaria dende'l puntu de vista de que tien qu'esistia una gramática y unes normes d'escritura. Pero por otru lláu paezme que les variantes dialeutales, ñolle de peerxudicar la llingua, lo que faen, ye enriquecela.*

[†] *Necesaria si pretendemos una fala institucionalizá, pero perimportante que se caltengan les dixebres fasteres.*

There were two most frequently cited word groupings, both with 21 citations. The first was *falar/fala/falable* [to speak/speech/'speechness']. Given the theme of the conference, it was hardly surprising that this grouping was the most cited. However, that such citations represented only 1.7% of all words cited perhaps was somewhat lower than might have been expected. Indeed, considering that all language-related word groupings only gave a 4% figure was unexpected. The other groupings were:

Llingua (11 citations)
Cooficialidá/Cooficialidad (7)
Asturianu (5)
Normalización/normativización (5)

The second of the top groupings was *prestar/prestame/prestosu(o)(a)* [to like/I like/likeable]. As with a number of Bable words, *Prestar* is an example of a word whose meaning is different from its homonym in Castilian (where it means *to lend*). It is possible the tension of difference/similarity of this word with Castilian intrigued the conference attendees sufficiently to prompt its inclusion in the responses.

I had expected a reasonably high occurrence of words connected with characteristics of the region – such as the rural, festive, mythological or related to fauna and flora. Some of the words in these and categories related to people were:

Flora/fauna: *Curuxa* [owl], *Andarina* [swallow], *Xatu/xatín* [calf], *Llobu* [wolf], *Arbeyu* [pea], *Fueya* [leaf], *Castañéu* [chestnut], *Zrezal* [cherry tree], *Coríu* [duck], *Esperteyu* [bat], *Caparina* [butterfly], *Carbayu* [oak], *Escarabaya* [beetle], *Lloréu* [laurel].

Rural: *Horreu* [typical barn], *Cachu* [manure], *Gueta* [chestnut harvest], *Estropayar* [to spoil the harvest], *Enrestrar* [Make a corn string], *Abeyera* [beehive], *Espantaxu* [scarecrow].

Weather: *Abellugar* [shelter from rain], *Seronda* [autumn], *Orbayu* [drizzle], *Borrina* [mist], *Nublina* [fog], *Xarriar* [rain heavily], *Xorociar* [to rain].

Mythology: *Trasgu* [an elf-like creature], *Xana* [a mythical female figure], *Güestia* [procession of the dead]

Festive: *Folixa* [good time], *Gayola* [good time], *Antroxu* [Mardi Gras], *Amagüestu* [chestnut festival].

Iconic features: *Madreñas* [clogs], *Sidra* [cider], *Gaita* [bagpipes]

Relatives: *Neñu* [child], *Güelos* [grandparents], *Pas* [parents], *Má* [mother].

Other people: *Collaciu* [friend], *Guahe* [lad], *Xente* [people], *Escolinos* [students], *Maestru* [teacher], *Muyer* [woman], *Možu* [youth], *Rapaz* [lad].

Further to the example of *prestar* where a word may mean something different in Bable from its meaning in Castilian, a total of six such words were contained in the word lists.

They were:

Prestar – to like in Bable; to lend in Castilian

Escaecer – to forget in Bable; to decay in Castilian (though Medieval Castilian also listed to forget as a meaning.

Gayola – good time or joy in Bable; prison in Castilian.

Seronda - Autumn in Bable; late fruit in Castilian.

Andarina – swallow (bird) in Bable; a female walker in common Castilian usage, though a swallow in rare and archaic usage.

Cai - street in Bable; wharf in Castilian (derived from the French *quay*).

13.3.3 Orthographic variation

An interesting feature of the word choices, given the overwhelming support of the group for normalisation of Bable, was the variety of spellings given for some of the words – which was clearly a function of different varieties to which each respondent had been exposed. The following were examples:

Abellugar, aberyugar and *abeyugar* [to shelter from rain]

Andarina, andolina, andarines, andorines, andolines [swallow]

Galloleru, gayoleru and *gayoleru*

Guahe, guaje and *guahe* [lad]

Horreu, horru and *horro* [name of characteristic Asturian barn]

Maestru, maiestro and *mayestru* [teacher]
Neñu(a) and *ñenu* [child]

Not included in the responses to the request for ten words, but incorporated elsewhere in their responses were some other diverse spellings such as *mallestra* for *maestra* and *muller* for *muyer* [woman].

13.3.4 Use of diminutives

Asturians are known amongst other peoples of Spain for their love of diminutives. The use is almost always in endearing rather than deprecatory senses. Though the survey did not provide for lengthy responses to each question which might, in their length, have been more conducive to the use of diminutives, it was noted that there was usage in the case of such words as *tierrina* [little land – referring to Asturias, as opposed to the big land which would be Spain] and *pueblín* [little village – referring to the person's own village as opposed to *pueblo* which would be anyone else's]. There was also an array of diminutive forms of the Bable word for *little*. In that latter instance the forms used again showed great variation: *pequinica*, *pequeñin*, *pequetín*, *piquitín*, *poquitín*, *pocoñin*, *poquiñin* and *puquiñin*.¹

13.3.5 Use of first person plural possessive pronoun

The use of the first person plural possessive pronoun is more frequent in Bable than in English, and reflects a communal spirit traced back to Celtic times. In the case of survey responses such extensive usage was not observed. Significant instances focussed on language (9 cases referring to *llingua* and one to *fala*), culture (5), country (including 2 for *país* and one for *tierra*), identity (2) people (1) and human rights (also 1). Amongst

the usages of this pronoun were the following examples: "*The culture of Asturias, it is something ours*"¹ and "*So as not to lose (the language) which is ours*"¹.

There were seventeen uses of the first person singular possessive; eight related to maternal language, eight simply to language and one to land.

Again an interesting feature of the plural possessive was the variety of forms used – namely the forms common in each dialect zone of the region: Bable Occidental (*nueso/a/u*), Bable Central and Bable Oriental (*nuestru/a/o*) as well as that found in both those latter zones and in Castilian (*nuestro/a*).

13.3.6 Usage of Bable & Castilian forms of *to be*

Reference has been made earlier to the phenomenon in Bable usage patterns of sociolinguistic *yeismo*. This the practice whereby a speaker would, in otherwise normal Castilian speech, use the Bable *ye* instead of Castilian *es* for *it is*; in this sense *ye* is something of a sociolinguistic icon] in Asturias. One respondent noted such usage: "*at home a mixture of Asturian and Castilian was always spoken (perhaps a little more of the first > the use of pronouns, the 'ye', some verbs)*"¹.

Sociolinguistic *Yeismo* represents one of the few examples of common interference of Bable upon Castilian. More commonly interference is in the other direction. Such is also the case with the two forms of the verb *to be* in both Bable and Castilian. Table 3 reveals the incidence of different forms of the two forms of the verb *to be* which appeared anywhere in the survey response forms. It reveals some evidence of Castilian

¹ *la cultura d'Asturies, ye algo nuestro.*

¹ *pa no perder lo que ye nuestro*

interference, though probably less than would be the case in everyday speech patterns as the respondents may have wanted to avoid obvious interference. Certainly lexical frequency studies such as *Diccionariu de Frecuencies Léxiques del Asturianu*² suggest a higher level of such interference than in the table.

Table 13.2: Comparison of Bable & Castilian forms of verbs ‘to be’

Bable		Castilian	
<i>Ser</i> (17) [to be (self)]			
<i>Soi</i> [I am]	86	<i>Soy</i>	14
<i>Ye</i> [S/he/it is]	244	<i>Es</i>	4
<i>Somos</i> [We are]			2
<i>Son</i> [They are]			33
<i>Fui</i> [I was]			2
<i>Foi</i> [S/he was]	13	<i>Fue</i>	1
<i>Fuimos</i> [We were]			1
<i>Yera</i> [I was (imp)]	8	<i>Era</i>	1
<i>Yeren</i> [They were]	5	<i>Eran</i>	0
<i>Sedre</i> [I will be]	1	<i>Sera</i>	0
<i>Sedra</i> [S/he will be]	2	<i>Sera</i>	0
<i>Seria</i> [I, he/she/it would be (cond)]			2
<i>Seya</i> [I w’d be(subjunctive)]	0	<i>Sea</i>	1
[form doesn’t occur]		<i>Fuese</i> [I were (subj)]	1
<i>Fuera</i> [I, he/she/it were (subjunctive)]			2
<i>Tar</i> (11) [to be (place)]		<i>Estar</i> (0)	
<i>Toi</i> [I am (place)]	87	<i>Estoy</i>	0
<i>Ta</i> [He/she/it is]	18	<i>Esta</i>	0
<i>Tamos</i> [We are]		<i>Estamos</i>	0
<i>Tan</i> [They are]		<i>Están</i>	0
<i>Tea</i> [I would be]		<i>Este</i>	0
<i>Taba</i> [I, s/he was]	1	<i>Estaba</i>	0

[Note: Where Bable and Castilian share the same form, the form has been centred across both columns.]

One respondent altered a Castilian usage to a Bable one (*soy* > *soi*) while two used the Castilian form of the first person in one verb usage (*soy*) and the Bable in the first person of the other (*toi*).

¹ *En casa siempre se faló un amestáu de asturianu y castellán (quizas un pocu más de lo primero*

13.3.7 Usage of typical Bable words or forms

The use of typical words or forms which can be considered as markers of linguistic identity was frequently seen in the responses from the conference attendees.

One example was the use of the prefix *per-* [in the sense of *very* - where *muy* would have been used in Castilian or even sometimes *mui* in Bable]. Examples of such usage were (one instance each unless otherwise indicated): *perbueno*, *perbaxu*, *perclaro*, *percomplicada*, *percontenta*, *perdiferente*, *perdifícil* (2), *perfechu* (2), *pergrande* (2), *perguapa* (2), *perprobe*, *pertriste*, *perimportante* (28), *pernecesaria* (13), and *perverde*.

Per- is not always used in Bable, in many cases *mui* would be more appropriate; use of *per-* in such cases represents hypercorrection. At least one such usage may have been the use of the word *perverde* [*very green*] in place of *mui verde*.

In answers to the general questions there were four instances of the more traditional Castilian forms (though still using the Bable variants in both cases) of *mui bien*, *mui importante* and *mui necesaria*. In one instance, a respondent used two different types of mixed Bable and Castilian forms when he wrote *perbien* in the context of normalisation and *mui bono* in the context of co-officiality.

Sentiments expressed

A number of survey respondents made comments indicating a rural sentimentality. For example:

> *usu de los pronombres, el ye, dellos verbos*)

² F Cuetos *et.al*, *Diccionariu de Frecuencias Léxicques del Asturianu*, op.cit..

I live in Uviéu though I feel myself affectively linked wit the rural zone. ^t

Two respondents noted feeling fear or embarrassment in certain contexts. One said, in clarification of comment that he did not use Bable as often as he would like:

Fear at being ridiculed on the part of others. ^t

While the second commented on the negative treatment accorded to those speaking Bable in the school system in the '60s and '70s:

Today I would speak it totally if it had not been that I kept it hidden at school in the '60s and '70s where they didn't respect it. ^t

On the subject of fiesta use of Bable, one commented that he spoke it:

When we are all together as a family in some family fiesta. ^t

Conclusion

The survey of a group who might be considered partisans for recuperation of Bable as a sociolinguistic force revealed both varying motivations and usage patterns. It can be assumed that these variations would be no less marked in the general population.

The various motivations, though often consonant, represented a range of opinions which reflected the varying circumstances of the participants; and which could not easily be reduced to simple, homogenous statements.

^t *Vivo n'Uviéu magar siéntome afeutivamente lligáu cola fastera rural.*

^t *de ciertu miéu a facer ridículo per parte la otra xente.*

^t *Güei falariála dafechu si nun me lo fixera escaecer el colexu nos años 60 y 70 onde nun lo respetaben.*

^t *cuando tamos reuniós toa la familia en dalguna fista familiar.*

The usage patterns reflected the fact that at this stage Bable is still for many practical considerations in a pre-normalised state. They also reflect the hazards of the close linguistic relationship existing between Bable (as an L1) with Castilian (as an L2).

Policy decisions which focus on normalization and officiality need, therefore, in the case of Bable to reflect these local characteristics rather than be replications of policies tried elsewhere where motivation and usage patterns will have been different.

PART D – RESEARCH

CHAPTER FOURTEEN – LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Overview

A key empirical research focus of this thesis has been the analysis of 463 *Cartas al Director* [*Letters to the Editor*] published in *La Nueva España*. The research focused on the following types of letters:

- letters on any topic written in Bable in whole or in part;
- letters written in Castilian but dealing with Bable;
- letters, on any subject, which though predominantly in Castilian contained Bable phrases, words, names and/or toponyms.

The purpose of this research has been to identify both the range of utilisation of Bable in this form of communication, and also to map attitudes expressed as to language. On this latter point the research sought to explore if the use of Bable as the medium of communication whilst discussing status of the vernacular correlated with certain attitudes from the various polarities in the Asturian language debate.

As to the range of utilisation of Bable, the purpose has been to map such use by topic categories and also by extent of the use of the language. The use of incidental Bable words or even of entire phrases by writers who otherwise communicated in Castilian was not coincidental. The research has therefore sought to analyse the significance of such usage.

A further aim of the research, focussed particularly on the letters written entirely in Bable, has been to examine the question of interference from Castilian and the plurality of forms often available within the lexical inventory of Bable.

14.1 LA NUEVA ESPAÑA

LA NUEVA ESPAÑA is the largest daily newspaper published in Asturias. First established as a government newspaper by the former Franco regime, it was privatised after his death and became part of the *Editorial Prensa Ibérica* group in 1984. Since that time its circulation and readership have increased each year; by 1998 it achieved ninth ranking nationally amongst Spanish dailies in terms of circulation. Table 14.1 indicates the comparative readership in 1996 for the top three regional newspapers in the province.¹

Table 14.1: Readership of principal Asturian newspapers (1996)

Newspaper	Readership
<i>LA NUEVA ESPAÑA</i>	291,000
<i>EL COMERCIO</i>	142,000
<i>LA VOZ DE ASTURIAS</i>	121,000

As with other newspapers in the group, the editorial team of *La Nueva España* have permitted the use of the local vernacular (in this instance Bable) in published material, though overwhelmingly the medium of communication has been Castilian. Over the period in question, Bable was observed to be used in the following:

- Some letters to the editor
- Some children's letters to *Oreja Verde* [*Green Ear*], a weekly supplement for children.
- A special supplement focusing on Asturian culture (*La Nueva Quintana: páginas asturianistas*) [*The new farmstead: Asturianist pages*]
- The weekly culture supplement (*La Cultura*) from time to time containing segments in Bable. (*N'asturiano* and *Llibros* [*In Asturian and Books*])
- Columns written by regular or occasional writers, in particular columns by Milio Mariño, Jeronimo Grande (*Me alegro de que me haga esa pregunta* [*I'm glad you asked me that question*]) and Montserrat Garnacho (*Caleyes con oficiu* [*Trade streets*]), *¿Sales a jugar un poco?*

¹ LNE 15.12.96, based upon audited data from Estudio General de Medios.

[*Are you coming out to play a little?*] and *Sal y el furmientu* [*salt & yeast*])

- Cartoons (eg *Constantino Turón*) and light-hearted pieces.
- Incidental comments by interviewees in the general reportage
- Some nicknames in obituaries

Each of these is dealt with in the following two chapters. The remainder of this chapter deals with the letters to the editor, while the next chapter treats with the remainder and also some non-Bable pieces which contained references to the language.

However before commencing that study, it would be timely to understand readership levels with respect to Bable language material in Asturian media. In his 1989 study, Francisco J Llera Ramo reported on readership of articles written in Bable which appeared in the Asturian press. He produced a table recording the frequency of articles in Bable being read according to whether those surveyed generally had the practice of reading in Bable or not. Table 14.2 reprints this information in percentages for the total group, which numbered 400.²

Table 14.2: Readership of articles in Bable according to usual practice of reading in the language (%ages)

Read Bable pieces in Press	Read in Bable	
	Yes	No
Never	6.1	42.5
Rarely	6.1	20.5
Time to time	23.8	19.6
Sometimes	22.7	8.7
Regularly	39.2	4.1
No answer	2.1	4.6
Total	100	100

² F J Llera Ramo, *Consumu Cultural de Publicaciones en Llingua Asturiana: Informe*, op.cit. p.56

Of particular significance in this table is that 4.1% of readers who did not normally class themselves as reading in Bable indicated they would regularly read pieces written in Bable published in Asturian dailies. A further 28.3% of this category indicated they either sometimes or regularly read such pieces in the press. Of those who did profess to reading in Bable, 85.7% indicated some frequency in reading Bable articles in the press.

14.2 THE LETTERS IN THE STUDY

The analysis of the letters is divided into three principal parts. Firstly, the letters entirely written in Bable are analysed regardless of whether they dealt with the language; secondly letters containing Bable words, phrases and/or toponyms are considered, likewise subject matters were not limited to the issue of Bable. Next, letters from any category (completely in Bable, or completely in Castilian, or mixing both) are considered in terms of opinions expressed regarding Bable. Finally there then follows a section dealing with a range of issues observed in all the letters such as expressions of community (the *nuestro/nuesu* effect), family, seasonality and perceptions of Asturias.

Appendix D contains the following subsections in relation to these letters:

- Subsection 1: Index of writers of letters in alphabetical order, along with some identification of characteristics of the letters.
- Subsection 2: Listing of select references from letters (such as topics of letters written in Bable, references to village/*paisano*, mining, diminutives, relatives), Bable phrases.

The letters were in two groups in terms of dates of authorship. The first group, those dated between April 1987 and July 1993 (a total of sixty letters), were taken from press clippings collected by Professor Juan Carlos Villaverde, of the University of Oviedo; he generously let me have access to his newspaper files.

This group of letters principally consisted of correspondence which dealt in whole or in part with issues to do with Bable (48 letters) and/or were written in Bable (27). There were three letters in this group which dealt with Bable toponymy. Ten letters dealt with other matters. Seven of these ten were written entirely in Bable and dealt with international politics [1 letter], regional politics [2], inter-city rivalries [2], environmental issues [1] and traffic [1]. The three others (of the ten) all contained Bable phrases or sentences and dealt with medicine [1], folkloric competition [1], local government issues [1]). There were no letters in this group whose selection was determined simply because they contained isolated Bable words, names or toponyms (as opposed to phrases or sentences). This group of sixty letters cannot be considered to represent a comprehensive collection of all letters of these types published in *La Nueva España* during the period 1987-1993.

The letters in the second group were written between January 1994 and March 1998; there were 403 letters in this group. 255 were written either entirely in Bable (92) or in part (37 including Bable phrases and 125 containing isolated Bable words); 167 were written in Castilian but dealt with issues relating to Bable. While it cannot be guaranteed that every letter published during this period which might have fitted the above three categories was included in the collection, this group of letters would come close to being reasonably comprehensive and representative. Table 14.3 indicates the language usage of the letters in the collection. The letters B,A,I and C refer to the categorization system used in Appendix D (Subsection 1).

The category “Letters with Bable phrases (A)” consists of letters which contained a Bable verb in the phrase, while the category “Letters with Bable words (I)” consists of

letters which contained no verb amongst the Bable words or where a verb appeared in isolation.

Table 14.3: Language use in letters to editor

Date	Letters in Bable (B)	Letters with Bable phrases (A)	Letters with Bable words (I)	Letters in Castilian (C)	Totals
'87-'93	27	6	7	20	60
'94-'98	91	34	118	162	403
Total	118	40	123	182	463

14.2.1 Geographic and other characteristics

Table 14.4 examines the distribution according to language in each of the twenty five largest population centres and in the aggregation of the remaining fifty three. The table indicates that letters came from 45 counties in the province; in other words there were no letters from 33 counties. Letters totally in Bable came from 21 counties, while 15 counties were the locale of people using Bable phrases, and 22 counties of those using isolated words in Bable.

The figures for letters in Bable can be taken as indicative of language usage patterns as, for the period 1994-1998, every letter written to the editor in the vernacular has been considered. Similarly with those letters involving Bable phrases and isolated words. The figures for letters in Castilian, however, do not have that broader significance; as the only letters chosen for the purposes of this research were those which addressed the language debate. They can, however, be used to some extent to map the geographical spread of feeling relating to the language.

Table 14.4: Language use in letters by county

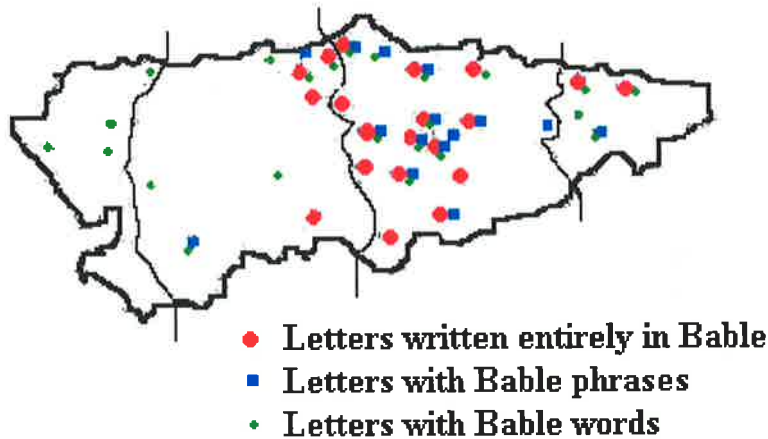
Centre	Letters in Bable (B)	Letters using Bable phrases (A)	Letters using Bable words (I)	Letters in Castilian (C)	Total
Top twenty five counties					
Oviedo	34	8	35	58	135
Gijón	35	7	15	21	78
Avilés	9*	1	4	12	25
Mieres	6	1	10	16	32
Langreo	5	2	5	7	19
Siero	5	5	2	7	18
Castrillon	1	-	1	2	4
San Martín de RA	1	2	-	3	6
Cangas del Narcea	-	1	2	3	5
Corvera	-	-	-	1	1
Aller	3	1	-	4	8
Lluarca	-	-	-	1	1
Laviana	1	-	-	1	2
Villaviciosa	1	-	6	3	9
Lena	1	-	-	1	2
Tineo	-	-	-	-	-
Llanes	1	-	16	4	21**
Grado	-	-	-	1	1
Gozón	-	-	-	1	1
Llanera	-	-	-	-	-
Carreño	-	1	1	2	4
Pravia	2	-	3	1	6
Piloña	1	-	-	-	1
Navia	-	-	4	3	4
Remaining counties					
Cudillero	-	-	1	2	3
Colunga	-	-	-	1	1
Noreña	-	-	-	2	2
Ribadesella	2	-	2	1	5
Pola de Allande	-	-	1	4	5
Bimenes	-	1	-	1	2
Teverga	1	-	-	1	2
Nava	1	1	-	4	6
Cangas de Onis	-	-	2	1	3
Tapia de Casariego	-	-	-	1	1
Les Regueres	1	-	-	-	1
Morcín	1	-	-	-	1
Candamo	1	-	-	-	1
Sobrescobio	-	-	-	1	1
Taramundi	-	-	1	-	1
Illano	-	-	1	-	1
Benia de Onis	-	2	1	-	3
Parres	-	1	-	-	1
Muros de Nalon	-	1	-	-	1
Boal	-	-	1	-	1
Belmonte	-	-	1	-	1
External or dk					
External or dk	5	5	8	11	29
Total	118	40	123	182	463

*five of the Bable letters from Avilés were from one writer (L018).

** Two writers from Llanes (L200 & L334) were responsible for 19 of the total of 21 letters from this city (7 and 12 respectively).

Map 14.1 charts the spread across the region of letters written entirely in Bable, those with Bable phrases and those with individual words in the vernacular. It indicates that letters written entirely in Bable came largely from the Bable Central zone (particularly the mining *cuencas*) and the western periphery of that zone. The use of entire Bable phrases within otherwise Castilian letters came almost completely from the Bable Central zone (this time less significantly from the mining areas). Finally the use of isolated Bable words appears to have been reasonably spread across the whole region.

Map 14.1: Source of letters using some Bable



Though not mapped, the geographic spread of the letters written only in Castilian shows a strong bias towards Oviedo. The figures in Table 14.4 reveals that more than two and half times as many such letters came from the regional capital than from the largest city, Gijón; whereas letters entirely in Bable came in almost equal numbers from both these centers.

Table 14.5 indicates the geographic and gender spread of the letters which were either written entirely in Bable or contained phrases/sentences or individual words written in that language.

Table 14.5: Geographic & gender spread of letters

	Central	Oriental	Occidental	Astur-Gall	External	Total
Male						
Bable	83	2	3		8	96
Bable phrases	21	2	1		1	25
Bable words	74	17	5	4	5	105
Female						
Bable	19					19
Bable phrases	3					3
Bable words	11	3	1			15
Shared						
Bable	2					2
Bable phrases						
Bable words	2					2
Total						
Bable	105	2	3		8	118*
Bable phrases	24	2	1		1	40
Bable words	87	20	6	4	5	123

* The total for letters written in Bable includes 2 (one by a male and one by a female) which did not have a zone prescribed; these have been included in the figure for External.

Thus writers from the Central zone wrote 87.4% of the letters written entirely in Bable and 85.7% of the letters containing Bable phrases but only 71.3% of the letters containing individual Bable words. The Oriental zone contained a disproportionate percentage of letters containing individual Bable words (16.4%).

Multiple letter writing

A number of writers wrote more than one letter to the editor during the period. In fact the 463 letters were written by 358 writers (multiple signatories for individual letters

being categorised as single writers for this purpose). The incidence of multiple letter writing was:

One letter	298
Two letters	40
Three letters	13
Four letters	2
Five letters	2
Six letters	1
Seven letters	1
Twelve letters	1

As noted in Table 14.4, two writers from the town of Llanes in the Bable Oriental zone between them wrote nineteen letters; while a writer from Avilés wrote five.

14.2.2 Incidence of Bable

As indicated earlier, of the 463 letters to the editor considered in this thesis 118 were written completely in Bable, a further 40 contained some significant usage of Bable while an additional 123 other letters contained Bable words. The remaining 182 contained no usage of Bable whatsoever. Whilst letters in Bable represented 25.7% of all letters in the collection, it should not be construed this indicated that a quarter of all letters submitted to the editor were written in Bable. The collection of 463 letters is a subjective selection taken for the purposes of this thesis from the total corpus of letters to the editor published during the period in question; there was clearly a bias towards letters in Bable.

What then was the incidence of Bable language letters to the editor in *La Nueva España* during the period in question? In order to have some indication of the incidence of Bable letters amongst the total, I undertook a sample of all letters to the editor published during 1997. In that period a total of 883 letters to the editor were published by LNE; of

these 19 were written completely in Bable and a further 53 contained Bable words or phrases. This represented an incidence of 2.2% of all published letters during that year being written completely in Bable.

Table 14.6 compares this percentage figure with other newspapers from the same newspaper group which were published in areas of Spain where non-Castilian languages are also spoken.

Table 14.6: Incidence of non-Castilian usage in Letters to Editor of various newspapers

Newspaper and Language	Total letters	Letters in vernacular	Letters in Castilian	Survey period
<i>Diario de Ibiza</i> (Catalan [Eivaissano])	58	8 (13.8%)	50	4/1-17/2/96
<i>Diario de Mallorca</i> (Catalan [Mallorquin])	16	7	9	17-23/2/95
	178	56	122	4/10 – 31/12/95
	236	84	152	1/3 – 30/6/96
Total	430	147 (34.2%)	283	
<i>Faro do Vigo</i> (Gallego)	112	30 (26.8%)	82	March '96
<i>Información de Alicante</i> (Catalan [Valenciano])	390	12 (3.1%)	378	3/1 – 31/3/96
<i>La Nueva España</i> (Bable)	883	19 (2.2%)	864	1997
<i>Levante</i> (Catalan [Valenciano])	29	8	21	12-18/1/95
	217	58	159	1/5-28/6/96
	Total	246	66 (26.8%)	180

The figures suggest that there has been a very much lower level of utilisation of Bable as a language for communication in letters to the editor in Asturias than has been the case with respect to vernacular usage in such correspondence in other regions of Spain where newspapers of the group were published. The closest to the case of Bable and LNE was the use of the Valencian dialect of Catalan in letters to the editor in *Información de Alicante* where the utilisation rate was a little higher at 3.1%.

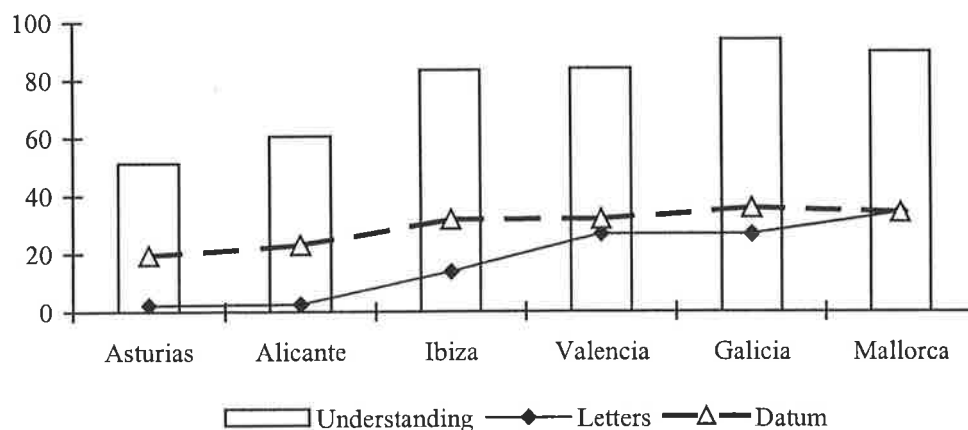
The comparison of the figures for letters in the vernacular published in each newspaper compared with levels of vernacular comprehension revealed by surveys in their respective communities indicated a comparatively poor position for Bable. Table 14.7 records the levels of both for each of the areas where *Editorial Prensa Ibérica* has newspapers which publish letters in both Castilian and the local vernacular. Graph 14.1 then plots that information with the addition of a datum line. The datum line predicts what the incidence of letters in the vernacular would have been in the event that each region had reflected the incidence of the highest ranking region (in this case Mallorca, a region where 89.7% claimed to have an ability to understand the Mallorquín dialect of Catalan and where 34.2% of all letters published were written in it).

Table 14.7: Comparison of levels of understanding and incidence of letters in vernacular

	Level of understanding (%)	Letters in vernacular (%)
Bable	51.2	2.2
Catalan (Alicante)	60.6	3.1
Catalan (Ibiza)	83.4	13.8
Catalan (Valencia)	84.0	26.8
Gallego	94.0	26.8
Catalan (Mallorca)	89.7	34.2

Source of data: M Siguan *España plurilingüe*, Alianza Universidad, Madrid, 1992.

Graph 14.1: Visual representation of Table 14.9



Thus it can be seen that in the mid-1990s the newspapers published in Valencia and Galicia closely approached the incidence of vernacular letters which had been achieved in Mallorca. In Ibiza the rate was approximately half that of the incidence of Mallorca, while Alicante and Asturias exhibited much more marginal rates of incidence of letters in the vernacular.

14.2.3 Editorial discretion

The incidence of published letters written in Bable is not just a function of the commitment of letter writers to the use of that language, but also of the preparedness of the editors of LNE to publish any such letters submitted to them. It raises the question of how many letters in Bable sent to the editor of LNE might not have been published. I examined the newspaper's records of Bable-language correspondence to the editor both (published and unpublished) over the period November 1994 to April 1995. Table 14.8 compares the number of letters written in Bable which were published with those which were not during this period.

Table 14.8: Published & unpublished letters sent to LNE – Nov. '94 – April '95

Month	Unpublished	Published	Total
November 1994	1	3	4
December 1994	2	4	6
January 1995	0	4	4
February 1995	6	1	7
March 1995	5	2	7
April 1995	7	0	7
Total	21	14	35

The figures indicate that over the six month period 35 letters written in Bable were sent to the newspaper of which 14 were published, whilst 21 were not; thus forty per cent of Bable letters received in this period were published. A similar study was not done for

the publication success rate of letters written in Castilian, but the 40% figure for Bable does not appear to indicate any particular anti-Bable bias on the part of the editors. Indeed my own conversations with the editorial team over a twelve month period never revealed any suggestion of such a bias.

A further aspect to be noted from this data is the effect there would have been on the figures in Section 14.2.2 if every single Bable letter submitted were to have been published by the editors. Had this unlikely situation occurred over the whole period surveyed the number of letters in Bable published would only have represented about 3.6% of the total – a figure still well below the datum line in Graph 14.1.

14.3 LETTERS WRITTEN IN BABLE

The letters written in Bable are considered in two ways. Firstly, a selection of five is considered in some detail by way of revealing the types of findings that are possible from such analysis. Secondly, all letters written in Bable are then subjected to a summary analysis of topics.

14.3.1 Analysis of a sample of letters

The 118 letters written in Bable dealt with a wide number of subjects and were authored by writers from many different locations within the region. Five letters indicative of both the breadth of topics and diversity of authorship have been selected. They are:

- **L222/145 Pepe López (19/12/94 – *Caleyas con muchu oficiu* [loosely *Streets with much character*]**

- L159/257 Fabián García de Vega (01/07/96) – *Los vedaos nos ríos* [*the banks of our rivers*]
- L214/288 Ricardo Igelmo Pérez (08/12/96) – *El Rh vasco* [*the Basque Rh blood factor*]
- L271/342 Ramón Ordiz García (24/06/97) – *Josefa la del Praón* [*Josefa, she of Praón*]
- L071/373 Xosé Nel Caldevilla Vega (22/08/97) – *Las autopistas de la información* [*The information superhighway*]

L222/145 Pepe López (19/12/94) – *Caleyas con muchu oficiu* [loose translation *Streets with much character*]

The writer, from Teverga in the Bable Occidental zone, dealt with a series of ‘colour’ stories written by Montserrat Garnacho for LNE, each based upon interviews with typical, ordinary Asturians from rural or provincial settings. The title of the series was *Caleyas con oficiu*, [*Streets of the old trades*]. The letter writer’s insertion of *muchu* appears to have indicated his appreciation of the series by drawing upon other senses of the word *oficiu* – ie not just its common meaning of *trade* but its wider meaning of *character*.

A very interesting phrase in the letter which represented an interesting crossing of normal Bable and Castilian usages along with less than perfect grammar was:

te lo voi esplicar [*I go/I am going to explain it to you*]

The writer’s placement of the pronouns *te* and *lo* would not have represented very good grammar in either Bable or Castilian usages as they would normally have been placed in relation to the infinitive *to explain* [*esplicar*] rather than the in relation to *I go/I am going* [*voi*].

In addition there is the question of whether the pronouns *te* and *lo* should have been treated proclitically (ie before the relevant verb) or enclitically (ie after the relevant verb). Bable would entertain both usages, whilst Castilian would only accept enclitic usage. Thus the phrase in Bable could have been either:

Voi esplicatelo or
voi te lo explicar

But in Castilian it could only be rendered as:

Voy a explicartelo

Of final interest in this phrase was the use, relatively more frequent in Bable than Castilian, of the present indicative form of *to go* + *infinitive* in place of the more common Castilian use of the future indicative tense. Thus while the Castilian phrase above – *Voy a explicartelo* – is not incorrect (it should be noted that the preposition *a* would be inserted after *voy* in *Castellano con corrección*), it would have been more usual for the word *explicaré* [*I will explain*] to have been used. Adding the pronouns to this Castilian word would have seen it done proclitically – ie *te lo explicaré*.

It appears that this Castilian proclitic usage in front of a non-infinitive form influenced the letter writer as, with respect to other examples of infinitives with pronouns in the letter, the writer chose to use the enclitic formula, thus: *tenelos* {C: *tenerlos*} [*to have them*] and *xuntalos* {C: *juntarlos*} [*to join them*].

There were two examples of words more typically Castilian than Bable being used by the writer. Firstly the use of the gerund *aprendiendu* in place of *deprendiendu*

[*learning*]; the writer did, however, convert it to a Bable *-u* ending in place of the Castilian *-o*. The choice of word stem would appear to have been a case of interference.

Another example of a Castilian word being used in place of a more typically Bable one occurred with the verb *to like*. The writer used the phrase *me gusten los retratos* [*I like the portraits*] using the verb *gustar* [*to like*]; while this verb is not unknown in Bable, the much more common verb used is *prestar*, which would thus have given rise to the phrase *prestanme los retratos* (involving as it also would the Bable use of enclisis for the pronoun).

Finally of interest in this letter was a single exception to the writer's general use of the *-es* ending for feminine plural nouns. Whereas the writer wrote *madreñes* [*clogs*] and *tantes cosas* [*so many things*] he reverted to Castilian usage when he wrote *estas paisanas* {B: *estes paisanes*} [*these country women*].

L159/257 Fabián García de Vega (01/07/96 – *Los vedaos nos ríos* [*the banks of our rivers*])

The writer of this letter lived in Moreda in the county of Aller (which he spelt Atser). Aller/Atser is a mining cuenca surrounded by rural areas. The topic of the letter dealt with trout fishing in the local river and the need for fishing-free nursery zones for trout breeding. Though written for the most part in Bable Central, there were a number of localisms and some examples of apparent interference and hypercorrection in the letter.

The localisms included not only the toponym Atser for Aller, the use of *ts* in place of *ll* also appeared in *tsueu* {B: *llueu*} {C: *luego*} [*place*]. There was also the use of *ista* and *istes* for *esta* and *estes* [female gender of *this* and *these*], though he reverted to the more

standard form in the masculine with *estu*. Other possible localisms were the use of *quear* for *quedar* [*to remain*], the use of *antanu* for *antañu* {C: *antaño*} [*yore*], and *xixa* for *xuiciu* {C: *juicio*} [*judgement*] (it also means *fuerza* [*force*] but the former meaning was clearly the intention of the writer).

Another usage which may either have been a localism or an example of the *patois* of fishers was the use of *minga* and *mingues*. In the context of the letter the words appear to have been used in reference to undersized fish. However, all Bable dictionaries used in this thesis indicate that the word *minga* translates as *penis*.

A localism most probably brought from the mines was the word *trabanca* (and its plural *trabanques*) which is normally a wooden prop used in a mine, though is used by the writer to mean *fingerlings*.

An interesting possible localism was *panz'arriba* [*upper digestive system*]. Interesting both for the use of the Bable abbreviation technique in the context of two substantive words (instead of the more normal use of abbreviation between pronouns and nouns or verbs); and also for its intended meaning by the writer.

An example of hypercorrection was in evidence in the word *pollítica* in place of the more correct *política*. There was another word which, according to the ALLA 2001 dictionary would be hypercorrection but not according to another (XXSV 1988), namely the word *persabemos* meaning *we very much know*. The former dictionary does not contain this comparative form of the verb *saber* though the latter does.

L214/288 Ricardo Igelmo Pérez (08/12/96 – *El Rh vasco [the Basque Rh blood factor]*)

The writer of this letter lived in Gijón and was responding to a separately reported interview of a journalist, Isabel San Sebastián, carried in an issue of the national Spanish daily ABC. The subject of the interview had been the origins of the Basque people, one particular quote being of particular interest to the correspondent:

The Creator has offered to the Basques a treasure, that distinguishes us from the rest of the races of the world, a clean and pure blood, without the Rh+ of the monkey.¹

The letter was written in a comparatively pure form of Bable, though there were some instances of interference noted. The most significant examples of interference appeared to be some proclitic usage of pronouns with finite verbs and also the use of *a* after forms of the verb *ir* [*to go*].

With respect to the former, a number of enclitic usages of pronouns with finite verbs was in evidence, for example:

Cuéntolo [*I tell it*]

Entrenme [*They cause in me*]

Dejonos [*It left us*]

However alongside these usages common to Bable were also the following proclitic usages of pronouns with finite verbs:

Nun los envidio [*I do not hate them*]

Os digo [*I say to you*]

Me pongo [*I dress myself*]

¹ *El Creador ha ofrecido a los vascos un tesoro, que nos distingue de todas las demás razas del mundo, una sangre limpia y pura, sin el Rh positivo del mono ...*

With respect to the verb *ir* [*to go*] two examples following Castilian rather than Bable usage were noted in the letter:

Vamos a contrar [*we are going to count*]

Me voy a reir [*I am going to laugh*] (this latter also had Castilian proclitic placement of *me*).

The letter contained no use of *per-* (in the sense of *very*), neither was there any use of *mui* or *muy*. Regarding the distinctively Bable usage of *ll*, there was only one word – *llimpios* [*clean*].

The use of *-u* endings predominated over *-o* endings by a significant margin. However, regarding participles with feminine plural endings, the one example in the text – *responsibilidades* – used the Castilian version in place of the Bable (*responsibilidaes*). The masculine form (*-aos*) did appear (*colgaos* [*suspended, hung*]).

The letter contained an unusual usage of the familiar form of the second person plural (*vosotros*) against the more usual form (*ustedes*), a practice not unique to Bable, but more common in that language than in Castilian in terms of the context (ie the writer addressing the readers of his letter to the editor).

The letter contained one usage of a diminutive – *guapinos* [*little beauties*] – and was ascribed as God's reference to the Basque people.

L271/342 Ramón Ordiz García (24/06/97) – Josefa la del Praón [Josefa, she of Praón]

The writer of this letter lived in Oviedo but wrote a bucolic piece about his grandmother and his time as a child with her in a rural/mining setting. The childhood locality is a

little hard to place as Praón does not appear on any map; however, other clues in the letter include the reference that he went to school in Corralón and that cows were taken to Robleo for milking. There is a location Robledo on Asturian maps; the Bable version of this toponym would be either Robleo or Robleu. This locale is near the town of Arriondas, in the eastern part of the Bable Central zone. Certain linguistic features of the letter support the view that the community was more probably in the eastern part of the Bable Central zone than any other. Of equal significance to which language zone is referred to is the fact that the locale was obviously a community associated with mining as well as being rural since his grandmother would *llamaba a los sos fíos ... pa dir pa la mina* [*call to her sons ... to go to the mine*].

It would seem the letter was written in Bable as an affectionate gesture by the writer to his grandmother as this was presumably her principal tongue. His affection for his grandmother was clearly strong with such statements as:

- *Thanks, granny! For me more than being a grandmother I say that you are mother twice over.*[†]
- *Granny, I ever spoke the best of you; not only me, but all the grandchildren and great-grandchildren: you are not (only) special, but so different.*[†]

Interestingly, though the Central zone is indicated as the childhood locale of the writer, he used a diminutive form more common in the Oriental zone - *-ucu* - in relation to himself and his peers – *rapazucu(s)* [*lad(s)*], he could equally as well have used *rapazín*,* a form which would have been more typical of the Central zone. There was one use of that more typical diminutive (*calentín* [*little pan*]).

[†] *¡Gracies, güela! Pa mí, además de ser güela, siempre digo que yes madre dos veces!*

[†] *Güela, siempre disti lo mejor de ti; non a mi, sinón a tolos nietos, nietes y bisnietos que tienes: nun yes especial, pero sí diferente.*

* In E063 a variant *rapacín* is used by a woman from the Bable Central zone.

The typical Bable *-u* ending in place of *-o* appeared frequently in the letter (eg *duru*, *pocu*, *tiempu*, *otru*, *pueblu*, *seguru*, *tranquilu*, and *nietu*) but not in every possible word; words which might well have ended in *-u* but for which the writer chose *-o* endings instead included: *lo*, *pero*, *pienso*, *cuando*, and *como*.

There was some evidence of orthographic variation, some of which may have been reflective of partial interference from Castilian. The word for *son* (and its plural, *sons*) provided one example of such variation (though not of interference), with the writer using three forms – *fiu*, *fios* and *fiyos* – within the one letter. The same was also the case with the word for *very*, with both *mui* and *muy* appearing in the letter (the former once and the latter thrice); it would appear that the two usages of the latter form were instances of partial interference. Also an example of partial interference was the use of *humanidad* [*humanity*], when the Bable form would normally have been *humanidá*; the more usual type of Bable ending did, however, appear with other words such as *madrugá* {C: *madrugada*} [*pre-dawn*], *sinceridá* {C: *sinceridad*} [*sincerity*] and *felicidá* {C: *felicidad*} [*happiness*]. A further example of possible interference was *nadie* [*no-one*] in place of the more usual *naide*.

A particularly interesting possibility of interference was the use of the word *manjar*. From the context, the writer was clearly intending the Bable word *manxar* {C: *comida*} [*meal*]. The use of the letter *j* would not seem to indicate the adoption by the writer of a practice of some in eastern parts of Asturias to use *j* instead of *x* since elsewhere in the letter he reverted to the more typical Central Bable form (eg *curuxa*, *dixi*, *baxar*, *xunto* and *xareta*). It is noteworthy, however, that he also used a *j* for the spelling of his grandmother's name rather than an *x*.

An iconic reference was in evidence with the insertion of:

Como cuando cantaba la beca (la curuxa) ... [As when the beca [local name for owl] sang]

in reference to his grandmother's assertion that it only sang when someone was about to die. In the context of the letter, this reference appeared justified as much by an intent to indicate his knowledge of a local word for owl [*beca*] (in place of the more usual Bable word *coruxa* – knowledge of which he alludes by including it as well) as to add to the picture he was building of his grandmother.

L071/373 Xosé Nel Caldevilla Vega (22/08/97 – *Las autopistas de la información* [*The information superhighway*])

This letter, written by a resident of Gijón, dealt with the writer's concern about the lack of effort in IT developments by regional authorities. The letter used normalised Bable and was orthographically consistent. Two observations can be made about this letter. Firstly, the writer used Bable to deal with a 'modern' topic, namely the information technology revolution.

Secondly, he commented on Bable's capacity to deal with such new concepts. Whilst noting some limitations, such as his reference to a speech by the president of PAS in the regional parliament:

or if he was talking in the Bable of Quirós or of Tinéu' (the former a noted Asturian of the nineteenth century, the latter a locality in the Occidental zone).

He also noted that many of the best internet sites about Asturias *tán n'asturiano* [*are in Asturian*].

¹ *o si taba falando nel bable de Quirós o nel de Tinéu.*

His implicit view was that Bable needed to change in order to have the capacity to be a modern communicating medium. In his own letter, he showed such change with his use of a number of new words such as *vitrocerámica*, *dixitales* and *antimonopoliu*.

Whilst the writer used normalised Bable, there was a possible example of hypercorrection in the sense proposed by Milio Cueto with particular reference to the use of *ll*. The letter contained the word *ellectrónica* against the more correct *eletrónica*. Also citing Cueto, the use of *perllargues* may well be considered a case of hypercorrection.

Among the conclusions to be drawn from the analysis of these letters is that the writers did not feel constrained in their capacity to express ideas by any lack of comparable richness in Bable compared with Castilian. Nor, in two cases, did they feel themselves constrained from using the language to comment on topics beyond the focus of Asturias. The lack of a commonly accepted orthographic and grammatical standardisation of the language did result in diversity in usages. Finally, there was also evidence of interference from Castilian.

14.3.2 Topics

Table 14.9 provides details as to the subject matter of letters written in Bable categorised by various personal characteristics.

Table 14.9: Subject analysis of letters written in Bable

	n=	Ref. To Bable	Pro-normalisation	Anti-normalisation	Pro-officiality	Anti-officiality	Toponymy	Culture/heritage	Local	Regional	National	International	Village	Mining	Relatives	3 rd person poss	Diminutives
n =	118	58	9	2	22	0	7	11	21	12	6	5	7	5	2	42	12
Gender																	
Male	94	42	7	2	16		6	8	18	12	5	4	5	4	2	35	8
Female	20	13	2		5		1	3	3			1	1			6	3
Mult. Sigs.	4	3			1						1		1	1		1	1
Zone																	
Central	105	52	9	2	18		7	10	21	12	5	4	7	5	2	39	11
Occidental	3	1			1			1				1				1	
Oriental	2	2			1											1	
Astur-Gall.																	
External	8	3			2											1	1
Locale																	
Urban	76	40	8	2	14		4	9	10	7	3	2	5	4	2	28	9
Mining	22	10	1		3		3		10	3	2		2	1		8	2
Rural	12	4			3			2	1	2	1	1				5	
External	8	4			2							2				1	1

Fifty eight letters dealt with Bable as a topic, while a further seven dealt with toponymy issues. There were then fifty three letters which were not related to Bable as subject, though written in that language. These letters dealt with a wide range of topics and could have been indicative of wider domain usage of the language by those writers in their daily lives. By way of example, the correspondent who wrote in Bable to support the establishment of a community centre for older people [L220/193, male, Mieres] probably also used Bable in his conversations with local authorities. Writers from the rural setting were the most likely to use Bable in letters on topics other than about the language itself. They were followed by those in mining communities. This latter group

were much more noticeably inclined to write about issues affecting the local community whereas those from rural areas were almost equally inclined to address topics from the local through to the international.

Of the letters which dealt with Bable as subject. Eleven dealt with the subject of normalisation and twenty two with the issue of co-officiality. The remaining letters dealt with general issues of promoting the language; in particular with decisions by the university regarding courses in Bable.

Concerning the balance of letters in Bable dealing with the vernacular as opposed to those that didn't, correspondents from the top three population centres wrote about Bable slightly more often than on other topics (40 versus 36). A similar situation existed with respects to letters from residents of the mining *cuencas* (13 versus 9). On the other hand, residents of rural communities were equally likely to have written in the vernacular on subjects other than Bable.

14.3.3 Seasonality:

Xosé Antón González Riaño, in his study of Bable interference in Castilian usage amongst Mieres students, noted a degree of seasonality to such interference and commented that:

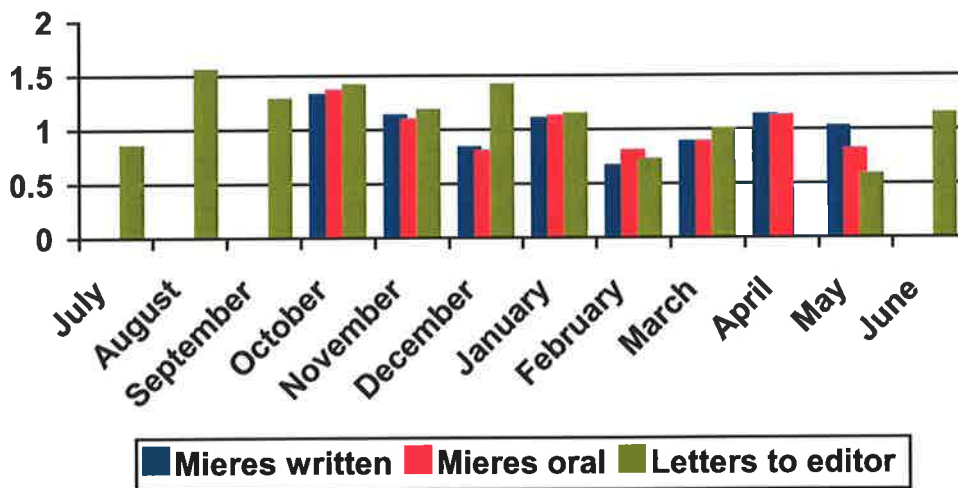
It is noteworthy ... (that) the majority of interferences were produced in the month of October – that is to say, immediately after the long summer vacation - during the following months of school – November and December – where there would be a notable decline in output ... with interferences and that the recuperation is produced, precisely, in the month of January, coinciding with the return to the classroom after the non-study period of the Christmas festivities. The tendency to follow this model would be completed if we take into account that in

April, the month of returning to school after Holy Week, there is a new jump in the number of interferences declining later in the month of May.^{3 t}

He reported the incidence of interference in both written and oral examples from students. The figures for the eight months of the school year are replicated in Graph 14.2 adjusted as an index measuring each month against a standard monthly average factor of 1.

The graph also measures the incidence according to month of letters to the editor (again measuring against a standard monthly average factor of 1). The figures are provided in Table 14.10.

Graph 14.2: Comparison of seasonal incidence factors of Bable – students and letters to the editor.



³ X A González Riaño, op. cit. page 319.

^t *Es llamativo ... el hecho de que el mayor número de interferencias se produzca en el mes de octubre – es decir, justamente después del largo periodo vacacional del verano -, que durante los siguientes meses de escolarización – noviembre y diciembre – haya una descenso notable de la producción escrita con interferencias y que la recuperación se produzca, precisamente, en el mes de enero, coincidiendo con el regreso a las aulas después del periodo no lectivo de las fiestas de Navidad. La tendencia a seguir este modelo se completaría si tenemos en cuenta que en abril, mes de reincorporación a clase después de las vacaciones de Semana Santa, hay una nueva subida en el número de interferencias para disminuir, posteriormente en el mes de mayo.*

Table 14.10: Comparison of seasonal incidence factors of Bable – students and letters to the editor

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Mieres (written)	1.08	0.64	0.86	1.11	1.0					1.3	1.11	0.81
Mieres (oral)	1.1	0.78	0.86	1.1	0.79					1.34	1.07	0.79
Letters to editor	1.12	0.7	0.9	0	0.56	1.12	0.83	1.53	1.26	1.39	1.16	1.39

As indicated in the earlier quote the graph shows a tendency towards heightened Bable interference amongst the students in the periods immediately after holidays. The seasonality of Bable letters to the editor followed something of a similar trend for ten months of the year. However for the months of December (when there was a much higher relative incidence of letters in Bable than Bable interference in students' work or statements) and April (when the opposite was quite dramatically the case).

14.4 LETTERS WITH BABLE PHRASES & INDIVIDUAL WORDS IN CASTILIAN TEXT

14.4.1 Conversation reporting

Forty letters in the selection contained Bable phrases within otherwise Castilian language letters. For the purposes of this section Bable phrases were taken to include verbs.

Six of the letters saw writers citing Bable-language conversations of other people. The people quoted were:

- a taciturn old person [*viejo generalmente en silencio*] who said: *This paisano is more difficult than a horn, he understands neither it nor God* [*Esti paisano*

- ye más enrevesáu que un cuernu, no lu entiende ni Dios*] [L091/053, male, Oviedo]
- two young people addressing a person of middle age in a street: *Tranquilu, paisanín ...* [*Calm yourself, paisanín ...*]. Further conversation in a cider bar with these same three people, this time involving the writer. Writer was highlighting both the normalcy of Bable being used in daily conversation and its use in an *ambiente asturianu* [*Asturian environment*] because *nosotros somos toos asturianistas* [*we are all Asturianists*] [L091/117, male, Oviedo]
 - quoting a *paisano* who was a retired miner who had silicosis who was complaining about the cancellation of a local bus service. [L140/169, male, Mieres]
 - quoting a cheesemaker who had been participating in a cheese competition in Cabrales (in the eastern zone) and was joining others in criticising the cooperative. [L299/276, female, Oviedo]
 - quoting a companion from Carbayín (in the Bable Central zone) who was complaining about local council issues. [L294/357, male, Gijón]
 - recalling *un viejo amigo* [*an old friend*] who was cynical about Bable in education: *Bable nes escueles y matemátiques en les cuadros* [*Bable in the schools and maths in the schoolyard*] [L312/385, male, Arriondas]

It is noteworthy that the conversations reported were generally spoken by older people, and these people were mainly associated with rural or mining contexts.

14.4.2 *Yeismo*

Other usages included a reasonable degree of *yeismo* (that is the relative higher preponderance of the third person form of the verb *to be* than other forms). The iconic

word *ye* was often used by writers inserting individual Bable phrases in their letters with nine instances being observed. The use of the word *ye* was clearly often intended to define an Asturian-ness to the subject at hand such as the writer who wrote mindful of the historic Astur-Leonés region:

León nun ye Castiella [*León is not Castille*] [L318/234, male, Salinas]

There were a number of uses of *ye* which did not seem immediately identity-related such as the writer who congratulated a Council for a film event it had organised and noted finally that not only did the film guarantee a laugh but that *ye baratu* [*it is cheap*]. [L096/066, male, Oviedo]

One writer, however, criticised such usage in a letter consisting ostensibly of an address to the President of the ALLA:

Tell us that there is a road where we can mix, that the ‘markers’ can be dropped that leave us always saying ‘*ye*’. [L192/443][†]

14.4.3 Individual Bable words in Castilian text

132 letters contained single word borrowings or lexical transfers from Bable (as opposed to phrases) within the text. Such usages involved toponyms, nicknames and other words or were related to Bable or Astur-Gallego.

Toponyms and other nomenclature

In 26 of the letters such words were toponyms. The places named in their Bable form in these letters are listed in Appendix D (Subsection 2).

The fact that Bable toponyms were used by writers otherwise communicating in Castilian indicated that such a practice has achieved a degree of currency. Most of the Bable toponyms used would have been widely recognisable; however, some did not appear to be so – eg Cueva l’Onga [L334/287, male, Llanes] {C: Covadonga} in place of the more usual Bable variant, Cuadonga.

Four of the letters dealt with one issue – that of the Canal del Texu in the Picos d’Europe / Picos de Europa. Three used Bable for both toponyms while the fourth used the Bable Texu, but reverted to Castilian in the use of Picos de Europa.⁴

One writer (L031/141, male, Oviedo) stated that he thought *Grao suena major* [*I think that Grao sounds better (than Grado)*] in his otherwise Castilian-language letter. This particular writer was nevertheless an anti-Bablist who, *inter alia*, wrote:

Bablistas, better say bablayos [a play on the word *babayos* - fools].^t

A further nine letters referred to the names of groups, events or documents in Bable:

L327/156 (male, Xixón): El Plan ‘Nuevu Llangréu

L014/163 (male, conference organiser): *Seminariu d’Estética y Semiótica*

L354/186 (male, Langreo): chapter headings of a book all given in their original Asturian

L353/258 (male, Gijón, organiser of Tertullia): El Garrapiellu, Xuna pola Defensa, Grupu d’Investigación Etnográfica ‘Na Señardá’, Sociedad Mixta de Turismo y Festejos de Xixón, Les Mestes en Xixón la I Muestra de xuegos y deportes tradicionales asturianos

L215/278 (male, Langreo): La Nuea España, El Comerciú, La Voz d’Asturies

L099/312 (male, Castrillon): Club de Vuelo Viento’n Cola

L197/321 (male, Cangas de Onís): Santullano ‘97

^t *Díganos que hay un camino donde nos podemos mezclar, que para ello quitarán las ‘marcas’ déjenos decir ‘ye’ como siempre.*

⁴ L270/378, L006/415, L334/356 and L334/380.

^t *Bablistas, más bien diría bablayos.*

L055/341 (female, Oviedo): Grupo Sofitu
L067/402 (male, Mieres): Conceyu Bable
L121/460 (male Siero): Asociación de Vecinos ‘Xunta de Anes’

In all cases, bar that of L215/278, the writers had simply recorded the name used by those groups or given by those responsible for events or publications. In the exception, the writer wrote his letter in Bable and translated the names of the newspapers to Bable. This writer, a member of Andecha Astur, was also the person who contested a court case on the right to give his son an Asturian name.⁵

Language related words

As would be expected a number of the Bable word inclusions related to language. In other words, the writers, in dealing with issues related to Bable (normalisation, officiality, promotion &c) obviously felt it added to their message to use the Bable form of certain words rather than the Castilian. Examples were:

Nosa fala {C: *nuestra habla*} [*our speech*], *la fala, falistas, falietsa*
Las jablas {normalised Bable: *las falas*} {C: *las hablas*} [*the speeches*], *la jabla,*
las jabas, jablaxe
Co-oficialidá {C: *cooficialidad*} [*coofficiality*], *oficialidá,*
Llingua, llingüístas,
Asturianu
El bable lleunés

Though generally these usages were positive towards Bable, there was one perjorative instance – *llinguistas* [L174/411, male, Oviedo]. In the above list there are three forms for the word for *speech*. The word *fala* was intended to refer to Astur-Gallego. However, of more interest was the use of *jablas*.

Other culturally related words

Another predictable group of words was those related to Asturian culture or heritage, such as:

Food: *fabas, fabes, cocies, pichadines, navajas, güevos, gamonéu, picu finu* (in relation to cider), *caxigalines*
Farm: *vaques, praos, paxos, leña, braña, oveyes, pazarines, picar*
Festivals: *Folixa na primavera* [*Spring Folly*], *puya el ramu* [*push the branch*]
Mythology: *trasiegu*,
Other: *gomeru, pelotu*

The usage associated with food and farm was extensive. That associated with festivals was much less so. One such letter combined a food word (*les fabes*) with a rural one (*unes fueyes* [*some leaves*]) and a festive word (*amagüestu*) using them with some *yeismo* to extol the annual festival of San Martín:

San Martín is not ‘to move your worm’ ... For San Martín it is better to take a glass (of cider)! [L210/419][†]

In relation to other people the following words were used:

Relations: *güelito, güelos*,
Others: *amigu, neños, guaje, chivato, xente*,

Of particular interest amongst these words is the fact that *collaciu* as an alternative for *amigu* [*friend*] never appeared; yet in Chapter 13 it was significant that it appeared frequently amongst the free word choice in the survey of conference attendees.

Also of interest was the lack of variants of *neños* [*children*] from correspondents in contrast with the variety shown amongst conference attendees.

⁵ PAME, *Discriminación llingüística: la importancia llamase Xabel*, LLAA 12, 1984, pp 145-6.

[†] *San Martín nun ye pa ‘mover vuestro cucu’ ... ¡Per San Martín ye meyor tomar un culín!*

Finally, one of the letters contained a Bable *ñomatu* [nickname] - *El Costarapu* (referring to a person from Mieres, who had just died at the age of 96 and who had been active against Franco)[L313/303, male, La Paré, Santa Barbara].

14.5 ATTITUDES TO BABLE EXPRESSED IN LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Normalisation & Coofficiality:

A considerable diversity of opinion on language-related issues was apparent amongst the writers of letters to the editor. Table 14.11 indicates the array of opinions concerning normalisation and officiality amongst the various categories of letters to the editor.

Table 14.11: Correspondence re Normalisation and Officiality

	B	A	I	C
In favour of normalization and/or coofficiality	30	7	4	20
Against normalization and/or coofficiality	2	2	8	13

Thirty of the letters written in Bable included specific references in favour of normalization and/or coofficiality, while two contained contrary references; a further 31 of the remaining letters contained positive references to these topics while 23 made negative references. Amongst the attitudes expressed in favour were a number who did so while commenting on the decision by the University of Oviedo not to elevate the status of Bable in its academic program in 1993. One writer commented of the decision that it was an:

... insult to our people, to our tradition, to our culture and, at last, to our language; the language of our elders and which the great majority of Asturians demand to be

normalised and dignified for transmission to future generations.[†] [L266/050, male, Xixón]

Of the two letters in Bable against normalisation, one wrote the following about those who developed normalised Bable:

Taxidermists of the language who come out with their basket of academic glamour to recover little Bable words from that linguistic detritus of Spanish that no-one considers is Asturian or the egregious latter-Marxists pushing for a neo-national-Covadongism that covers the impassiveness of the workers' movement as if dealing with a field of lettuce for their own consumption.[†] [L081/034, male, Oviedo]

The only category where there were more letters against normalization than in favour was that which consisted of letters using individual Bable words (the I group). Of the other three categories those written entirely in Castilian (the C group) had the lowest proportion in favour.

Amongst the I group there were often inclusion of words unique to different parts of the region in efforts by the writers to contest the possibility of a normalised Bable; an example being:

The *güizos* (sorry, the 'kids' of my village) speak their bable. [L186/404, male Oviedo][†]

Others in this category used language-related Bable words depreciatively by placing them inside inverted commas, such as the writer who likened proponents of normalised Bable to the imperialists of earlier history:

[†] *insultu al nuesu pueblu, a la nuesa tradición, a la nuesa cultura y, en fin, a la nuesa llingua; a la llingua de los nuesos mayores y qu'esa gran mayoriand'asturianos naguamos por normalizar y dignificar pa tresmitila a futures xeneraciones.*

[†] *Taxidérmicos de la llingua que salen sol paxu del so glamour académicu a recoyer les palabrinnes 'bables' d'esi detritus llingüísticu del español que na so consideranza ye l'asturianu o egrexios tardomarxistas puxando por un neonacionalcuadonguismo que cuche l'ataraxia del movimientu obreru como si s'una güerta de llechugues pa consumu propiu se tratara.*

[†] *Los güizos (perdón, los niños de mi pueblo) hablan su bable.*

But it is the same (with) those who want to do it with their 'llingua' in all Asturias. [L174/411, Oviedo][†]

On the subject of coofficiality, the following were examples of arguments put in favour of such a move:

Asturian runs the danger of disappearing in a few years, with which we Asturians would be contributing an impoverishment to the cultural patrimony of humanity by letting die a language which we inherited from our elders and which we are obliged to conserve, enrich and transmit to those who come after.[†] [L118/018, signed by one person on behalf of 26 students of adult Bable classes organised by the council in Llangréu/Langreo)

Here, in Asturias, we Asturian-speakers do not have rights thanks to people like you (addressed to a regional government minister), we are not able to present forms to the administration in our language, which is the language of here, we are not able to educate our children in their maternal language, which disadvantages them in life's journey, we cannot express ourselves in the language which we suckled at the breast.[†] [L253/230, male, Ribadesella]

When Asturian is defended we are defending the civil rights of hundreds of thousands of people Each day the human and constitutional rights of hundreds of thousands of people are violated because they cannot ask to receive any type of information from the three levels of government in the language which is their own; which they can't use officially to call those places in which they live other than with ridiculous terms (and invented moreover).[†] [L060/350, male, Siero]

[†] Pero lo mismo quieren hacer ellos con su 'llingua' en toda Asturias.

[†] L'asturianu cuerre'l peligru de desapaecer en pocos años, colo que los asturianos taríamos contribuyendo a empobrecer el patrimoniu cultural de la humanidá dexando morrer una llingua qu'heredamos de los nuestros mayores y que tamos obligaos a conservar, enriquecer y tresmitir a los que venga detrás.

[†] Equí, n'Asturies, los asturianos-falantes nun tenemos drechos gracias a xente comu usté, nun podemos presentar papeles n'alministración na nuesa llingua, que ye la d'equí, nun podemos educar a los neños na so llingua materna, por lo que parten en desventaxa na carrera de la vida, nun podemos expresamos na llingua que mamamos ...

[†] cuando se defende l'asturianu tamos defendiendo los drechos civiles de cientos de miles de persones ... cada día violense los drechos humanos y los constitucionales de cientos de miles de persones que nun pueden pidir nin recibir dengún tipu d'información de les tres alministraciones del Estáu na llingua que-yos ye propia; que nun pueden llamar oficialmente a los llugares nos que viven más que con términos ridículos (y amás inventaos) ...

Another writer, writing in Bable, supported officiality but did so using a variant of Bable (the variety from Aller in the Bable Central zone); for example he wrote *tsingua* in place of *llingua*.

Writers against co-officiality gave such arguments as:

(to impose co-officiality) is to create still more difficulties for young students and to waste numerous resources which are so needed in this beautiful, misunderstood and unknown (even to Asturians themselves) region. [L228/427, male, Illano]^t

If we carry on in this direction, soon we will need interpretation in order to speak with other Spaniards. [L256/426, male, Gijón]^t

On the contrary it is to continue manipulating the Asturian people with ‘linguistic’ problems, non-existent in our region. [L319/408, male, Oviedo]^t

On occasions a communication strand developed with correspondents to the editor responding to earlier letters on language-related subjects. One such involved reactions to an initial letter by a writer which stated in part:

The use of ‘bable’, then ... has its reason for existence in communication between families and friends and ... little else. However, the *bablistas* come among us ... and tell us that the Asturian *llingua* is the language of Asturias and that there is a need to free it from the Castilian yoke ... [L234/206, male, Navia]^t

This letter generated a number of responses which said such things as:

I am fed up with people who fill their mouths with words of love for Asturias and then deny her. [L071/211, male, Gijón]^t

Meanwhile young Asturians have had no idea of anything related with Asturias: I have felt shame, rage and anger. [L207/210, male, Felechosa]^t

^t *es crear aún más dificultades a los jóvenes estudiantes y malgastar numerosos recursos de los que tan necesitada está esta hermosa, incomprendida y desconocida (aún por los propios asturianos) región.*

^t *Si seguimos en esta dirección, pronto necesitaremos intérprete para hablar entre españoles.*

^t *Lo contrario es seguir manipulando al pueblo asturiano con problemas ‘llingüísticos’, inexistentes en nuestra region.*

^t *El uso de ‘bable’, pues, ... tiene su razón de ser en la comunicación entre familiares y amigos y ... poco más. Sin embargo, nos llegan los bablistas ... y nos dicen que la llingua asturiana es la lengua de Asturias y que hay que liberarla del yugo castellano ...*

^t *toi fartucu de les persones que s’enllenen la boca col amor a Asturias y dempués reniegan d’ella.*

The original protagonist then closed the correspondence strand with a letter which finished with:

How would you like us to communicate with the rest of humanity? With signs?
[L234/213, male, Navia]^t

Diglossia

Two writers commented on the problems of diglossia. One lamented that attempts are rectification *llegan demasiado tarde para mi* [*have arrived too late for me*] and urged the regional authorities to adopt the relevant objective of the *Real Academia Española* which called for *the promotion of a bilingualism without diglossia*^t [L069/136, male, Oviedo].

The other, in calling for support for co-officiality, noted that his schooling left him in the situation of being able to speak in Bable but writing in Castilian. [L146/410, male, Santiago (Galicia)].

14.6 OTHER ISSUES

14.6.1 Toponymy issues

Toponymy selection

The use of Castilian and Bable toponyms by writers (in the indication of their city of origin) showed a high degree of correlation with the main language used in the case of the former but not the latter. Taking just the example of the two principal cities in the region (Oviedo/Uviéu and Gijón/Xixón) revealed that Castilian language users were

^t *mientras que los jóvenes asturianos no teníamos ni idea de cualquier cosa relacionada con Asturias: sentí vergüenza, rabia y tristeza.*

^t *¿Cómo le gustaría a usted comunicarse con el resto de la humanidad? ¿Por señas ...*

overwhelmingly more likely to use Oviedo and Gijón (96.4% and 88.2% respectively) than the Bable alternatives. However in the case of writers in Bable, only 25% chose Uviéu and 41.7% Xixón, the balance opting to use the Castilian versions. Table 14.12 reveals the breakdown in actual numbers of usages.

Table 14.12: Comparative usage of Bable and Castilian toponym variants

Toponym	B	A	I	C
Oviedo	24	4	33	54
Uviéu	8	--	--	2
Gijón	21	7	17	15
Xixón	15	2	--	2
Langreo	3	-	4	3
Llangreu	2	-	-	-
Siero	4	4	-	6
Sieru	1	-	-	-
Candamo	1	-	-	-
Candamu	-	-	-	-

Despite the relatively lower usage by Bable writers of Bable toponyms, the table does show that writers from Gijón/Xixón were more likely to use the Bable alternative regardless of language used in the letter (24.1% of all writers doing so) than were writers from Oviedo/Uviéu (only 8%).

Aside from the issue of what language was used by writers in giving their particular location, there was also the issue of what language was used for toponyms in the text of letters. In this case, writers in Bable overwhelmingly used Bable toponyms. Of particular interest, however, was the use of Bable toponyms by a number of writers whose letters were otherwise written in Castilian [eg L329/284, male, Navarra – the writer, obviously an expatriate from Asturias had written of the school of his childhood, referring to it as Poreñu {C:Poreño}].

¹ *fomentar un bilingüismo sin diglosia.*

Toponymy topics

A number of letters in the selection dealt with toponymy as their core topic. Nine of these came from one particular correspondent Ramón Sordo Sotres (Letters L334/126, 139, 148, 287, 339, 356, 380, 381 & 418). His letters represented very analytical treatments of toponymic issues. A few other correspondents did the same [eg L187/157, male, Oviedo & Llanes].

However, there were some other correspondents who entered into toponymic controversy principally that over the Oviedo/Uviéu toponym. Section 7.3.2 deals with the usage of toponyms in dictionaries and by writers/poets over a period of some two centuries. That section provides evidence that the Bable variant *Uviéu* has not just been a recent invention; however, it is likewise clear that correspondents to LNE were not of one mind about this as the following selection indicates:

- *Uviéu is unknown in Asturian literature and in the official and popular documents of medieval and modern Asturias and is almost solely used in the normalised Bable that the Academia de la Llingua proposes [L291/085, male, Oviedo]*
- *the form Uviéu that the corruptors of the Bables try to impose is inadmissible [L181/087, male, Oviedo, a member of RIDEA]*
- *this calling it 'Uviéu' was a joyful concession to the process of distortion with which these meddlers try to 'normalise' Bable [L113/337, male, El Entrego][†]*

Other controversies included a complaint about the non-use of the *che vaqueira o || ... (it is a unique sound of a great part of Bable Occidental)* in road signs in western

[†] *Uviéu es desconocida en la literatura astur y en los documentos regioes y vulgares de la Asturias medieval y moderna y casi solo empleada en el bable normalizado que propone la Academia de la Llingua. / la forma Uviéu que pretenden imponer los corruptores de los bables es inadmissible./ esto de llamarla 'Uviéu' era una alegre concesión al proceso de distorsión con el que estos mangoneadores pretenden 'normalizar' el bable.*

Asturias [L018/174, male Avilés]; and complaint about *influential persons ... throwing to the four winds* toponyms which were the form used by *autochthonous locals* for centuries. [L334/287, male, Llanes] †

14.6.2 Identification with family

Twenty five of the writers made references to relatives. The references were sometimes multiple and were as follows:

<u>Grandparents</u>		
<i>Güelos</i>	[Bable]	6
<i>Abuelos</i>	[Castilian]	8*
<u>Parents</u>		
<i>Pas</i>	[Bable]	-
<i>Padres</i>	[Castilian]	6
<u>Children</u>		
<i>Ñenus/neñus/fios</i>	[Bable]	1
<i>Niños/hijos</i>	[Castilian]	-
<u>Other</u>		
	Ancestors	3
	Relatives	2
	Descendents	1

*: one of the references to grandparents in the Castilian language referred to *tatarabuelos* [great-greatgrandparents].

The figures indicate that, in terms of social networks and language, grandparents were more likely to be considered within the Bable language domain than any other generation of relatives.

Of the seven who used Bable references to relatives, four wrote the bulk of their letters in Castilian.⁶

† the *che vaqueira o* || ... *ye un soniu propiu d'una parte grande del asturiano occidental / divulgarán a los cuatros vientos ... de una forma por los vecinos autóctonos durante siglos.*

There was an implied recognition of the role of relatives in language preservation (especially grandparents), expressed most clearly in the following excerpt:

(our language) an inheritance which we have received from our parents and grandparents.[L238/384, male, Gijón]⁶

On the other hand, another writer spoke of the traditional role of grandparents being replaced by *güela electrodoméstica* [*electro-domestic grandmother*] (LL211/181, male, Villaviciosa).

14.6.3 Identification with the common

There were 259 usages of *nuesu/a*, *nuestro/a* (in both singular and plural versions) in senses which implied the ‘commonality’ of Asturians or some aspect of their life. Excluded from this number have been usages of the first person plural for what may be considered ordinary uses of the possessive such as *our school*.

In terms of language usage, 43 used the Bable words *nuesu/a/os/as*, twelve the variants *nuestru/es*, and a further fifteen used the joint Bable and Castilian word *nuestra* along with the Bable word *llingua*. Two used the Astur-Gallego term *nosa*; while 187 used the Castilian forms of *nuestro/a/os/as* with Castilian nouns.

129 letters used the first person plural possessive in the sense of ‘commonality’. 42 of the 118 Bable letters contained such usage (or 35.6% of all such letters). This compared with 87 letters (from the remaining 345 letters doing so or 25.2%). There were such usages in 11 letters containing Bable phrases (27.5% of the total of this category of

⁶ L028/359, L031/382, L201/428 and L312/385.

⁷ (*la lengua*) una herencia que hemos recibido de nuestros padres y abuelos.

letters); 29 letters containing isolated Bable words (23.6%); and finally, 47 letters written entirely in Castilian containing such usages (25.8%). Thus users of Bable (either completely or in whole phrases) were more likely to express this sense of commonality than users of Castilian alone or with the inclusion of isolated Bable words.

The ‘commonality’ usages of the first person plural possessive can be categorised as follows:

- Place: twenty eight applied it to some concept of place. Twenty three concerned definitions of the nature of Asturias (dealt with below), four used it in association with the name of Asturias (three Castilian and one Bable); while one used it in relation to a village (*nuestro pequeño mundo de Niembro* [*our small world of Niembro*]).⁷
- People: eight used it in connection with people or village (*pueblo* [2], *pueblu* [4] and the diminutive *pueblín* [2]).
- Language: forty one used it in connection with language (thirty three with *lengua/l lingua/tsingua*; six with *idioma*; and two with *fala*).

14.6.4 Identification of Place

Twenty three of the correspondents gave opinions about their views as to the definition of the nature of Asturias. The terms used were:

<i>País</i>	[country]	2
<i>Provincia</i>	[province]	1
<i>Región</i>	[region]	9
<i>Tierra</i>	[land]	10
<i>Tierrina</i>	[little land]	1

Three of these responses were clearly in the Bable domain indicated by the use of *nueso/a* in place of the more ambivalent *nuestro/a*. One was for *tierra* and the other two for *país*. There were no Castilian domain responses which used *país*.

One writer gave his view of the relationship of Asturianism and independence in the following terms:

Asturianism is something more than independence, it is tradition and the defence of what is ours. [L025/195, male, Cangas del Narcea]^t

Another writer introduced a conception of *patria* [*fatherland*] writing:

And when I speak of ‘fatherland’, I am referring to Asturias. [L238/384, male, Gijón]^t

14.6.5 References to *Paisañín* and *Aldeanu*

Fifteen letters made reference to *Paisañín* or *paisanu/o* and a further five made direct reference to *aldeanu/o/os* with one referring to an *asturiano de aldea*. The references were of various types and ranged from the positive, through neutral to the deprecatory. Amongst the most positive were those which associated either term with being Asturian such as:

He is a *paisano* (referring to the writer’s friend, whom he also called *un gran asturiano*) [L002/422, male, Bilbao]^t

He is not a *paisanu*, he doesn’t have a word [L135/168, male, Cangas del Narcea]^t

Most dignified *aldeanos*, of much honor ... guardians of nature [L255/160, male, Benia de Onis]^t

Asturias ... is of great *paisanos* ... with Antón Saavedra, Asturias recovers the *paisano* [L289/246, female, Oviedo]^t

Let us not trample down the *paisano* and let us defend the natural values of Somiedo [L295/207, male, Nava]^t

⁷ L261/218.

^t ... *el asturianismo es algo más que la independencia, es tradición y defensa de lo nuestro ...*

^t *y cuando hablo de ‘patria’, me refiero a Asturias.*

^t *Ye un paisano*

^t *Nun ye un paisanu, nun tien pallabra*

^t *Dignisimos ‘aldeanos’, a mucha honra ... guardianes de la naturaleza*

^t *Asturias ... sí lo es de grandes paisanos ... con Antón Saavedra, Asturias recupera al paisano*

^t *No atropellemos al paisano y defendamos los valores naturales de Somiedo*

To listen to the *paisanos* and to divulge what they tell us [L334/139, male, Llanes]^t

Two writers used one or other of the terms as self-descriptors either directly (eg *yo soy aldeano* [I am an aldeano] [L224/005, male, Cudillero]) or indirectly (*de pueblu vamos* [from the village we come] [L139/191, male, Oviedo] and a writer's signoff of *un asturiano de aldea* [an Asturian of the village] [L186/404, male, Oviedo]).

The negative references were by way of reportage of such usages by third parties. One writer noted that the Women's Section of the PP had at some earlier stage prohibited the speaking of Bable as:

To speak in Bable signified imitating the *aldeano*, the *paisañín* with the cow, the ignoramus, the illiterate [L323/081, female, Gijón]^t

Another reference to a negative usage of the term was a reporting of an incident where *paisañín* had been used perjoratively by a receptionist as a descriptor of the writer. However, the writer, whose actual topic was a complaint about the medical system, playing on the word and attitude of the receptionist offered to share the information he had gleaned with any *payaso* [clown] who may have wanted it. The writer also noted ironically that the doctor at the medical center was not present as he was away celebrating the typical Asturian festivity of *Día de bollu* [Day of the (pregnant) bun]. [L341/188, male, Oviedo]

One of the letter writers revealed an interesting play on word meaning with *pueblu/o* meaning both *village* and *people* in such statements as:

^t *Escuchar a los paisanos y divulgar lo que nos cuentan*

Los mineros, los aldeanos, los vaqueros, en fin, la gente del pueblo, la gente obrera, la gente humilde. El Pueblo. [L110/002, male, Bilbao]

In this excerpt *pueblo* in its first usage meant *village* and yet meant *People* in the second, translating as:

The miners, the villagers, the cattlemen, in all, the people of the village, the working people, the humble people. The People.

Another interesting reference to the village context came from a letter writer from Xixón, the biggest city in the region (but with a significant population who had come from mining and rural centres). Writing of the rivalry between his city and the regional capital, Oviedo/Uviéu, he said that residents of the latter portrayed themselves as *carbayones* (after a famous oak tree in the capital's main street which had been felled a century earlier – the word derives from a Bable word for oak [*carbayu*]) while they considered people from his city as *culos moyaos* [*wet bottoms*]. He commented that such a view from residents of the regional capital was:

Aldeanising in the perjorative sense [ie *treating like village yokels*][L353/030]^t

14.6.6 Mineru

The relationship of miners with the rural setting was alluded to by two writers, one who wrote specifically of *asturiano puro* [*pure Asturian*] sung by *los mineros* [*and*] *los aldeanos* [*miners and villagers*] [L110/002, male, Oviedo]; and another who wrote:

I thought about our traditions, our music, that characteristic flavour of Asturias, the mariners, the miners, the field workers ... [L140/101, male, Mieres].^t

^t *Falar en bable significaba imitar al aldeano, al paisañín con la vaca, al ignorante, al analfabeto*
^t '*aldeanizando*' nel sentiu peyorativu.

Another writer, a miner, though his letter was about folkloric issues, tangentially alluded to the resisting spirit of his group stating that:

I am Asturian and a miner, above all I know what a strike is. [L208/275, male, Carbayín][†]

Further mining references included one letter (by the same writer quoted above on the *characteristic flavour of Asturias*) which spoke of a person the writer had met describing him as having said of himself:

Estoy silicosu [literally *I am (a sufferer) of silicosis* but in the context of the letter, referring to the general difficulties of being a mineworker]. [L140/169, male, Mieres]

Some letters which contained references to miners and their industry and also discussed Bable and the role mining communities saw for themselves in relation to it. One was against the perception that somehow Bable might be the preserve of miners:

Chaining the revival of national dignity to the defence of the mining sector is excluding an important part of Asturian society ... the right to speak (our) own language ought to be the meeting point of all Asturians ... [L223/444, male Oviedo][†]

Another, who was not from the regional capital but from the industrial city of Avilés, entitling his letter *Con los mineros* [*With the miners*], and expressing his solidarity with their cause also wrote of Government officials and representatives that they:

... did not speak of Asturian other than that it exists more to be at the fiestas (than for any other purpose). [L169/437, male, Avilés][†]

[†] *Pensé en nuestras tradiciones, nuestra música, aquel olor característico de Asturias, los marineros, los mineros, los labradores ...*

[†] *Yo soy asturiano y minero y de sobre sé lo que es una huelga*

[†] *vinculando la reivindicación de dignidad nacional a la defensa de la minería están excluyendo a una importante parte de la sociedad asturiana ... el derecho a hablar la lengua propia debe ser el punto de unión de todos los asturianos.*

[†] *no hablar del asturiano que no existe más que para para estar en saraos.*

14.6.7 References to tradition and culture

A number of letters made reference to tradition and culture. Some wrote in praise in terms such as:

There are three things in Asturias which are patrimonial and famous: they are cider, the *tonada* and a well bowled *bola*. [L120/092, male, Oviedo]^t

Topics covered included the *tonada* form of Asturian singing (eg L039/150, male, Oviedo), cider (eg L016/196, L045/362), the *gaita* (eg L257/226), the autochthonous form of bowls (eg L208/275) as well as other cultural issues. Generally such letters were nostalgic, such as the writer on the subject of *fabas* [*Asturian beans*] who wrote:

Sirs, please, do not depreciate for us the little that is authentic and genuine which still remains for us in Asturias, amongst them *las fabas*. [L102/127, male, Grado]^t

However, in some cases they sought to integrate tradition with modern realities. One writer, on the subject of an autochthonous variety of cattle, wrote:

We could enumerate a rosary of sustainable tourist development possibilities, what with the bad experience of English ‘mad cow’ disease we can drop our complexes and feel proud of our *vaca casina* and of this region. [L286/243, male, Cangas de Onis]^t

One writer, however, only gave qualified support to traditional culture. Writing in Bable about competitions for dance and traditional music, he said:

The competitions can raise the traditional music of a people to a higher level ... but – take care – they can also ridicule it in the present and adversely affect it in

^t *hay tres cosas en Asturias que son patrimonio y fama: son la sidra, la tonada y una bola bien tirada*

^t *Señores, por favor, no nos desprestigen lo poco auténtico y genino que aún nos queda en Asturias, entre ello las fabas.*

^t *podríamos enumerar un rosario de posibilidades de desarrollo turístico sostenido, que con la mala experiencia de la ‘vaca loca’ inglesa nos hacen quitar complejos y sentirnos orgullosos de nuestra vaca casina y de esta region.*

the future ... (there is a need to) break with the fascist utilisation of dance and traditional music. [L301/253, male, Morcín][†]

The most distinctive characteristic concerning the locale of writers communicating such themes is that they more often came from communities other than the mining *cuencas* (particularly Oviedo). Indeed one writer, from the mining city of Mieres, was quite vehement on the subject quoting the words of a noted Asturianist, Roberto González Quevedo:

Those things which interest us on Asturian culture are not that we walk all day in *madreñes* [clogs], nor spend all day in the cattle yard, nor pass the night singing *tonadas*. [L171/232, female, Mieres][†]

14.6.8 Diminutives

There were 58 usages of diminutives amongst all the letters to the editor. Whilst some seemed to be perjorative in nature (eg *presidentín* in L027/125 and L216/264 in reference to then Spanish President Felipe González; and to *Camilín* in L125/074 in reference to José Camilo Cela), most were clearly intended as terms of endearment. The characteristic reference to the Virgin of Covadonga as *pequeñina* was cited once [L142/064]. The *tierrina* [little land] vision of Asturias reflected itself in a number of references such as seven references to *pueblín* [little people].

Similar to the situation noted in the survey of conference attendees, three diminutives for the word *little* were observed: *pequeñín(a)*, *poquiñín* and *pouquín*.

[†] *Los concursos puen llevar a lo más alto la música tradicional d'un pueblu ... pero – cuidiáu – tamién puen ridiculizarlo nel presente y desvirtuarlo pal futuro ... romper cola utilización fascista del baille y de música tradicional.*

[†] *Los que nos interesamos por la cultura asturiana no andamos todo el día de madreñes, ni estamos todo el día en el cuadra, ni pasamos la noche cantando tonadas ...*

Conclusion

The study of letters to the editor revealed a number of issues. Firstly it confirmed that there is some usage of Bable as a medium of communication on issues other than language. This usage has predominantly been in rural and mining areas, with some from the largest city, Gijón. There has also been bilingual usage of Bable and Castilian in letters, with Bable usage not solely restricted to language questions. Finally, the usage of Bable words, via single word borrowings or lexical transfer, tended to focus on those words which have had an iconic character or were otherwise related to Asturian identity.

The letters also revealed a diversity of views with respect to the status of Bable. Users of Bable as a medium of communication tended to favour normalization and co-officiality (though this was not universal). Those who used isolated Bable words were more likely to oppose such moves.

The next chapter deals with other information gleaned from *La Nueva España*. Some of this information related to actual usage of Bable, other findings concerned attitudes to the language.

PART D – RESEARCH

CHAPTER FIFTEEN – OTHER USAGES OF BABLE IN LNE

Overview

Apart from the letters to the editor, there were a number of other Bable-related usages observed in LNE over the period of the study. Seven categories of such items are dealt with in this chapter. The purposes of examining such categories is to assess the character of Bable usage patterns as well as gain some better understanding of attitudes relevant to the language.

The first category deals with Bable usage by people interviewed by journalists of the newspaper. Consideration is given to incidental quotes in Bable attributed to interviewees which appeared in news items in the paper.

The second category also involves interviewees, but in this case deals with other than news items; examining responses from complete interviewees. In the first instance a series of interviews conducted at seaside resorts in the region during the summer months is analysed for Bable usage patterns. Secondly, specific attitudes regarding Bable are investigated in one particular series of interviews conducted with residents of Oviedo.

Thirdly, the use of Bable (and Astur-Gallego) by children who wrote letters to the weekly children's supplement of the newspaper is considered.

In the fourth category, the area of recreational or holiday reading is analysed. This consists of light-hearted articles which were written for the entertainment of readers and which contained Bable usages.

The fifth category examines Bable usage by columnists. In some cases entire columns were written in the vernacular, in others there was incidental usage of Bable words and phrases.

Penultimately, the use of *ñomatus* [nicknames], particularly those in Bable, which appeared in obituary notices in the newspaper is considered.

Finally, comment is made upon a weekly series appearing in LNE - *La Nueva Quintana* [The New Homestead]. This series was published with financial support of the regional government.

15.1 INCIDENTAL QUOTES

Over the period of the study there were instances where journalists directly reported comments either in Bable or containing Bable words and phrases attributed to people they had interviewed. Appendix E contains 122 such instances which occurred in articles published between April 1995 and March 1998. This list does not purport to be exhaustive, but rather reflects those which were observed in a daily scanning of the newspaper over that time; it is acknowledged that some instances of such reportage may have been missed.

However, even if only 50% of such instances were observed, it can be seen that the relative incidence of such usage was still very much in the minority of all reportage. In relation to such a minor rate of occurrence the research did not answer whether this indicated:

- A low propensity of interviewees to use Bable in their daily speech; or
- A tendency to revert to Castilian when questioned by a Castilian-speaking journalist by those who would normally use Bable; or
- A translation into Castilian by journalists of Bable comments proffered by interviewees in the majority of cases, leaving only a few to be reported in their original tongue.

What has been sought has been qualitative rather than quantitative answers to the following questions:

- Why might a journalist not have translated such Bable encounters into Castilian?
- Does a study of such reportage reveal any particular usage characteristics?
- Does such Bable usage (as reported) reveal anything about the quality of the language as used by speakers?

In every instance, apart from the quoted comments, the news items in which they were embedded were written in Castilian by the journalists. The quoting by the journalists in question of Bable words and phrases spoken by interviewees may have been done for a variety of reasons which could include:

- **colour** – reinforcing a picturesque view of the ambience where the interviewee was encountered. This could either be a permanent setting (eg a rural village) or a temporary one (eg a festival location).
- **common touch** - indicating that the comments quoted reflect those of the person in the street, ordinary people as opposed to experts or the privileged.
- **curiosity** – reflecting journalistic interest that there “are still people who talk like this”.

- **richness of expression** – things that the journalist believed were communicated more expressively in Bable than in Castilian.

The 122 citations represented comments by 136 people as some of them referred to situations where more than one person were interviewed.

Characteristics

The only biographical details available in each instance were those either provided by the journalist or those which could be gleaned from an examination of any photograph which may have accompanied the item. For example, in relation to the age of the interviewees, in 33 cases their age was quoted in terms of actual years; a further 21 had age categories implied by such descriptors as *anciano* [*old person*], *otro hombre maduro* [*another mature age man*], *jubilado* [*retired*] and *mozo* [*youth*]. Interpretation of photographs provided some evidence of age category in 12 cases. On the other hand, in 70 instances no age was either cited or able to be determined from any accompanying photograph. Table 15.1 summarises the categorisations cited or observed.

Table 15.1: Age breakdown of newspaper interviewees

<u>Age stated (33 people)</u>		<u>Age inferred (33 people)</u>	
<20	4	Child/Youth	6
20-39	4	Young adult (<40)	5
40-64	5	Middle-aged	9
65-90	11	Retired	13
90 -99	4		
>100	5		

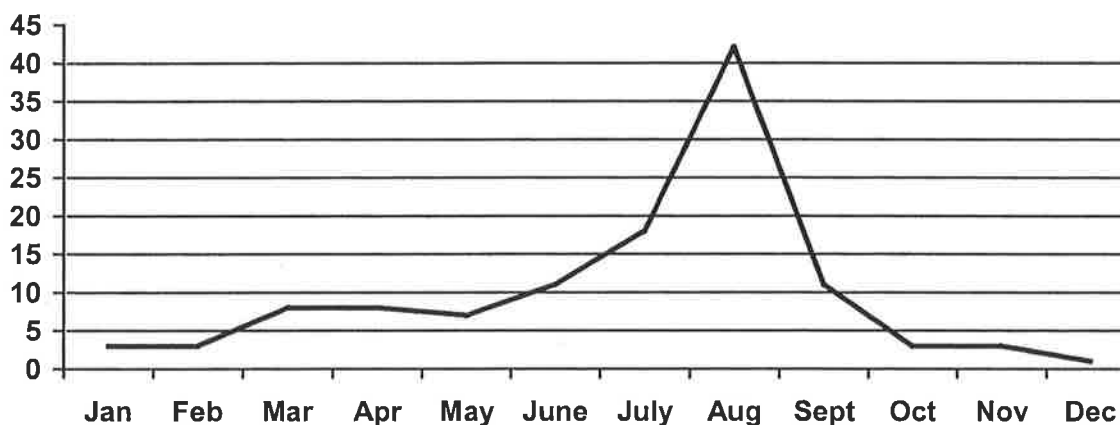
The total number of people for whom ages have been cited or estimated is 66 (out of the total number of 136). A notable feature is the high ratio of older people (65+ in the first column, and ‘retired’ in the second column) compared with the remainder of the group -

namely 50% (33 out of 66). The spread of ages through the remaining age categories appeared to be somewhat even in each group.

Seasonality was also an significant feature of the quotes. The spread according to months of the year when the comments were made is indicated in Table 15.2 and associated Graph 15.1 according to the months over the three year period when the citations appeared in the newspaper.

Table 15.2: Seasonality of Bable citations

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
3	3	8	8	7	11	18	42	11	3	3	1



Graph 15.1: Seasonality of Bable citations

The holiday months of July and August represented very close to 50% of all citations. Given that many of the citations referred to participation in festival activities, two alternative conclusions might be drawn about this higher level of usage of Bable in reportage during the holiday period compared with the rest of the year. Either, speakers may be more liable to use Bable when they are in relaxed, less work-related more family/community related activities; or, the less intensive nature of news reportage

during the holiday season may make it easier for journalists to spend time at venues where Bable would more likely be spoken.

Related to seasonality was the fact the nearly fifty of the quotes were related to fiestas, either coming from participants in activities or by-standers.

Three citations referred to news stories relating to unfortunate news. One of these dealt with the mine collapse at a colliery (*Pozo San Nicolás*)[Q009], one to a criminal action [Q117] and one to a businessperson who had disappeared [Q001]. In the case of the first, the quote supports other evidence of the more extensive use of Bable in Asturian mining communities.

Table 15.3: Comparative incidence of forms of the Bable & Castilian verbs *to be*

Ser (to be in the sense of self)			
Bable		Castilian	
<i>Soi</i> [I am]	0	<i>Soy</i>	1
<i>Yes</i> [You are (sing.)]	4	<i>Eres</i>	0
<i>Ye</i> [He, she, it is]	44	<i>Es</i>	4
<i>Yera</i> [I, he/she/it was]	1	<i>Era</i>	4

Tar (B)/Estar(C) (to be in the sense of place)			
<i>Tar</i> [to be]	1	<i>Estar</i>	0
<i>Toi/toy</i> [I am]	2	<i>Estoy</i>	2
<i>Ta</i> [he, she, it is]	5	<i>Esta</i>	0
<i>Tamos</i> [we are]	1	<i>Estamos</i>	0
<i>Tán</i> [they are]	1	<i>Están</i>	0
<i>Taba</i> [I, he/she/it was]	3	<i>Estaba</i>	0
<i>Tara</i> [I, he/shewill be]	0	<i>Estara</i>	1

Sociolinguistic Yeismo

The phenomenon of sociolinguistic *yeismo* was clearly evident in the quotes selected.

Table 15.3 gives the comparative incidence of various forms of the two verbs *to be* in

Bable and Castilian – *Ser* and *Tar(B)/Estar(C)*. The table reveals that *ye* had the overwhelming highest incidence of usage in the quotes with 44 usages. A distant second most frequently used Bable form was *ta* (5) followed by *yes* (4).

Another feature of the table is that, not counting the form *ye* and its Castilian equivalent *es* (where the comparative usage was 11-1 in favour of Bable), the incidence of Bable usage for the combination of the remainder was only 2 ¼ times that of the Castilian forms. And in two instances the Bable form was less frequently used than the Castilian form (*Yera/Era* and *Tara/Estara*).

15.2 INTERVIEWS

15.2.1 Summer interview series

Each summer in the years 1995-1997, as part of *La Nueva España*'s holiday offering, a daily series of light-hearted interviews was conducted with selected beachgoers mainly on the principal swimming beach of the city of Gijón known officially as San Lorenzo and colloquially as El Pedreru, but also on certain other nearby beaches. The series went under the title *Encuentros en la Esterilla* [*Encounters on the beachtowel*]. There is an illustration of a sample interview in Appendix F along with some summary information from all the interviews analysed.

The interviews reported such questions and responses as the following from a carpenter:

Q. And how does August present itself?

R. Quite weak, because many clients go on vacations. And if there are *perres* [literally *dogs* but in fact colloquial Bable word for money – eg *bucks*] for vacations, there aren't any for furniture.

Q. (Do you have) a slogan for this month?

R. Yes, if you want to enjoy Gijón, (then) you have to walk on Cimavilla.

Q. And some words of farewell?

R. A salute of *Solidaridá* [*Solidarity*] to the suffering carpenters of the Principality. Take heart, comrades!^{1 t}

In this instance the use of two Bable words (*perres* and *Solidaridá*) was observed. In a number of other interviews similar incidental usages was noted. A small number of interviews saw the respondents reply entirely in Bable. One of the responses was even less serious than the other 147 as it was clearly a fabrication purporting to be an interview with a pair of dogs who were on the beach. [E087]

Only two of the interviews involved responses to questions which made direct reference to Bable. The first involved an exchange with an actor and took place in the summer of 1996 and dealt with a play:

Q: Would you perform in *Dame con la goma butanero*?

A: If it were in Bable (I would) with any Asturian actress. [E074]^t

The second response was given in the summer of 1997 by a regional MP (from the conservative PP) who was asked to say something in Bable; her response was *Babayu* [*fool*]. [E147]^t It is worth noting that this response had been given at a time when public discussion of the coofficiality debate had resurfaced in the lead up to the regional parliamentary debates on the Autonomy Statute.

¹ E072

^t ¿Qué se presenta agosto? – Bastante flojo, porque muchos clients van de vacaciones. Y si hay ‘perres’ pa vacaciones no las hay pa muebles. Un eslogan para este mes? Si de Gijón quieres disfrutar, por Cimavilla tienes que pasear. ¿Y para despedirse? Un saludo ‘solidariu’ a los sufridos carpinteros del Principado. ¡Animo, compañeros!

^t P: ¿Haría usted ‘Dame con la goma butanero’?

R: Si fuera en bable, con cualquier actriz asturiana.

^t P: Diga algo en bable. R: Babayu.

The purpose of studying these series of responses was not, however, to determine attitudes to Bable, but rather to assess patterns of usage. Of the 147 real responses (given by 196 individuals as 26 were responses from two or more people on each occasion), twenty one were totally or had complete phrases in Bable (either B [9] or A [12] according to the categorisation used in the previous chapter) and a further twenty seven contained Bable words or short phrases (I in the categorisation of the previous chapter). Five of the remaining ninety nine responses, though entirely in Castilian, contained usages characteristic of Asturias.

Of those which included Bable words or phrases in their responses, the features of sociolinguistic *yeísmo*, the use of diminutives and enclisis were noted as were also references to Bable toponyms, foods and fauna.

Sociolinguistic *Yeísmo* was in evidence in ten of the responses. Each of these ten also used the Castilian *es* in addition to the Bable *ye* in their answers. It is thus useful to consider the phrases where they chose to use *ye* in place of *es*. The phrases were:

Ye muy de veranín [it is very much a summer thing] [E029]

Ye buen paisano [he is a good country man – the respondent was referring to the Mayor of Oviedo] [E040]

El 'mojase' ye agradable [to get soaked is agreeable] [E053]*

Lo malo ye que como últimamente siempre nos tumben, ye mejor el pre que el post [What is bad is that as everything befalls us, it is better (that it happens) before than after] [E073]

En Gijón el turismo ye muy 'probe' [In Gijón tourism is very poor] [E090]

Ye muy anchu, ye muy cachondo mental [it is very wide, it is very crazy but likeable] [E098]

Ye un ácrata en potencia, como el güelu [it is very unconventional, like the grandfather] [E117]

Ye un neñu curiosu; no ye mi tipo [he is a curious child; not my type] [E122]

Ye demasiado honráu ... ye mi arma fálica [it is much too honoured ... it is my phallic arm] [E146]

A number of the responses involving *ye* were in the categories of the familial or close group (references to *güelu*, *neñu* and *paisano*); one was directly related to seasonality (*veranín*); while two had a saying like character to them (**E073** and **E098**). Two others verged on the rude (**E146** and **E053**). The remaining one reflected on the state of tourism in Gijón (possibly choosing Bable words to differentiate the resort from the prosperous resorts of the Costa Brava and the Costa del Sol).

Interference was also observed in a number of instances. An example of variable use of enclisis/proclisis appeared in the interview with **E007**. The following two phrases appeared:

Yo tengolu los ligués todo el año [I have pickups all year]

And

La tengo [I have it]

In addition this interviewee also used a Bable word (highlighted below) in association with the verb *tener*, the usage being almost in the context of an aphorism or saying:

*El que tenga **fíos** los atiende [he that has children, listen to them]*

15.2.2 Urban interview series

Each Saturday, as part of the leisure reading component of the newspaper, *La Nueva España* has published a supplement entitled *Oviedo Semanal* [*Oviedo Weekly*] about people and events in the region's capital city. As part of this supplement there has been a series of mini-interviews under the title *Patio de Luces* [*Sun patio*]; the series could best be described as a local colour series which focussed on people who had achieved some degree of local prominence (such as sportspeople, academics, artists, professionals

* The fact that the interviewee was reported saying this in inverted commas suggests that he was using an unseemly allusion sometimes done with the verb *mojarse*.

&c). One person was interviewed each week. The interviews were conducted by Sandra Solís whose views on Bable were noted on page 315.

Set questions were asked of each person interviewed, with the range of questions varying at intervals. During the period August 1996 to February 1997, one of the questions asked of each was *¿Qué es bable?* [*What is Bable?*]. The answers of twenty one people asked this question over the period are contained in Appendix G.

Six supported the view that there existed *bables* rather than a single *Bable*. Translated the responses of these respondents included such comments as:

Bable or the (bables)? The hispanic romance gathered in the valleys of Asturias. (P009)

A dialect with three or more variants ... that scarcely has anything to do with what certain persons have invented and fabricated. (P012)

A conjunction of linguistic varieties that are spoken in Asturias. (P013)

A conjunction of familiar expressions, very dear, and which I try to use whenever I can ... Bable artificially unified lacks any logic to me. (P014)

Which of them? (P016)

Three diversities which I don't know sufficiently. (P018)

Eleven supported the unitary view of *Bable* with such comments as:

The other language that we understand. (P001)

I used to use the language (P002)

That which we speak, learnt by listening, that no-one can teach. (P003)

A dialect to be saved within the region. (P004)

For some, a chimera; for others, a headache and for the rest, the maternal language. (P005)

Our second language. (P006)

A patrimony which has to be revitalised in a natural way, not with adulterated mystifications. (P007)

A valid alternative. (P008)

A language with very bad luck. (P015)

One of the denominations given to the Asturian Language. (P017)

A speech which has been lost, replaced by an artificial product. (P020)

One respondent spoke of *Bable* in the singular, but used Astur-Gallego to express the statement:

For us few, the memory from our mother ... for many now, a cacophonous fraud ... (P011)

The three remaining responses were non-specific in a linguistic sense, but one stated:

A symptom more of the resurgence of the nationalisms. A fuse in the powder keg of Europe. (P010)

Thus even amongst those who spoke of the language in a singular sense there were divided opinions. The division focussed on normalised Bable. Two of the six in the first category referred to it negatively; three out of the eleven in the second category did so. The respondent who referred to Bable in the singular, but did so by using a distinct variety (Astur-Gallego), was also negative to normalised Bable. Thus a total of seven responses (or a third of the total) was opposed to normalised Bable; none expressed opinions in favour.

Table 15.4 maps the responses (of all but four) on the basis of profession, categorising the respondents as either 'known professional' (ie citing a position which requires

tertiary qualifications) and ‘unknown professional’ (ie where the cited occupation/activity does not require such qualifications).

Table 15.4: Language & status amongst *Patio de Luces* respondents

	Known professional	Non-professional
Bables	4	2
Bable	5	6

The table shows that those known to have professional qualifications were more likely to support the opinion that there are a number of Bables than those for whom no information re professional qualifications was available.

Turning to the question of whether the respondents were implicitly or explicitly in support of normalization, Table 15.5 provides a breakdown of responses for all but three of the interviewees.

Table 15.5: Attitudes to normalisation amongst *Patio de Luces* respondents

	Known professional	Non-professional
Oppose Normalisation	5	2
Neutral re Normalisation	4	8

This table reveals that those who were obviously professional were more likely to oppose normalisation than those who weren't.

It would appear, therefore, that the higher the professional status of the interviewee, the more negative the attitude towards the promotion of a normalized Bable. Other evidence suggests that people such as those in the negative group would in general restrict their personal use of Bable to iconic markers (culinary items, traditional artefacts, refrains and perhaps sociolinguistic *yeísmo*). More widespread use of Bable across domains and genres would be more likely to occur amongst the less professionally-educated sections of the community.

15.3 CHILDREN'S LETTERS

Each week *La Nueva España* has published a supplement for children, *Oreja Verde* [*The Green Ear*]. Many issues of this supplement contained letters from children. These letters were always in response to topics or questions set by the editor of the supplement.

For the purposes of this thesis, 83 issues of the supplement published over the period January 1994 to March 1998 were examined. 73 of these issues contained letters written by children. Appendix H contains the data tables drawn from these issues.

In the 73 issues a total of 2,182 letters was written of which 219 (10%) were written in Astur-Gallego and 110 (5%) were written in Bable, the remainder (85%) were written in Castilian. Of the 329 letters not written in Castilian, 150 were from boys and 179 from

girls. The age distribution of the writers who did not use Castilian is shown in Table 15.6.

Table 15.6: Age distribution of non-Castilian *Oreja Verde* letter writers

Age	Astur-Gallego zone		Bable zones	
	M	F	M	F
5	0	3	0	1
6	15	16	1	2
7	21	23	4	1
8	13	25	15	8
9	10	14	6	20
10	20	15	12	12
11	13	13	6	11
12	5	5	2	5
13	4	1	0	3
14	2	0	0	1
15	1	0	0	0
Total	104	115	46	64

The average age of writers using Astur-Gallego was 8.93 years for boys and 8.35 for girls. On the other hand the average age of writers in Bable was somewhat older (especially for girls) being 9.09 for boys and 9.72 for girls. This might tend to suggest that the influence of teaching in Astur-Gallego started at a younger age than in the case for Bable. Also of note was the more even gender distribution in the case of the former (47.5% male: 52.5% female) than the latter (41.8% male: 58.2% female).

In the period under review there were 50 series of letters; many of these ran concurrently. Letters written in Bable or Astur-Gallego appeared in 26 of these series. Table 15.7 provides information, in descending order, of percentage of the totals of each series written in Bable or Astur-Gallego.

Table 15.7: Letter series to *Oreja Verde* supplement

Series	Letters in Bable or Astur-Gallego	%age of total letters
<i>Me disfrazare de ...</i> [I will dress up as ...]	25	100%
<i>Cartas a Paca y Tola</i> [Letters to Paca & Tola]	14	100%
<i>Surf</i>	2	100%
<i>Mensajes</i> [Messages]	2	66.7%
<i>Maestros a la carta</i> [Teachers to order]	29	59.2%
<i>Mascotas</i> [Pets]	19	50%
<i>Premio de poesía</i> [Poetry prize]	3	50%
<i>Paz</i> [Peace]	7	46.7%
<i>¿Qué prefieres?</i> [What do you prefer?]	8	40%
<i>Autoretrato</i> [Self portrait]	75	28.5%
<i>Album de recuerdos</i> [Memorabilia]	1	25%
<i>¡Rico, rico!</i> [Nice, nice!]	14	24.6%
<i>Monstruos</i> [Monsters]	58	22.3%
<i>Me gustaría ser ...</i> [I would like to be ...]	8	18.6%
<i>Desde mi ventana</i> [From my window]	6	18.2%
<i>Drácula</i>	5	17.2%
<i>Por qué me llamo ...</i> [I am called because ...]	12	14.8%
<i>¿Estás contento/a ...?</i> [Are you happy ...?]	7	12.1%
<i>Demonios</i> [Demons]	6	12%
<i>¿Qué me pongo?</i> [What I wear]	5	11.4%
<i>Kekos</i> [Teddy bears]	22	10.6%
<i>Si fuera un animal</i> [If I were an animal]	19	9.3%
<i>Erase una vez</i> [It happened once]	3	8.1%
<i>La familia</i>	8	7.7%
<i>Genio</i> [Genie]	1	5.3%
<i>Amistad</i> [Friendship]	2	2.9%

Of the three series which had a 100% Bable or Astur-Gallego response, it should be noted that the *Surf* series had only two correspondents in total, both from Tapia de Casariego (the principal Asturian coastal settlement connected with surfing). The largest of the three, *Me disfrazaré de ...* [I will dress up as ...] related to an annual festival involving participants wearing costumes in celebrations connected with the festival of *Antroxu* {C: *Antruejo* or *Carnaval*} [Carnival]. All the children writing in for this series came from the same school (CP Lugo de Llanera) which is located in the Bable Central

zone. It may be that these students were encouraged by their teacher to respond in Bable as part of a teaching program in that language. A similar situation occurred with the third series having a 100% Bable response – *Cartas a Paca y Tola* – namely that they all appeared to have come from the one school (all writers giving the mining city of Pola de Siero as their locale).

Perhaps more significant were series where the responses came from more than one locale and where the absolute number was relatively high, such as *Maestros a la carta* [*Teachers to order*] and *Las Mascotas* [*The Pets*] but particularly *Autoretrato* [*Self-portrait*] and *Los Monstruos* [*The Monsters*]. Each of these series had identity related elements, albeit that the letters were normally no more than about thirty words long. The following are examples of these four series:

○ ***Maestros a la carta:***

Quieru que la mayestra sea bona. Tamién que sea bastante prestosa con toos, como y agora	I want the teacher to be good. Also that she would be quite likeable with everyone, as she is now.
--	--

Diego Rodríguez García	9 years old from Grao, Bable Occidental zone [OV 412]
------------------------	--

○ ***Las Mascotas:***

Ye un caballu. Nómase Marajulo. Nun ye mui grande y ye de color fueu y marrón, con una mancha blanca. Yo en vacaciones móntome n'el y vo con mio pa al monte a ver les vaques. Tamién vo a ver les mios yegües que tengo dos con un potrín ca una.	It is a horse. He is called Marajulo. He is not very big and is of brown and roan in colouring with a white mark. During vacations I mount him and go with my father to the mountains to see the cows. Also I a go to see my colts of which I have two with a stall for each one.
---	--

María Luisa Díaz Sánchez	11 years old from Parres, Bable Oriental zone [OV 341]
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○ *Autoretrato:*

De altura soi normal. Güeyos marrones, pelo pol llumbu. Préstame xugar al tennis, dar paseos. Allégrome de tar n'esti cursu.

I am of normal height. Brown eyes, hair ash in colour. I like to play tennis, (and) to go for walks. I like being in this course.

Margarita Cueva Suardíaz 13 years old from Lluanco, Bable
Central zone [OV 280]

○ *Monstruos:*

Ye foreyón. Tien cuatro pates, cuatro manos, tres güeyos, cuatro brazos y cuatro cuernos.

He is a *foreyon*. He has four feet, four hands, three eyes, four arms and four horns.

Saúl González Lozano 9 years old from Caborana, Ayer,
mining *cuenca* in the Bable
Central zone [OV 403]

There did not seem to be a particularly strong connection between Bable use and what may be termed identity issues. Even the *Autoretrato* series did not evoke any messages that resonated with being an Asturian. There may, however, have been some connection between Asturian mythology and the high usage of Bable in the letters regarding *Monstruos*.

In the context of the issue of Bable names, as part of the series *Por qué me llamo así* [*Why I am called thus*] one child wrote of his Bable name Xagó:

My mother told me that I was without a name for five days because the Registry did not want to give me the name of Xagó. They said that it was not on the list of Bable names.^{2 t}

² OV – LNE 8.05.94.

^t *Mi mama me cuenta que estuve cinco días sin nombre porque en el Juzgado no querían ponerme el nombre de Xagó. Decían que no lo tenían en la lista de nombres en bable.*

Besides the letters written by children to this supplement, there was also an oral history project sponsored by LNE and conducted by the *Museo del Pueblo de Asturias* [*Museum of the People of Asturias*]. The project, called *De boca a oreja* [*From mouth to ear*] encouraged children to conduct interviews with their grandparents:

Those fascinating histories that our grandparents can tell us and that form a part of oral tradition.³^t

Of thirteen such interviews conducted by grandchildren, seven were of grandparents from the Astur-Gallego region, four from mining *cuencas* in the Bable Central zone, one from Riosa (also in the Central zone) and one from an unidentified locality. The oral histories were not life stories but consisted mostly of *cosadielles* [*riddles*], *leyendas* [*legends*] and *refráis* [*sayings*]. All but one was in either Bable or Astur-Gallego.

15.4 RECREATIONAL READING

Three writers for the newspapers wrote pieces which could best be deemed ‘recreational reading’. They each wrote regular pieces; one being a response column to questions from correspondents.

15.4.1 Maxi Rodríguez

From time to time this writer, who also conducted the *Encuentros en la esterilla* interviews in 15.2.1 above, wrote various series of lighthearted stories. These included:

- *El dramón de la semana* [*The melodrama of the week*] which ran during the last three months of 1996.
- *Los amores del Velino* [*The loves of Velino*] which ran during the summer of 1997.

³ OV 400, 29.11.97.

^t esas fascinantes historias que pueden contarnos nuestros abuelos y que forman parte de la tradición oral.

El dramón de la semana consisted of male-female racy dialogues. The series were written mainly in Castilian but some Bable usage was observed. This usage was mainly reflected in sociolinguistic *yeísmo* and the frequent use of the iconic *ho* at the end of sentences. By way of example, in one episode there was also evidence of Castilian grammatical interference with Bable usages such as *tú eres Diana ... si yes igual que ella ... si ye inglés ...* (three Bable forms of the verb *to be* and one Castilian – *eres*) and *Voy cogete Vamos a tomar* (the use of *a* after a form of the verb *to go* in the second is Castilian not Bable).⁴

Los amores del Velino [*The loves of Velino*] appeared during the summer of 1997. A light-hearted fiction series written by Rodríguez in which the main character, Velino, spoke in Bable. The conversation recorded was always of a superficial nature related to the title; one episode finished with *¡Mirái p'aquí, ho! ¡Vuelve el home!* [*Look here, man! The man comes!*] (note: the use of both the iconic word for man, *ho* and the more normal *home*).⁵

15.4.2 Jeronimo Grande

This regular columnist, also a noted Asturian humorist, anchored the response column *Me alegre de que me haga esta pregunta* [*I am delighted that you have asked me this question*]. This was a weekly column series that ran until 1997 in which Jeronimo Grande answered questions from correspondents on a wide variety of topics (from Princess Diana to local community issues and personal problems). The answers were generally in an interfered form of Bable as the shaded sections of the following piece reveals:

⁴ LNE 13.10.96 as an example.

⁵ LNE 2.08.97

*Tú y el tu hombre tenéislo facilino, mira. Como ya no estamos en edá de respetar les fronteras, cuando queráis ir a la playa, cruzáis el Puente los santos y pa la playa de enfrente. Pasáis primero por la ermita de Buen Viaje, por Granda, y a cruzar. De pasu dais un paseín que ye muy bueno pa los 73 años y pa la trombosis.*⁶

The shaded items represent Castilian usages in what was otherwise a Bable piece.

15.4.3 Montserrat Garnacho

This prolific writer from the mining city of Mieres authored a number of series for the newspaper. The best known – *Caleyas con oficiu* [*Trade streets* or *Streets with character*] – originally appeared as *Casadielles*. Appearing weekly, the series contained stories about people who represented the iconic spirit of the *paisano* in the Asturian idyll. The pieces were written entirely in Bable. When questioned about whether this had meant all the interviewees had responded in the vernacular, Montserrat Garnacho responded in the negative stating that she had chosen to report them in the Bable of her community (Bable Central from Mieres) using the language as an additional means of conveying colour.⁷

Another series - Sal y Furmientu [*Salt and yeast*] – consisted of short pieces which could be categorised in the nature of exemplary stories. The series was mostly written entirely in Bable, the exceptions always contained some words in the vernacular. One such story told of *el ricu avaru* [*the avaricious rich man*] linking it with a story about an encounter of Jesus with a greedy melon seller.⁸

A third series was *¿Sales a jugar un poco?* [*Do you want to go out and play a little*]. Though not always written in Bable, this series recorded memories of childhood

⁶ LNE 21.2.93

⁷ Interview notes, May 1995.

recreation. These memories were then blended with other nostalgic features such as the dance associated with the *esfoyaza* [*esfoyando* – a dance associated with the agricultural task of sheafing the corn]:

... because the work of taking the sheaf from the corn, and plaiting it to hang from the barn was not burdensome ... only because it was done by collective work that brought together all the young people – and the not so young – of the village and many other villages and households around about. And because it was work done as play. And so much was the playing that, for some of our grandmothers, the word *esfoyaza* continues today meaning almost only the festive.⁹¹

As was noted in earlier references, Montserrat Garnacho was also involved in the production of the *Constantino Turón* series of cartoons portraying the acts of a rustic, rebellious anti-hero.

15.5 OPINION PIECES

Like other newspapers, LNE contained a series of pieces by columnists, normally under the banner of *Firmas* [literally *Signatures* but actually *Columns*]. One column was regularly written in Bable, and some other such pieces were authored by occasional columnists. The other pieces considered were generally written entirely in Castilian but from time to time contained some Bable usage.

The use of Bable by a columnist in an overwhelmingly Castilian language newspaper can be considered to have represented an artifice of communication. The study of the characteristics of such usage can therefore be of help in an examination of the general

⁸ LNE 4.03.95.

⁹ LNE 11.04.97

¹ ... porque la labor de quitarle 'la fueya' al maíz y de enristrarlo para colgarlo luego a secar del corredor del hórreo no fuera pesada ... sino porque se trataba de un trabajo colectivo que reunía a todos los mozos – y no tan mozos – de la aldea y de muchas otras aldeas y caserías de los alrededores. Y porque se trabajaba jugando. Y tanto prestaba jugar que, para cualquiera de nuestros abuelos, la palabra 'esfoyaza' sigue teniendo hoy todavía un significado casi solo festivo.

state of the vernacular. In addition, where Bable was not regularly used by a columnist, indicators for motivation for such usage when it did occur can be sought.

Jaime Herrero, himself a columnist, spoke of the particular contribution of columnists when he addressed the *Primer Conceyu d'escritores d'Asturies*:

The diverse columns over time form the steps of a crossroads, complete in themselves, that integrate a more general narrative in the spirit of the columnist in it that each one acquires a distinct space and dimension, but take life and are completed in the memory of the daily reader, a mixed up archive without pages, in whose progress the expressed comments remain in symbolic relation with what has been recalled.¹⁰ †

The column which was consistently written in Bable was by Milio Mariño: he wrote pieces which generally commented on the foibles of life but also often made direct references to regional and national political issues. An example from one such column which focussed on perceptions of life in the modern world stated that:

Today in the more advanced societies, that is the American, they do not know what it is to eat a cooked meal, (instead they eat) a menu of vegetable scraps, things which don't taste of anything and to compensate for the lack of flavour need to be garnished with what is called ketchup, curry or mustard.¹¹ †

There were a number of instances where Bable words or phrases had been inserted by columnists in their pieces. In a number of instances, the columnists who used Bable seemed, given their stated views concerning the language, to have written in the spirit of “it is my language, so I have the right to depreciate it”.

¹⁰ J Herrero, *El articulismo literaria*, in proceedings of *Primer Conceyu d' escritores d'Asturies*, Principáu d'Asturies, Uviéu, 1995, page 77.

† *la columnas dispersas en el tiempo forman los pasos de un Viacrucis, completes en sí mismos, que integran una narración más general en el ánimo del cronista en el que cada uno adquiere una dimension y espacio distinto, pero cobran vida y se completan en la memoria del lector cotidiano, revuelto archivo sin páginas, en cuya marcha atrás lo expuesto queda en relación simbólica en lo recordado.*

¹¹ LNE 2.06.95

† *Hoy en día les sociedaes más avanzaes, y ahí ta l'americana, non saben lo que ye comer comida cocinada, menu a base morgazu, coses que non saben a nada y que pa dayos sabor, tienen que peñerales con esa garreria embotellada que llamen ketchup, curry o mostaza*

One such columnist was Julio Vigil, a former president of the region who had not been sympathetic to the officialisation of Bable. He nevertheless often included Bable words, names and phrases in his columns which frequently had a focus of local festivals. One example was connected with a festival in late June, where wrote of *el 'rexidor o rexidora de les paciones y nomares'* [*the director of the fields and names*] in an otherwise Castilian language piece.¹²

Another columnist was Ladislao de Arriba (LNE 29.9.97) who in one column referred to the coofficiality debate in the following terms:

A language ... doesn't serve to designate or explain things ... there shouldn't be any illusions in seeing on a can of cheese from Cabrales '*Quesu fechu con lleche de les vaques de los montes d'Asturies*' [*Cheese made from the milk of cows from the mountains of Asturias*]. If Bable is going to remain (only) for putting '*Homes-Mujeres*' [*Men-Women*] on toilets, I don't believe it merits the pain of struggling for it.^{13 t}

Sometimes the use of Bable words or phrases by columnists who normally wrote in Castilian was reserved to paint folkloric images. Eduardo González Menéndez, commenting on the Bable poet Padre Galo, wrote:

Also called '*faliellas*' [*speeches*] (are) the murmurings or chatterings especially of the village women, and thus there is a saying for these lands that says: '*Quien fay casu de faliellas, ya muyerina cum'ellas*' [*Who makes something of speeches, already the little woman is with them*].^{14 t}

¹² LNE 12.05.97

¹³ LNE 29.09.97

^t *una lengua ... no sirve para designar y explicar las cosas ... no se hagan ilusiones de ver en el envase de un queso de Cabrales 'Quesu fechu con lleche de les vaques de los montes d'Asturies'. Si el bable se va a quedar para poner en las puertas de los aseos 'Homes-Mujeres', no creo que merezca la pena luchar por él.*

¹⁴ LNE 12.08.96.

^t *También se denomina 'faliellas' las murmuraciones o habladurías especialmente de las mujeres pueblerinas, y así hay un refrán por aquellas tierras que dice: 'Quien fay casu de faliellas, ya muyerina cum'ellas'.*

Another columnist who often used Bable as a folkloric or nostalgic was José Ignacio Gracia Noriega, an example being:

I confess that I have read very few novels in Bable, but what I liked most was '*La ermita del portal*' by César Rural, because it evoked an environment of the *aldeano*.¹⁵ †

The Asturian spirit of solidarity was also sometimes expressed more effectively by the use of Bable. Fernando Canellada, referring to the reception given to the then Spanish Prime Minister, by workers in Gijón wrote:

On seeing their '*compañero Felipe*' [*comrade Felipe*], called out '*ye él, ye él*' [*it is he, it is he*] – using Bable *ye* instead of Castilian *es*. *they said*.¹⁶ †

A number of people publicly identified with the cause of promoting Bable were also occasional columnists to LNE. People such as Xuan Xosé Sánchez Vicente, Xosé Antón González Riaño, Manuel Asur, Nel Amaro, Lluís X Álvarez, Xuan Cándano, Ramón de Andrés and Xosé Lluís García Arias. Some of these such as García Arias always wrote in Bable; others sometimes did.

15.6 NICKNAMES

The principal means of observing *ñomatu* [*nickname*] usage in LNE was through reading *esquelas* [*obituaries*]. 5565 obituaries were published in LNE over the period 7 September 1996 to 4 April 1998. The use of Castilian in the text of these obituaries was almost total with only three Bable language obituaries being observed.* One such Bable

¹⁵ LNE 26.03.95.

† *Confieso que leí muy pocas novellas en bable, pero la que más me gusto fue 'La ermita del portal' de César Rural, porque evocaba un ambiente aldeano.*

¹⁶ LNE 15.11.96.

† *al reencontrarse con el 'compañero Felipe', le dijeron 'ye él, ye él'*

* This finding was confirmed by correspondent L334/016, who noted that more than 99% of Asturian *esquelas* were in Castilian. As with the use of the vernacular in the letters to the editor, *La Nueva España* had a much lower incidence of vernacular obituaries than sister newspapers in the group in other regions. In Galicia for example, a one month sample (March 1996) revealed 14 of the 411 obituaries in *Faro do Vigo* were written in Gallego, a percentage of 3.4%. While similar surveys (though only a week in each

language obituary is shown in Figure 15.1; like the other two Bable language obituaries, this one was related to the cause of the language.

Figure 15.1: Bable language obituary.



[Translation: In memory of D. José Caso González – a wise man and Asturian who spoke, wrote and defended his language. That his name not be forgotten. ALLA]

What was noted, however, in the remaining obituaries, was the extensive use of nicknames [*ñomatus*] with 662 instances being observed; with a significant percentage of these being Bable nicknames, notwithstanding the surrounding Castilian text. Of the 662 nicknames observed 554 were informal variations of personal names and 108 were in the character of 'identity markers'. of the 554 nicknames 53 were in Bable (9.4%). Appendix I lists all the *ñomatus* observed in obituaries over the study.

The application of the Bable *ch* as an opening sound in nicknames occurred in thirty instances. In 21 of those cases, it was clear that they represented a residual Bable effect upon Castilian names such as the following:

instance) in Valencia (*Levante*, January 1995) and Mallorca (*Diario de Mallorca*, February 1995) gave percentages of 10% and 27% respectively.

Asunción	⇒	Chona (1)
Consuelo	⇒	Chelo (2)
Marcelino	↗	
Jesús	⇒	Chuchi (1), Chuchu (1), Chus (4), Chuso (1)
José	⇒	Chelin (1), Chelu (1), Chepe (3)
José Manuel	⇒	Che (1)
José María	⇒	Chema (2), Chemari (1)
Josefa	⇒	Chela (1)
Luciano	⇒	Chano (1)

In a further 4 cases the nicknames appeared to reflect practices not uncommon in Castilian itself, and therefore not unique to Bable:

María del Rosario	⇒	Charo (3)
María Rosita	↗	
Rosa	⇒	Chita (1)
Rosario	↗	

While in three cases the provenance was uncertain:

Ismael	⇒	Chichu (1)
Manuel	⇒	el Chilu (1)
María Luisa	⇒	Chucha (4)
Aurelia	↗	
Teresa	↗	
Vidal	⇒	Cholo (1)

On 21 other occasions the *ch* sound appeared in the body of a nickname. In such instances it was mostly reflected in Bable variants of Castilian nicknames – eg *Pacho(u)* for *Paco* [nickname of *Francisco*]. Other examples included *Concha* (for *Concepción*), which is not unique to Bable; and *Menchu* (uncertain).

Diminutives appeared in 137 instances. 28 of these involved the addition of *-ito(a)* at the end of a name (eg *Conchita* and *Juanito*). With one exception (*Joseito* – typical of the western portion of Asturias), all these nicknames could just as easily have occurred in Castilian as in Bable. 107 were examples of the typical *-ín* diminutive characteristic

of Asturias and appeared in both Bable nicknames (eg *Pachín* and *Toñín*) and Castilian (eg *Juanín* and *Ramonín*). The less common, though still characteristically Asturian (and Cantabrian) diminutive ending of *-ucu/uchu(a)* appeared on two occasions.

Of the 108 instances where the nickname was an identity marker, descriptors were found identifying occupation, location, personal characteristics and iconic associations.

With respect to occupation, there were twenty six such usages (involving twenty one occupations, these being overwhelmingly agricultural-related occupations and trades such as: *pastorín* [shepherd], *cabriteru* [goatherd], *lechero* [milkman], *frutera* [fruiterer], *carnicera* [butcher], *panadero(a)* [baker] as well as *teyeru* [tiler], *zapatero* [shoemaker], *ferreru* [ironmonger], *fontanero* [plumber], *sillero* [chairmaker]. There were three mining related instances - *mineru* [miner] and *carboneru* [coal miner]. Amongst the other categories which appeared were: *cartero(u)* [postman], *petrolu* [gas station attendant] and *relojero* [watchmaker], *maestro* [teacher] and *municipal* [council worker]. Bable forms were reasonably common in this category (eg *cabriteru*, *teyeru*, *ferreru*, *petrolu*, *carboneru* and *mineru*)

In a number of cases descriptors were iconic markers such as *madreñu* [the clog], *gaitero* [bagpipe player], *la panera* [barn]* and *tamboriteru* [tamborine player]. All the terms here clearly were obviously typical of Asturias.

In seventeen instances they were markers of geographic place (of which nine indicated the named were originally from outside Asturias). Of the eight from within Asturias, four came from mining *cuencas* (Aller, Pola de Lena and Langreo) and two came from

the Astur-Gallego zone. A further five were related to specific locations such as named *chigres* [*bars*] or cafes.

Finally there were a range of nicknames which were personal identifiers. These either included reference to some physical feature (eg *rubiu* [*blonde*]) or some other obscure reference (*zapato* [eg *shoe*] and *truchu* [*trout*]).

15.7 LA NUEVA QUINTANA

On March 1 1995, LNE commenced publication of a weekly supplement entitled *La Nueva Quintana: Páginas Asturianistas*. The paper announced on the occasion of the first supplement:

... opens an ambit of encounter for Asturianism, it aspires to bring together all those who desire to bring something substantial, valorous or simply interesting that might pertain to Asturian culture, in the widest sense of the term.^{17 t}

The supplement was published with the financial support of the regional government.

Its aim was not simply to look backwards, nostalgically but:

... to know and understand (it), but (also) it will deal with inserting itself in the present and open up to the future. It will dedicate its attention to those things which constitute the great historic legacy of Asturias – its natural setting, the language, the artistic patrimony, the popular cultural wealth – but it will not renounce being modernist or in the vanguard each time that in these hidden treasures would encounter an Asturian reference point worthy of being resurrected.^{18 t}

* a *panera* is a larger form of traditional barn than an *horreu(o)*.

¹⁷ LNE 1.03.95

^t ... abre un ámbito de encuentro para el asturianismo, que aspira a reunir a todos aquellos que deseen aportar algo sustancial, valioso o simplemente interesante que tenga relación con la cultura asturiana, en el sentido más amplio del término.

¹⁸ Idem.

^t ... conocer y comprender, pero tratará de insertarse en el presente y abrirse al futuro. Dedicará su atención a lo que constituye el gran legado histórico de Asturias – la naturaleza, la lengua, el patrimonio artístico, el acervo de la cultura popular – pero no renunciará a ser moderna o vanguardista cada vez que en estos derroteros encuentre una referencia asturiana digna de ser resaltada.

The supplement carried articles in both Bable and Castilian. A sample of articles written in Bable were:

- *Asturionanistes 1 & 2*: articles based around the awareness that *Xovellanos ye un llugar común, un antroponónimu del que salen toles posibles coartaes pa indicar 'preocupación' pol país* [*Xovellanos is a common place, an anthroponym from which rise all possible viewpoints to indicate 'concern' for the country (of Asturias)*]. [1 & 8.03.95]
- *Les piedres de la culiebra* [*The stones of the dragon*] about the dragon in Asturian mythology. [8.03.95]
- *Luis Pardo da-y les sos obres al pueblu asturianu* [*Luis Pardo gives his works to the Asturian people*] a feature article about an artist giving his works to the art gallery of Xixón. [5.07.95]
- *Torero* [*Bullfighter*] a commentary piece on the trend for young people in Spain to call each other this term. Writer had endorsed the sensitivity of a Catalan visiting Asturian who had preferred to use the term *mineru*. He wrote: *Mineru* that represents us, as does the sailor and the construction worker.[†] [20.09.95]
- *Asturies pionera n'Internet* [*Asturias pioneers in the Internet*] an article about the significant early involvement in the net of the University of Oviedo and local companies. [23.09.97].

Thus the series contained Bable language articles on a wide range of topics from the folkloric, to the spirit of resistance, and to the Information Revolution.

CONCLUSION

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the Bable usage in evidence in the sections of the newspaper dealt with in this chapter. First of all, the use of Bable (and Astur-Gallego) by children has been more frequent than was in evidence in terms of letters to the editor written by older generations. Secondly, the children's letters were less dependent in topic upon Asturian-ness than was the case with the letters of their parents' generation.

With respect to Bable usage by older people, this chapter has revealed that its use has tended towards recreational activities (fiestas and holidays) and nicknames. Where the usages were not recreational they tended to be in the form of iconic words and phrases.

Attitudes to Bable expressed by older people, from the pieces examined, have tended to be negative to normalisation where views were expressed. However, in the case of incidental quotes, the use of Bable was unselfconscious and implied no particular attitude towards the language, its status or its normalisation.

^t *Mineru que sí nos representa, como marineru y como albañil ...*

PART E – CONCLUSION

CHAPTER SIXTEEN - CONCLUSION

16.1 OBSERVATIONS

16.1.1 Patterns of language usage

The analysis of information in the principal regional daily newspaper, *La Nueva España*, and the results of the survey of conference attendees revealed a number of pertinent features with regards to Bable usage. Amongst those findings were the relative strength of Bable in the mining *cuencas* and rural areas as well as in the region's largest city, Gijón.

In addition to the generations of traditional Bable speakers who have come from rural and mining areas, there have been growing numbers of young people who have had some exposure to the language. Some of these young people have adopted the vernacular as reflective of a self-view of being alienated from the holders of power. Bable, the vernacular of the *tonada* is now also sometimes the idiom of *Xixón Sound*. The spirit of resistance found originally amongst the reactionary Carlists, and which fostered Bable in the nineteenth century, is now to be found amongst anti-racist, anti-conscriptionist and environmental groups, with these groups at least sloganeering in the vernacular.

The research, however, also revealed a strong seasonality to much of the observed usage of Bable along with restrictions to both the domains where the language was used and the genres in which it was used. Sociolinguistic *Yeismo* (the above average use of *ye – he/she/it is*) and iconic references stood out in much use of the language. All these factors indicated Bable (L1) is in a diglossic relationship with its duolect

Castilian (L2). Furthermore, survey data and extensive expressions of concern about interference suggest that this diglossic relationship should be categorised as unstable in the absence of sufficient support mechanisms.

The mapping of lexical frequency of Bable words (and of some Castilian words) mentioned in this thesis also revealed that some traditional words have fallen into disuse; while in some cases Castilian equivalents matched or exceeded the incidence of genuine Bable words in Bable language texts.

Though the volume of output of Bable language material is still small in terms of production runs, the absolute number of published titles and the Bable *literati* who authored them, there has nevertheless been some growth in this area. Furthermore the range of material available has started to leave the bounds of the folkloric and begun to address more universal themes. This has happened within previous genres where Bable was used (such as poetry where the themes of today have become much less self-conscious in terms of attention to group identity and autochthonous markers); but it has also result in a growing corpus of works in what, for the vernacular, have been comparatively new genres.

16.1.2 Demographic context

The evidence provided in Chapter 2 indicated that there are significant demographic challenges facing Bable. The demographic data contained in that chapter revealed that the rural population of Asturias is declining in number; furthermore it is ageing. Provincial centres are by and large facing similar futures; as too are the mining

cuencas. The only significant population growth is occurring in the top three urban centres of Oviedo, Gijón and Avilés.

The challenge for Bable has been that - in the form of *bables* - it is strongest in the rural community; whilst - in forms closer to normalised Bable - it is strongest in the mining centres. Of the centres which are growing, Bable is only strong in Gijón; and yet here it suffers from particularly high incidence of interference - *No (I don't speak Bable well) because of living in Xixón, in the city it is not so spoken so well as in the village*¹. [S044]

Notwithstanding small declines overall in the population of the region, Bable does seem to have avoided negative reactions from immigrants who still represent an important part of the region's population. Both survey respondents and others revealed that expatriate parentage (particularly from Andalucía) has not precluded affinity with Bable. This situation has been in contrast with that encountered in Catalonia.

16.1.3 Sociological features

Traditionally Asturian society, in both rural and mining contexts, has reflected the close knit, low status communities reinforced by strong internal links as suggested in the Milroy analysis. The demographic pressures facing the region have been breaking down those strong links and replacing them with new, weaker ones in higher status situations. The consequence is that the language norm enforcers which existed in the more traditional context have been reduced in effectiveness. These norm enforcers

¹ *Nun, porque al vivir en Xixón, na ciudá nun se fala tantu comu nel pueblu.*

had, over the generations, been locally generated and sustained. The ambient nature of the language (*llingua materna* or that which *mamandanos* [suckled us]) was reinforced by identifiable norm enforcement (such as the *esfoyaza*).

The disappearance of such strong, language reinforcing local settings has seen traditional language norm enforcers having to compete with ‘norm eroders’ (such as a heavily Castilian dominated education system and media). Confronted with these challenges, sustaining of the vitality of the language can no longer rely only on traditional, locally generated and sustained norm enforcers. There is a need for new norm enforcers to be supported (eg Bable classes in schools, Bable in the media and publishing &c).

The demographic changes have also seen the paradox of a traditional language norm enforcer becoming, on occasions, a perceived threat to the overall vitality of the vernacular. That is a source of linguistic richness in the region – the bables – at times is seen to represent an impediment to a unitary concept of the language being developed. Still strongly linked to their ‘village’, many urban Asturians continue to advocate for the bable of the region of their particular ancestry. Yet often in reality they have inherited a severely reduced bable, even more limited in usage domains (festive occasions and family reunions) and restricted in lexicon (nostalgic allusions, humour and iconic references) – *I don’t know as many Bable words as my parents and they don’t know as many as my grandparents* (interview notes with Xosé Antón,

from Oviedo, whose grandparents lived in the *aldea* of Ambon near Grado, in the Bable Occidental zone).*

As older people in the villages, who have been guardians of the vitality of the linguistic richness of the bables, die so too will the wellspring upon which urban Asturians have relied in their highly limited usage patterns of their linguistic inheritance.

The research has found that usage patterns amongst those from Oviedo, where the sources of reinforcement are limited, has been more related to iconic or nostalgic uses than has been observed to be the case in Gijón and the mining *cuencas*. In these latter two, and in the rural areas there is evidence of Bable being used for non-language related topics.

What has been lost in the opinion of some Asturians has been an appreciation of the creative capacity of the various bables to generate new meanings for words in changing circumstances; expanding the lexical richness of Bable as a whole. Attitude, and not linguistic fact, has been the critical factor in this regard as, like other languages, Bable has provided examples of what Fernández McClintock has referred to as ‘lexical hole filling’.

16.1.4 Language promotion

Efforts at promoting the language seemed to have been, at the micro level, popularly supported in some geographic locations and amongst some sections of society more

* Interview notes with Xosé Antón were directly transcribed by me into English, I did not keep a

than others. A wide variation was noted amongst various counties in the relative incidence of school enrolments in Bable classes. Likewise there was evidence that some areas had more teachers interested in attending courses in teaching the language than others.

On the other hand, however, it was observed that efforts by government to promote the language at the macro level have been relatively modest. Overall the level of offerings of Bable classes has not simply been a function of community support, but also of the availability of teachers to conduct such classes. – *To say that from all Asturian students only ten percent seek to learn their language and that ninety percent prefer to study other things is to lie ... the national and regional ministries of education are the principal groups to blame that ninety percent of Asturian children would be left illiterate in their own language.*¹ [L093/412]

The meso level has seen more enthusiastic responses from the local governments of mining and industrial centres with decisions on officiality and support for in-service courses. In addition some other councils have supported literary competitions which have included categories for Bable texts. However, this latter activity seems to have been less conducive to increasing levels of utilisation than the former at the local community level.

record of his comments in Castilian and Bable. Interview conducted July 1995.

¹ *Dicir que tolos escolinos asturianos sólo 'l 10% soliciten el desprendimientu de la so llingua, y qu'el 90% prefieren estudiar otres coses, ye mentir ... El Ministeriu d'Educación y Ciencia y la Conseyería de Cultura y Educancia del Principáu son los principales culpables de que'l 90% de los neños asturianos seyan a estes altures analfabetos de la so propia llingua.*

In the final analysis the successful promotion of a language is a function of not just macro or meso level actions but also micro level responses. Without local community support, macro/meso language support is unlikely to achieve much. Figures 10.3 and 10.4 indicated a positive relationship between improvement in language status and language utilisation. However as was also stated in Chapter 10, while improved status (which can be offered at the macro/meso level) is, in the overwhelming majority of contexts, a necessary precondition for sustainable language development, it is not nevertheless of itself sufficient. Without a sufficiently responsive community, language promotion efforts from above are unlikely to achieve their goals. In many parts of the region that community responsiveness exists. ... *to make Asturian co-official would only recognise institutionally what is occurring in the street.* [L238/384]^t

16.2 CORE VALUES AND ATTITUDES OF ASTURIANS

16.2.1 Core values

In Chapter 10 questions were posed concerning ‘Asturianity’ [*Asturianidá*] and Bable as core values. On the basis of the research findings, answers can now be proposed for those questions.

It is certain that Asturians collectively have very intense feelings of pride in their region. That pride reaches out to engage with their feelings for the national pageant of Spanish history – the spirit of Covadonga, the cradle of the Reconquest. And while there are great polarities of opinion within the Asturian self-view, common features are “Asturias the *tierrina* [*little land*]” and the shared feeling of being Asturian

^t *Cuando hablo de ‘patria’ me refiero a Asturias ... cooficializar el asturiano solo sería*

symbolised by iconic references and by such things as the significant use of the first person plural possessive pronoun (*nuesu(o)(a)/nuestru(o)(a)*). Also significant is the pride of Asturians in cultural expressions of this shared vision of Asturias such as in festivals and the vernacular of the region.

These feelings of pride can be characterised in many instances as being core values held by people of the region. Thus we can speak of the core value of being Asturian; the core value of *Asturianidá* [*Asturianity*], including concepts of collectivism; and also the core value of language. However, in each of these cases the core values have not been not interpreted in the same way by different sections of the population.

With respect to the core value of being Asturian there has long been a tension between the concept of Asturias as proto-Spain and the concept of Asturias as an autonomous region, distinct from the concept of Spain.

Likewise there are differences in understanding the core value of *Asturianidá* [*Asturianity*]. The sense of the collective group identity has had different interpretations amongst different sections (including classes) of Asturian society.

The core value of collectivism has expressed itself both inclusively and exclusively. In the case of the former, urban residents have sought to have their identity credentialised by the collectivist rural background of their parents and grandparents. The nostalgia for the rural idyll in its communal sense was in evidence in a number of the letters to the editor; and certainly in the various newspaper references to local

fiestas and celebrations. On the other hand, the collective of the dispossessed, those disconnected from power, has been in evidence particularly amongst the young and the working class giving rise to a more political, class conscious solidarity.

Finally there have been clear differences in interpretation as to the way in which the regional vernacular may be a core value. For some the distinctiveness of the bables is key to such a language core value. While to others the unitary concept, albeit with dialectal richness, has been more important. The idiosyncratic, distinctive view of a plural vernacular reflects itself in the lexicons produced in different parts of the region; the unitary view, by the absence of such works in areas where Bable is nevertheless still a *lingua franca*.

Furthermore the research observed a difference in perceived value of the language between the two groups. For many who hold to the bables proposition the valuation has been limited to the role of nostalgic artefact; while for many supporting Bable the valuation has required increasing evidence of functionality in a world wider than home and village.

16.2.2 Attitudes and perceptions regarding Bable

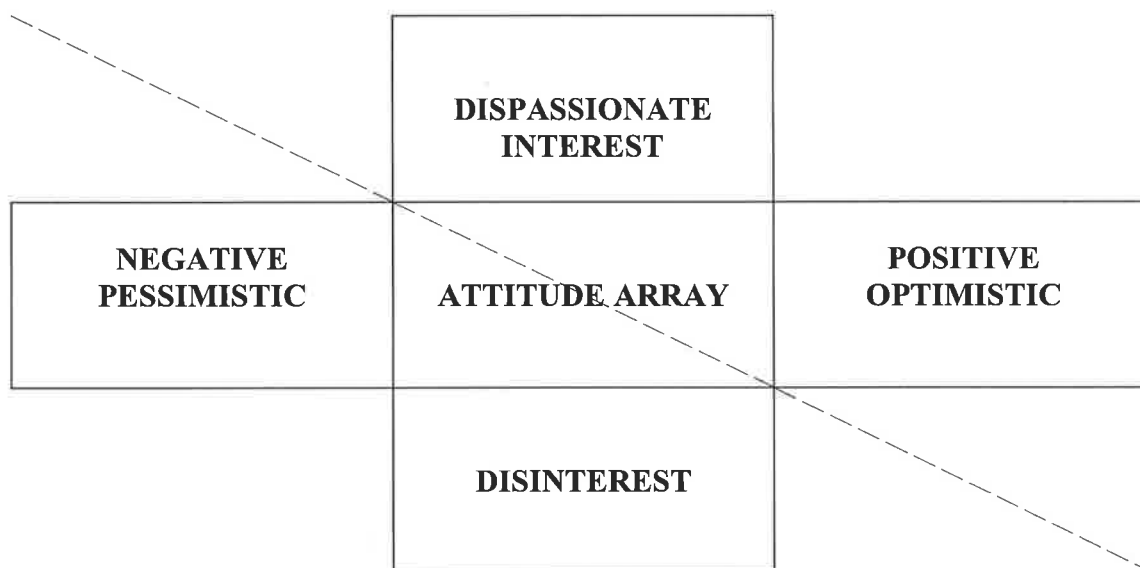
The research revealed a wide range of attitudes to Bable within the region. The diversity of opinion did not reflect itself solely between those who support the vernacular compared with those who oppose it, but also within the spectrum of those who claim to support the language.

One such finding was that the term ‘Bablist’ has meant different things at different times and even within similar epochs. While in every instance it has meant a supporter of the linguistic inheritance of the region, it has been a title to two different attitudes:

- one describing a believer in the multiple inheritance of the language (ie a supporter of the ‘bables’ proposition); and
- another describing a believer in a unitary concept of the language, albeit dialectally rich.

Arguments have been mounted by each about the linguistic legitimacy of their stance. Facts have been cited from history and etymology. Yet the reality has been that predisposing attitudes and perceptions have been more significant than linguistic ‘facts’ in the vehemence of these positions. Thus proving or disproving such ‘facts’ will never reconcile the positions until these predisposing attitudes have been better understood.

Figure 16.1: Simplified version of Attitude Circle



It was for this purpose that the diagram of the Attitude Circle was introduced in Chapter 10 (page 333). The circle was designed to juxtapose contrary attitudes; being a circle it was intended to entertain nuances between the four key positions identified. Those four positions are repeated in Figure 16.1 in a simplified form.

Figure 16.2: Attitude circle on the subject of ‘What is Bable?’

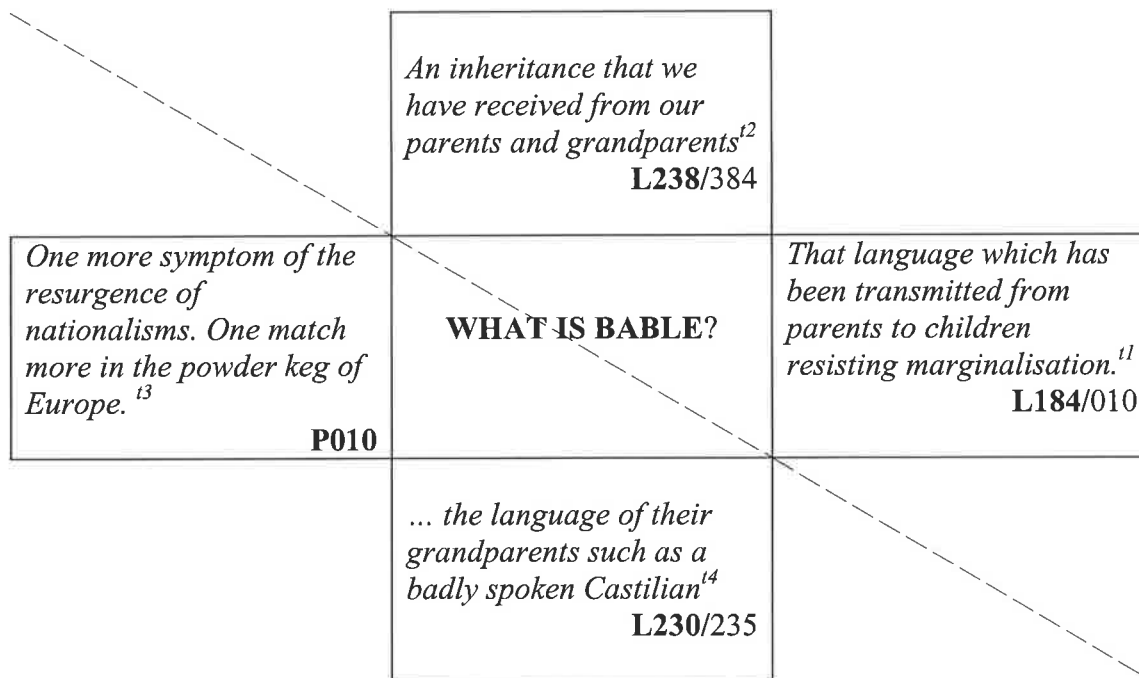


Figure 16.2 applies this model to a primary question of “What is Bable?” using some comments made by the sources used in this thesis. With the one question receiving four very different answers, it can be seen that propositions such as creating a normalised Bable or of giving it official status cannot be considered simple questions. If the vernacular is not seen as the same thing by different sections of the community, can there ever be a homogenous understanding of what normalisation is or is not;

¹² *Una herencia que hemos recibido de nuestros padres y abuelos.*

¹³ *Un síntoma más del resurgimiento de los nacionalismos. Una mecha más en el polvorín europeo.*

¹¹ *Esa lengua se ha transmitido de padres a hijos resistiendo la marginación.*

¹⁴ *... la lengua de sus abuelos como un castellano mal hablado.*

likewise the issue of co-officiality? In addressing these issues, similar attitude arrays could be created for derivative questions such as:

What is normalised Bable?

What benefits/problems would co-official status for Bable bring?

Some of the particular issues dealt with in the next section are considered using the Attitude Circle approach.

16.3 ISSUES FACING BABLE

16.3.1 Interference/change/decay

One key area of difference in predisposing attitudes has been in the assessment as to whether observed non-standard events in Bable usage have represented interference, change or language decay. The responses from conference attendees indicated an extreme concern about interference in their own use of Bable. Similarly the parsing of five Bable letters to the editor in Section 14.3.1 found various instances of possible interference by the writers.

Figure 16.3 portrays a sample array of some comments which have change/interference issues at their heart. The negative/pessimist position represents the ultimate in interference – total loss of a language. While the comment in the ‘Disinterested’ position doesn’t go that far, it nevertheless ceases to consider Bable as the base reference point (ie interference into Bable), replacing it with Castilian (ie interference from Bable into Castilian). While the positive/optimistic position would suggest that “interference” may actually add to a language, and in the case of a minority language, contribute to its saving.

Figure 16.3: Attitude circle on the subject of ‘Change vs Interference’

<p><i>A speech which has been lost.¹³</i></p> <p>P020</p>	<p>CHANGE VERSUS INTERFERENCE</p>	<p>(comparing the situation of Bable with Castilian) <i>What would Castilian be if it had not incorporated a multitude of foreign words?¹¹</i></p> <p>L221/009</p>
	<p><i>I want to learn the language so that I can separate very well Asturian from Castilian, because I have a mixed language¹²</i></p> <p>S022</p>	
	<p><i>Speaking in Castilian, we mix Bable words and expressions as we learnt at home.¹⁴</i></p> <p>L344/019</p>	

However, the issue of interference may have been overstated; it may also have proved to be a distraction to the language debate. As noted in Chapter 10, Milio Cueto referred to the issue of hypercorrection amongst some Bable speakers as their response to the fear of interference. The risks posed by hypercorrection include creating an element of artificiality in the language. A number of complaints of such artificiality were noted in items in the LNE.

The challenge of determining an attitude to change/interference (or some midway, neutral concept such as transference) has not been unique to Bable. Even such an

¹² *Quiero deprender la llingua pa dixebrar perbien l'asturianu del Castellán, porque yo tengo una llingua amestá.*

¹³ *Un habla que se ha perdido*

¹¹ *¿Que seria del castellano si no se le hubieran incorporado multitud de vocablos extranjeros*

¹⁴ *hablar en castellano, mezclábamos palabra y expresiones bables, tal como habíamos aprendido en casa.*

isolated language as Icelandic has had difficulty separating the inevitability of language change from a perception of interference.* However, the situation is much more problematic for a duolect co-existing with its more dominant twin, as has been the case of the relationship of Bable to Castilian.

The context and circumstance of a language such as Bable appears to lead more easily to the perception that observed changes were instances of language ‘decay’ or interference than that they were examples of *bona fide* change. Can there be a situation where a language may have been deemed to have ‘evolved’ rather than ‘decayed’ as weak ties exert their impact and society moves from strong local group networks? In other words, would it be possible for status to be maintained for a language which had changed/evolved/decayed due to the impact of weak ties?

The negative answer would be that a restricted status would be found in artefact – the maintenance of a reduced lexicon limited to words emblematic of a nostalgic past. The positive answer would be that not only can a language absorb change, but that it needs to. In other words that it be organic. To extend the metaphor, the former would deliver a dead language, the latter a living one.

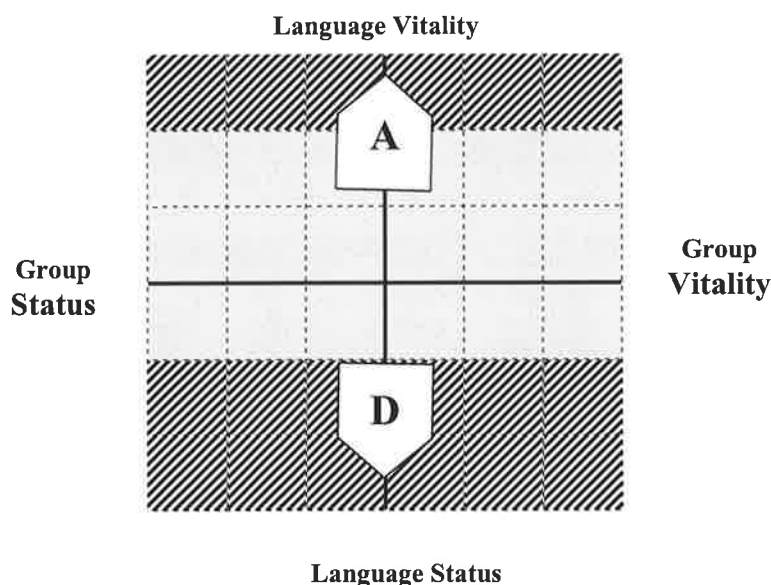
16.3.2 Language Vitality & Status

In Chapter 11 the ethnolinguistic proposition of Howard Giles *et.al.* was developed into a model for diagrammatically representing the condition of Status and Vitality for both Language and Group. The model was intended to communicate the relative need for policy development with respect to language promotion in any one of the four

* Rory McTurk deals with loan words and language purism with respect to Icelandic in his entry in G

areas. Figure 16.4 presents such a diagram, based upon the research findings, for the Status and Vitality of Asturians as a group and their language, Bable.

Figure 16.4: Language & Group Status and Vitality of Bable



The map suggests that, in terms of maintenance and promotion of their language, Asturians do not need policies aimed at enshrining Group Status or Group Vitality; in both cases the evidence suggests that they are strong and healthy. They do, however, need some policies promoting Language Vitality, but are particularly in need of those which would promote Language Status. A key point of this diagrammatic approach is also intended to indicate that the policies need to work together rather than be in opposition to each other.

Thus the policies which would most effectively address the overall health (or ecology) of Bable would need to address Language Vitality and Status issues in a coordinated

Price (ed) *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe*, pp 234-238.

way. If they only address one, or if policies for both are in a state of disconnect with each other, then there will be an impaired outcome for Bable.

The discussion in Chapter 10 argued that vitality and status are usually in a direct relationship with each other. Given that the unofficial status accorded to Bable by individuals in Asturias is highly constrained (to domains of the familial and local community with low order genre usage), it would seem that official status is a *sine qua non* for developing language vitality.

The evidence of this has been the relatively slow take up of Bable classes in schools during the nineteen eighties and nineties. After an initial burst of growth for each from a zero base, the situation for both primary and secondary education enrolments in Bable classes effectively reached plateaux in the latter part of the decade. The missing factor was the concurrent application of policies promoting language status. Where there was a willingness on the part of local authorities to consider such policies (principally the mining *cuencas*), it can be noted that the percentage of students enrolling in Bable classes was higher than the regional average.

16.3.3 Bable or bables or both?

If there is to be policy development targeting language status for Bable, it would have to address the Bable/bables debate. How should policy decisions which focus on normalisation and officiality for Bable reflect upon the status and vitality needs of the varieties?

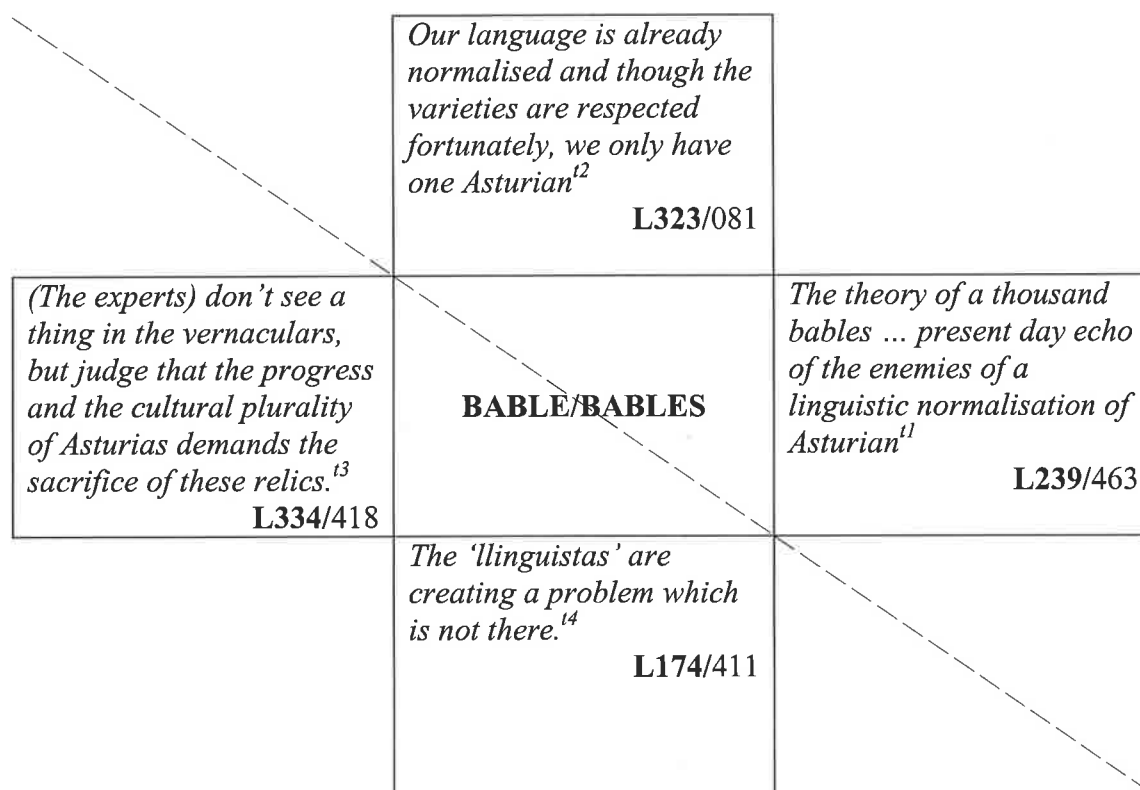
The words of both the autonomy statute and the law on the promotion and use of Bable have noted the need to respect both Bable and the bables. Some of the actions of the ALLA have sought to enact the spirit of both (for example the initiation of the *Preseo* series of local lexicons seeking to integrate them in a larger, encompassing Bable lexical corpus). On the other hand the *Oficina de Política Lingüística* and the education system appear to have focussed primarily on the promotion of normalised Bable.

The experience of Galicia cited in Chapter 10 (page 356) reveals that a policy imbalance with respect to the status of a normalised version and local varieties can raise the status of the former but at the expense of the latter. Asturias is clearly trying to avoid such a situation.

Complicating the situation for the region, however, is the way in which the Bable/bables debate has become either/or rather than searching for responses which would be inclusive of both in practical outcomes.

As evidence of the range of opinions on the subject, Figure 16.5 presents a sample array of comments relevant to language vitality and which in part anchor themselves in the polarisation of the Bable/bables debate. The link of vitality to normalisation is also implicit in these comments.

Figure 16.5: Attitude Circle on Bable/bables



Until the practical implementation of policy for language promotion is able to address concerns at either extreme (eg the fear on the one hand of being called upon to *sacrifice ... these relics* against the fear on the other hand of *a thousand bables ... enemies of linguistic normalisation*), its effectiveness will be limited. The key therefore is that there needs to be no disconnect between the practical outcomes of policies aimed at language status with those aimed at language vitality with respect to both Bable and the bables.

¹² *Nuestra lengua ya está normalizada y aunque se respeten las variantes, afortunadamente sólo tenemos un asturiano.*

¹³ *(los expertos) no tenían nada que ver con los vernáculos, pero se sdujo que el progreso y la pluralidad cultural de Asturias exigían sacrificar las antiguallas.*

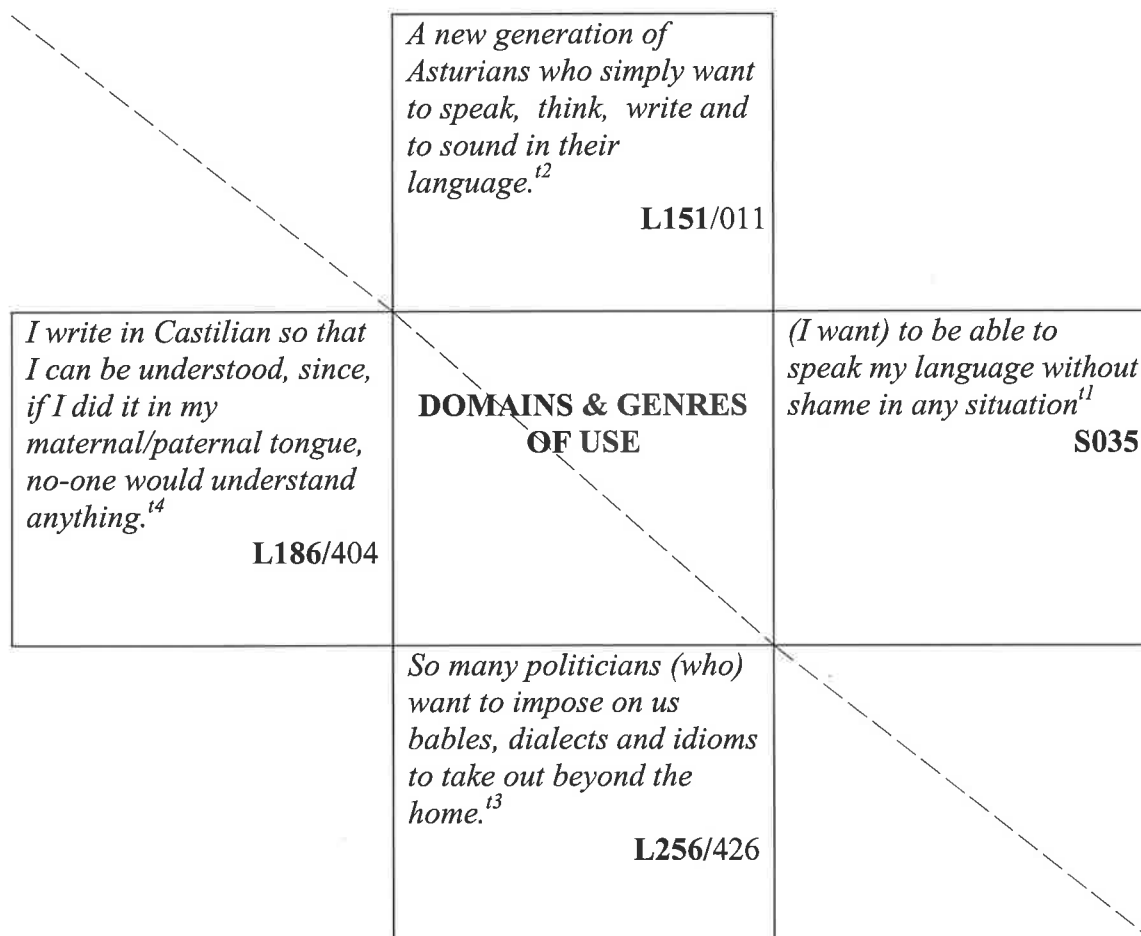
¹¹ *la teoría de los milenta bables ... ecu actual nos enemigos de la normalización llingüística del asturianu.*

16.3.4 Domains and Genres of use

Language vitality is expressed most significantly in the normalisation of its use. The issues of Domains and Genres of usage for Bable were discussed in Chapter 10.

Figure 16.6 presents some comments which connect with this issue.

Figure 16.6: Attitude Circle for Domains & Genres of use



¹⁴ los lingüistas' están creando un problema donde no lo hay.

¹² una nueva generación de asturianos que simplemente quieren hablar, pensar, escribir y sonar en su idioma ...

¹⁴ escribo en castellano para que lo entiendas, ya que, si lo hiciera en mi lengua paterna-materna, no te enterarías de nada.

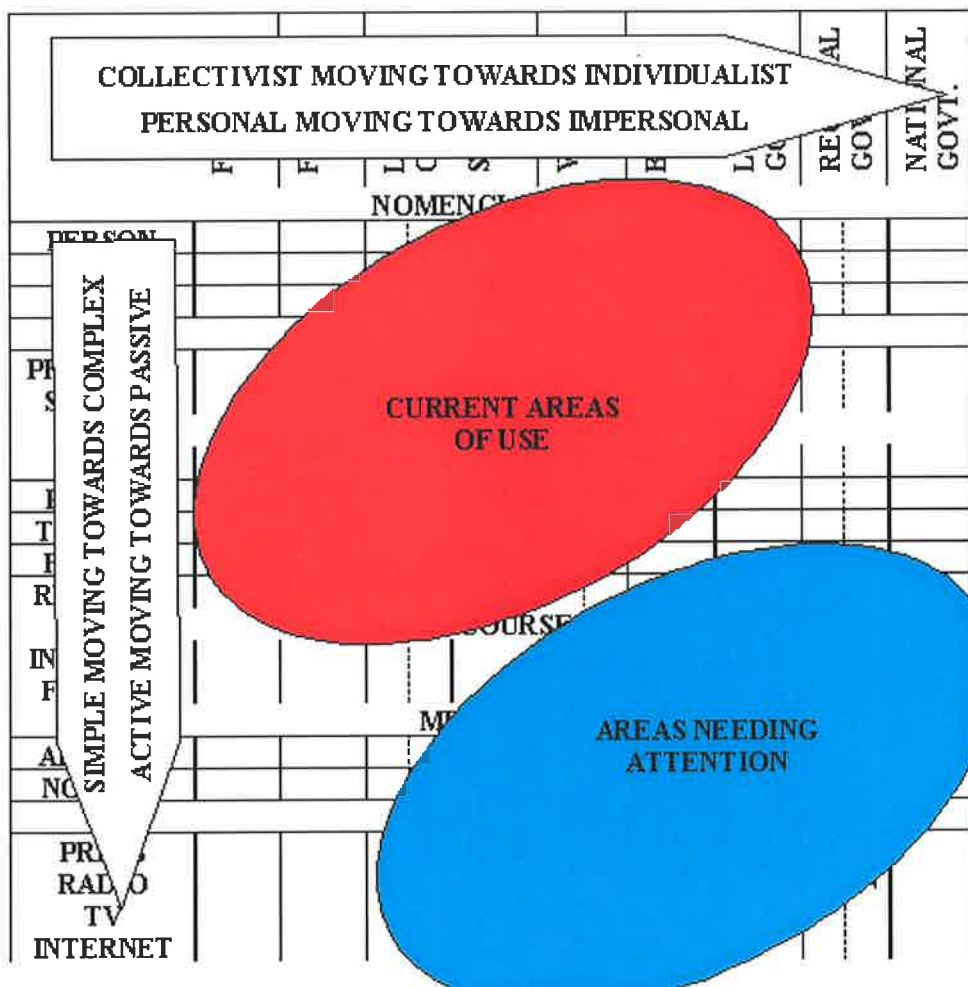
¹¹ pa poder fala la mio llingua sin vergoños en cualquier situu.

¹³ cuantos políticos a implantarnos bables, dialectos e idiomas de andar por casa

The aim of any language policy regime is not simply to improve status but to improve its impact in a society. In other words it is to create an appropriate ecology to enable the sustainability of a language.

In simple terms this implies improving the range of domains and genres where a language is used. In terms of Bable, and using Figure 10.5 from Chapter 10, the task is summarised in Figure 16.7.

Figure 16.7: Area needing Domain & Genre development for Bable



This figure indicates that, in general, there is currently some degree of use of Bable (or bables) in the more familial and personal domains and in the simpler genres. The broad task is suggested by the area in blue; it signifies that wider domain and genre

presence of Bable is needed for it to be in a stronger position vis-à-vis its duolect, Castilian – the language which is also the L2 to Bable's own L1 status.

The figure also notes that expansion of use in these areas for Bable would also require it to confront changed circumstances. The broadening of the range of domains where the language is used would require both context and relational changes. The research shows that Bable has generally been strongest in settings which have been collectivist and where relationships have been more direct and personal. The domains to the right hand side of the figure are settings where the collectivist approach cannot operate as effectively (apart from such episodic activities as strikes); thus the transaction is more between an individual, acting singly, and the 'other' of one of those domains. In other words at the same time as the relationship becomes less collectivist and more individualist it becomes less personal. For example, there is no equivalent of the *esfoyaza* in dealings with any level of government.

With respect to genres, as those at the bottom of the figure come into focus, we find that they are increasingly more complex in nature than the genres used historically. As the genres become more complex there is, with some exceptions, less active involvement by the individual. He or she is less and less the interlocutor and becomes more and more a passive listener, viewer or reader. In Asturias the couple of exceptions are the print media (with its letters to the editor) and the Internet (with its reasonable incidence of Bable language home pages and chat groups). If there were talk-back programs on Bable-language radio, that genre could be added to the list of exceptions. In each of these, the individual has the capacity to interact within the genre; in other words be an active participant, not just a passive one.

16.4 A NEW LANGUAGE PLANNING PARADIGM

In Chapter 11 the key question was noted : ‘Would the absence of language planning have been worse in any given situation than its existence?’. In dealing with this question there are two implicit presuppositions: firstly what is ‘planning’ and secondly what is considered a ‘desirable’ or ‘worse’ outcome. In the first instance, the consideration of what is planning also has to be dealt with in the context of the environment prior to the development of new plans.

Kaplan and Baldauf, in their work on language planning (building on the foundations of such people as Fishman, Ferguson, Das Gupta , Haugen, Jernudd, Neustupny, Rubin and others), identified a number of factors relevant to a sociolinguistic investigation of language – these included assessments of a language’s vital signs (death, survival, change, revival, shift and amalgamation) and also of efforts to assist it. In considering those assessment categories, on page 371 various alternative statements were pitted against each other. Some were considered *more likely to be correct or probable* and others less likely. In the light of the analysis of differing attitudes and the research findings, the components of those various statements can be reworked into two which would characterise the more and less appropriate positions which could be taken with respect to Bable:

- **The more appropriate:** Bable could cease to be spoken in the community. However, Bable will survive if the community of potential speakers wishes to use it. Bable, like other languages, is subject to the forces of change; it will experience language shift as part of the normal process of language change. Bable can only be revived by a complex series of actions which involve various aspects of the community. It is important to note that Bable’s prospects for survival will not depend on differentiation at any price from Castilian. Government agencies need to provide a broad framework for encouraging the use of Bable in a wider range of domains and provide status recognition.

- **The less appropriate:** Bable could die. To prevent this will require the correct regulatory framework being put in place as Bable's revival will depend primarily on official actions. A key problem for Bable is that it is the victim of interference; this is the result of language shift taking place. It will need to protect its lexical integrity even if that means adopting hypercorrection. Government agencies can take a staged approach introducing Bable education into the school system and leave until later status issues.

In designing a language plan which would target the more appropriate it would, using the groupings in Attitude Circle construct, be important to build on the attitudes of positive and dispassionate groups while encountering (as opposed to countering) the views of the negative and disinterest groups. A particular need for encounter in the Asturian situation is that of the bables.

In Asturias, it is clear that the strong ties of low status networks have been positive towards the concept of the 'bables' (the range of disparate and diverse speeches), but they may also have been detrimental to the idea of Bable as a unitary concept. As the strong ties weaken, can there be an accommodation so that it could be possible for the Bable/bables debate to be resolved in a way which would reinforce language status and vitality?

On the basis of my investigations, it is my contention that a complex, hybrid response could be constructed which would find a place for dialectal variety whilst at the same time strengthening a strong linguistic core around which such variety can thrive – in other words an inclusive standardization (which would integrate with the language's dialect diversity).

Of course, given the demographic realities affecting the population of potential speakers of almost all the local varieties, the practical implementation of any language planning policy could not be homogenous between Bable and the bables. It could not reasonably be expected that curriculum materials for the bables would have the same level of funding invested in them, nor in terms of the investment in teacher formation for them as would be needed for a program of expansion of Bable in the school system. However, the creation of modules focussed on local varieties completing the core curriculum would be an example of a feasible response accommodating the polarity of views.

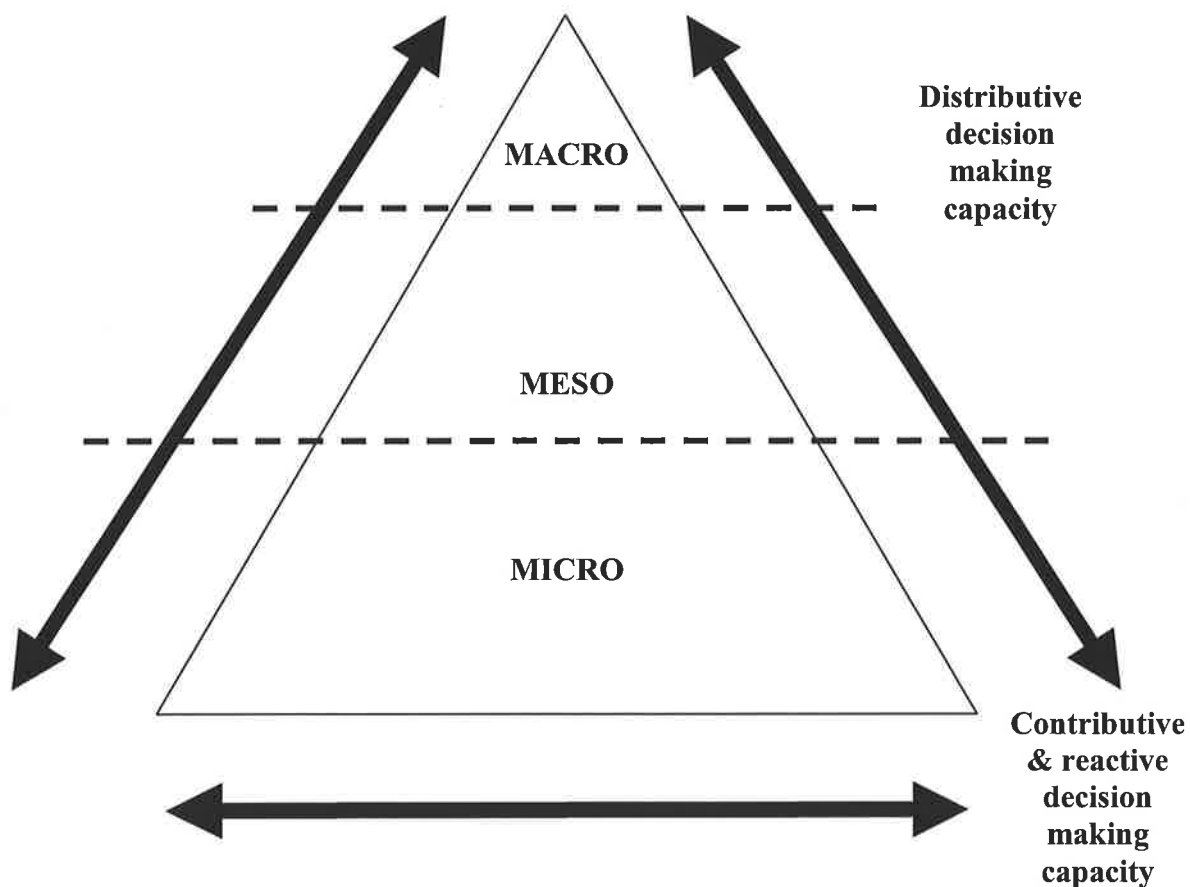
Returning to core issues related to language planning, there is the issue of change agents which have an inherently nurturing or reinforcing effect as opposed to those which are negative. In the way of encountering (as opposed to countering) planning responses to the change versus interference debate need to deal with what are seen as 'desirable' versus what are seen as 'worse'. Whether change agents can exist in the new social networks into which a community enters and whether they are positive or negative becomes a key issue for investigation.

Again government *fiat* alone would not achieve this encounter. Language planning at the macro level needs to pay attention to identifying change agents and supporting those that are positive. This would require a receptivity on the part of macro level decision makers to micro level opinions and responses. Meso level decision making can play a useful intermediary role. There are distinctive characteristics to the macro/meso and micro levels. The former grouping can be described as having distributive decision making capacity – that is decisions result in actions being taken

at and which affect other levels. On the other hand, at the micro level the decision making capacity can be described as contributive and reactive – that is at the community level people, can react to the decisions of the macro and meso levels and contribute to them through democratic processes.

Examining the relationship between the levels and their interconnectivity can be considered as depicted in the Figure 16.8. In that figure the heavy black lines represent language norm enforcers. That they are double headed arrows is intended to indicate that the norm enforcers need to be active - interactive – and not just passively received from initiators.

Figure 16.8: Relationship between macro, meso & micro levels



The research has shown that at the Macro level, negative attitudes seem to outweigh positive attitudes. This is evidenced by the failure of co-officiality proposals. At the Meso level, there appears a more even balance between negative and positive attitudes as evidenced by the councils which have supported co-officiality. While at the micro level, there are communities where the positive outweighs the negative such as the mining *cuencas*.

At the micro level and in the rural context, young children received Bable as their mother tongue. As they grew they ceased being passive recipients and started to be active participants in the norm enforcement process by use of interactive, simple genres.

Between the macro/meso levels and the micro levels, norm enforcement by *fiat* alone will be no more successful than attempts at norm erosion by *fiat* during the Franco era in the cases of Catalan and Basque were. Thus the norm enforcement needs to interact with community response.

16.4.1 A double helix model for language promotion

This then brings us once again to the double helix model; in this case adapted to the issue of language planning and promotion. Figure 16.9 illustrates the relationship in this model between the macro/meso and micro levels of language promotion.

Figure 16.9: Double helix relationship of macro/meso & micro levels of language promotion.



What then would be the base-pairs which would keep viable existing community-initiated norm enforcers and develop new ones as well as creating similar functions at the macro and meso levels (ensuring that they are all coherent with each other)? Table 16.10 suggests some possibilities.

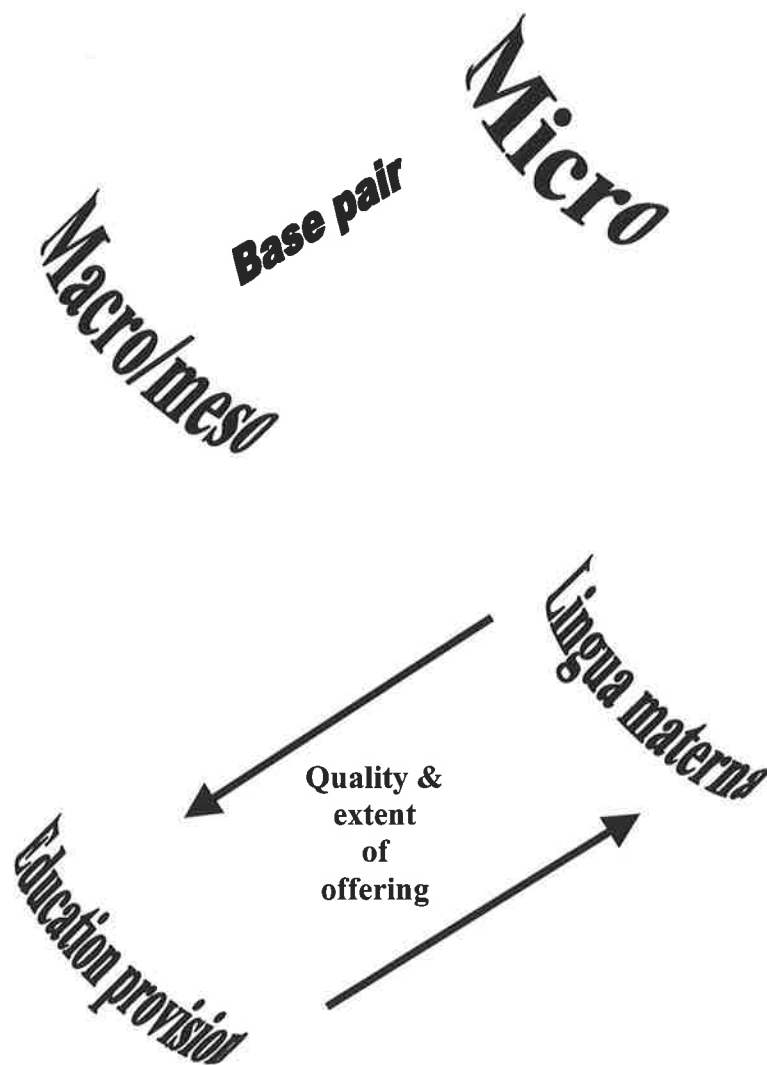
Figure 16.10: Possible base-pairs for a Language promotion double helix for Bable

Macro/meso	Base pairs	Micro
Education provision	Quality & extent of offering	Lingua maternal
Co-officiality or equivalent	Level of opportunities in new domains	Utilisation
Normalisation	Level of provision in new genres	Utilisation and audience

The implication of the double helix model is that sustainable development takes place when key determiners (the backbones – in this case the macro/meso and micro levels) maintain a dynamic interaction with each (through the base pairs). At any moment in time the interconnection between these elements could then be examined by taking a

slice through the double helix at any point. Figure 16.11 illustrates both the concept and an example.

Figure 16.11: Point in time relationship of macro/meso with micro (and example)



The example in the diagram would indicate that the quality and extent of the offering of Bable in schools would be an outcome of education provision from the macro level. That offering would support the survival of Bable as a *lingua materna* which

would itself provide a supportive community environment for school offerings of Bable. This supportive community environment would then feed back to the macro level making it easier for the macro level to make decisions which would increase the level and quality of such school offerings.

Other examples of interactive relationship between macro promotion and implementation and community contribution and reaction could similarly be constructed for the level of opportunity in new domains and new genres and any other base pairs which might be relevant.

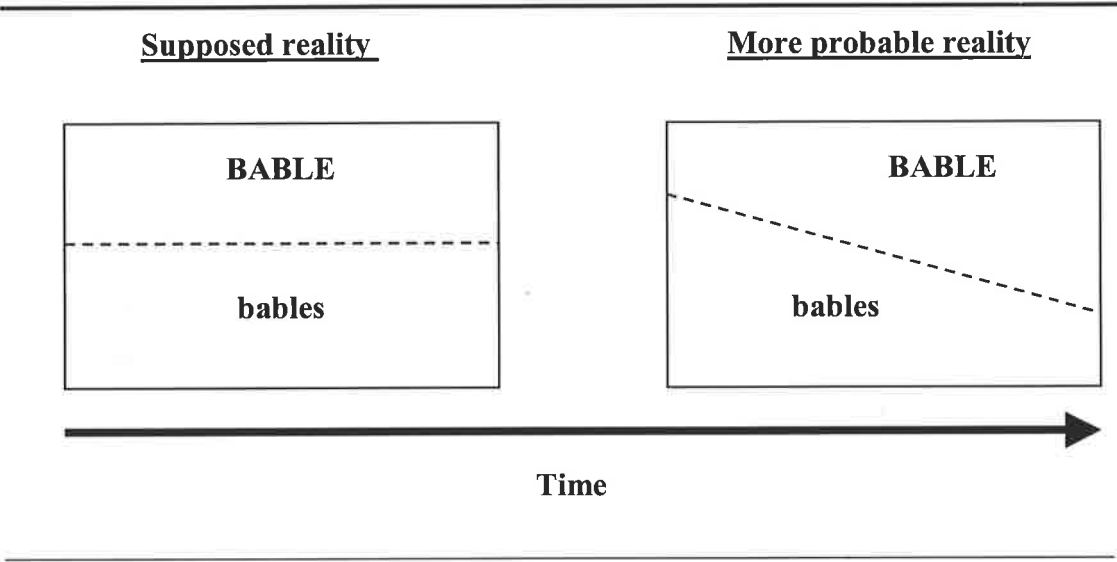
Recapitulating, the purpose of this model is to indicate that progress at both the macro/meso and micro levels would benefit from a defined connectivity between the levels such that the distributive decision making capacity of the macro/meso levels would complement the contributive & reactive decision making capacity of the micro.

16.5 ASTURIANU OR BABLE

In the explanatory notes of the Introduction, I indicated that the conclusions would suggest that *Asturianu(o)* would be a better term to be used to describe the vernacular of the Asturians than *Bable*.

In the first place, an examination of the trend line of language nomenclature usage indicates an increased level of opting for the name *Asturianu(o)* by supporters of the language in recent decades compared with the practice of previous generations. Indeed the current situation seems to be that Bable as a name is more often used by those who would oppose its normalisation or its being granted official status.

Using the name Bable in the context of the bables also faces the risk of pitting one against the other. Certainly the responses by *Patio de Luces* interviewees contained a number of examples of such an attitude. Emblematic differentiation of Bable from the bables may enable the idea of each being supported without having to be considered at the expense of the other. The two are, of course related, but the following diagram probably reflects more accurately the current situation.



The research has indicated that there are distinct bables; but it has also indicated that in some instances differences between them were more due to a lack of standardised orthography and phonetics than more profound differentiation. In any event, even where lexicons have been identified they have tended more frequently to have been associated with communities in population decline. The mining *cuencas* do not seem to have developed an intense and exclusive self-consciousness of the Bable spoken in each centre; they seem naturally to have accepted the concept of a unitary language which contains dialects.

Status could be given by the name *Asturianu(o)* in place of *Bable*, while bables could be preserved for the varieties of the language.

FINALLY

Writer Miguel Rojo was quoted in the *Patio de Luces* in answer to the question of *What is Bable?* as saying:

(It is) a language with very bad luck.^{1 t}

In fact the future facing any language need not be considered a function of chance but an outcome which can be affected by intentional action. The intentional action needed by Bable/Asturianu is that which will enable new ways of ensuring the continued vitality of a language which has survived to this moment of time. In the words of one letter writer:

I, who was born in a mining *cuenca*, have not had any inconvenience in being understood in any part of Asturias when I speak in Asturian ... (it is important that the authorities) respect the intent to recuperate Bable and observe the pleasure of the children by knowing, speaking and writing in their own language. L026/004.^t

¹ P015

^t *Una lengua con muy mala suerte*

^t *Yo, que nací en la cuenca minera, no he tenido ningún inconveniente en entenderme, hablando en asturiano, en ninguna parte de Asturias... respeten este intento de recuperar el bable y observen el placer de los niños por conocer, hablar y escribir en su lengua.*



**PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN
ASTURIAS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR
LANGUAGE POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT**

Volume II

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**Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Education, University of Adelaide**

September 2002

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Principal surname highlighted in **bold**

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LLAA: *Lletres Asturianas*, biannual review of **ALLA**, Oviedo

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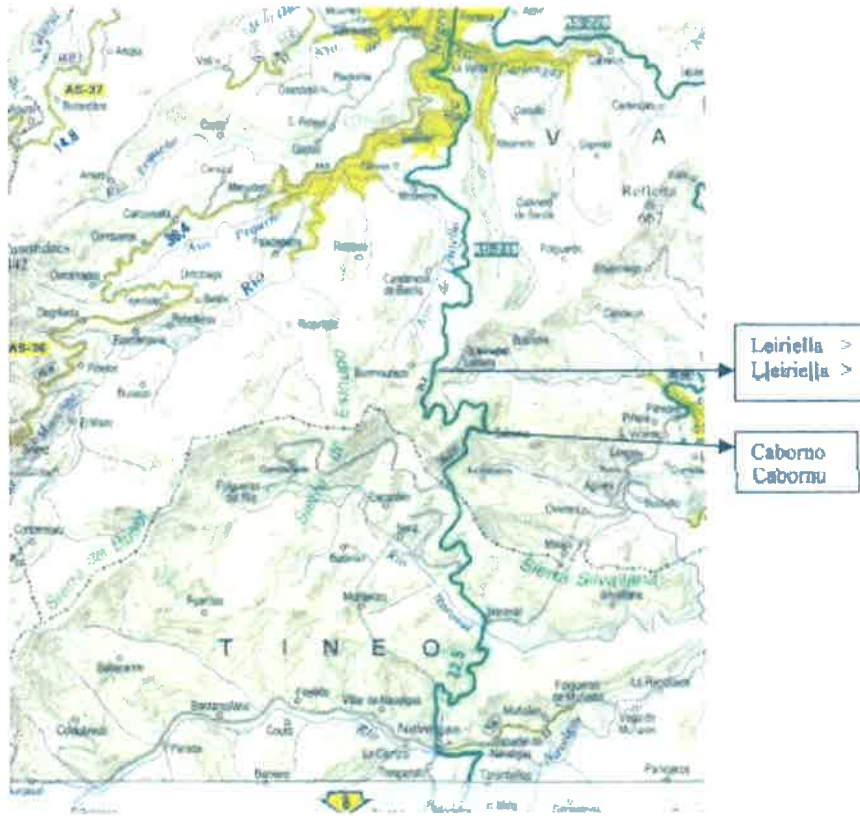
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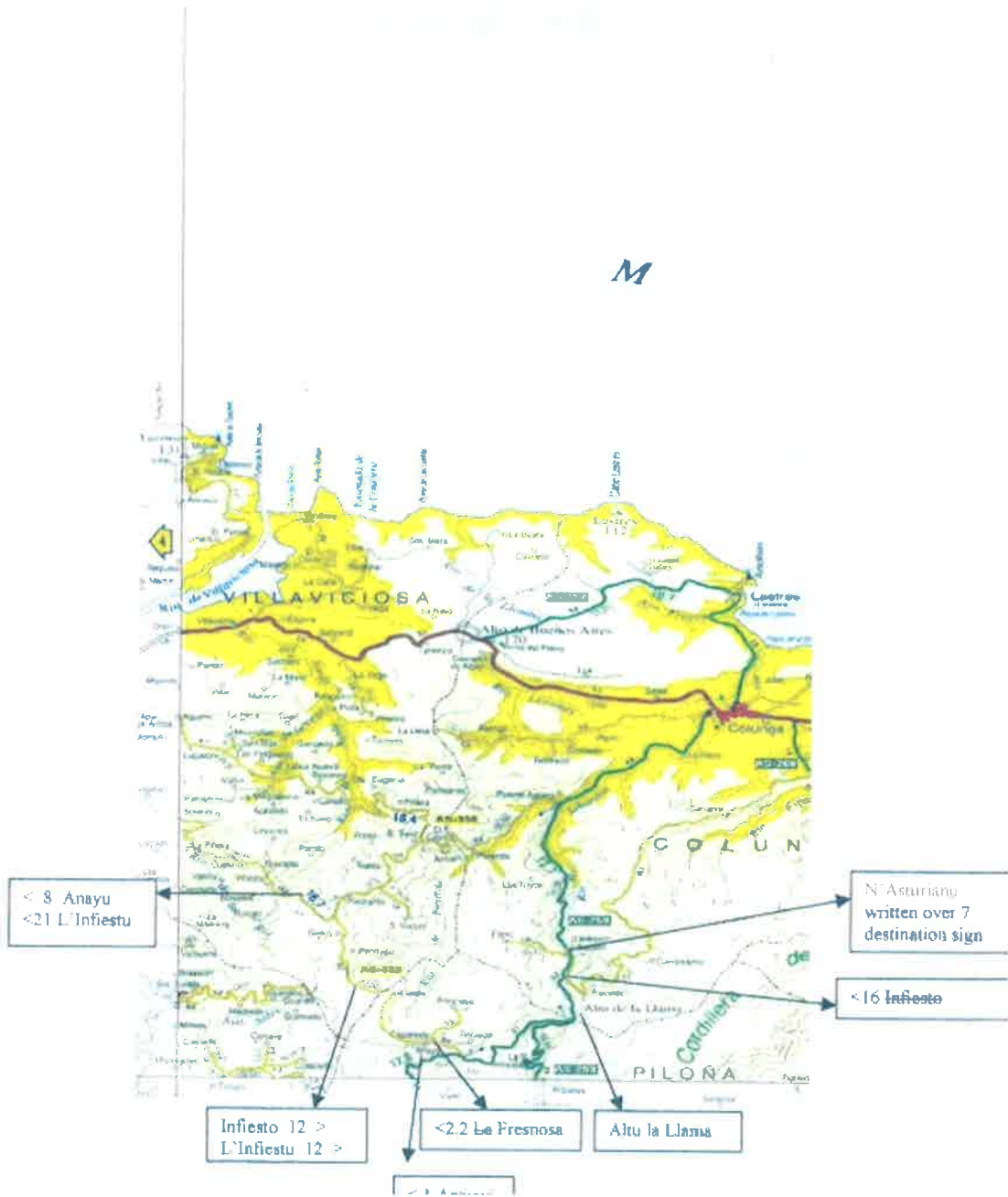
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Map A1



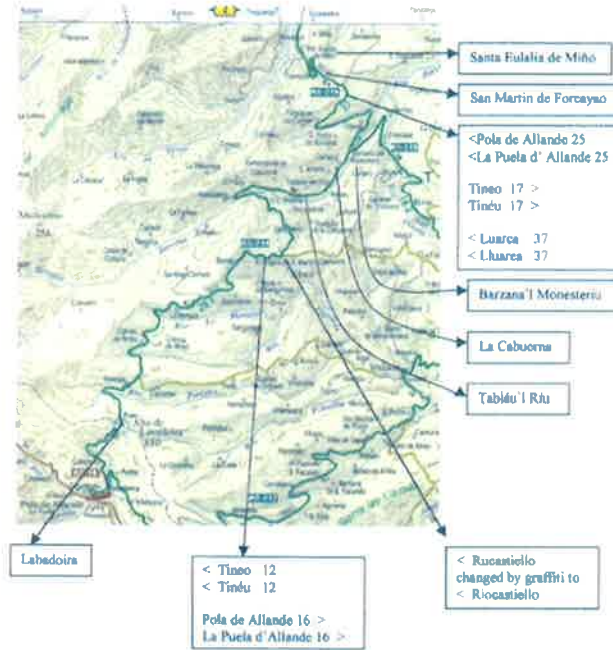
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Map A3

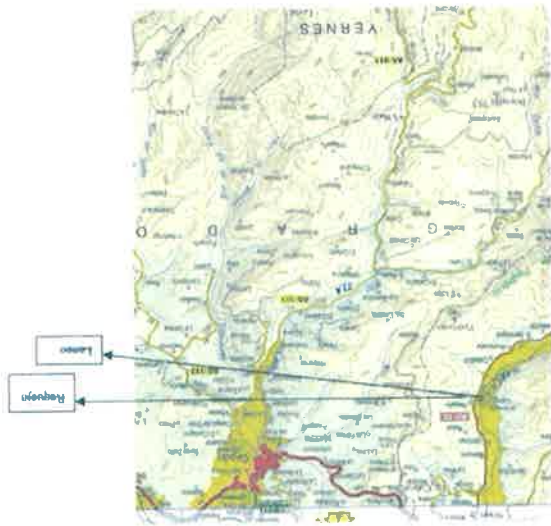


Map A4



Map A5



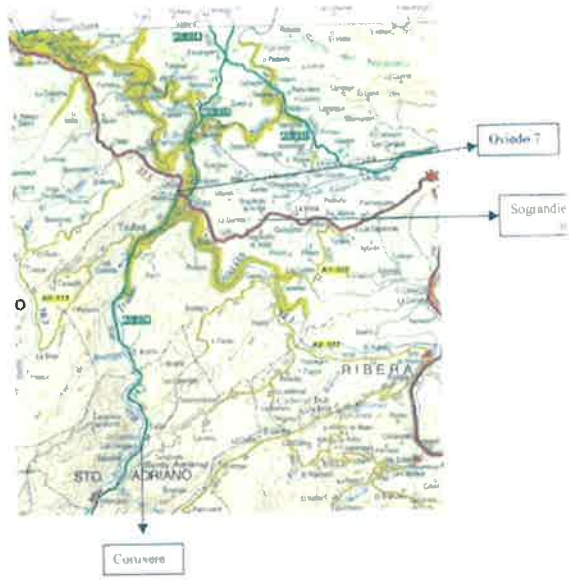


Map A7



Map A6

Map A7

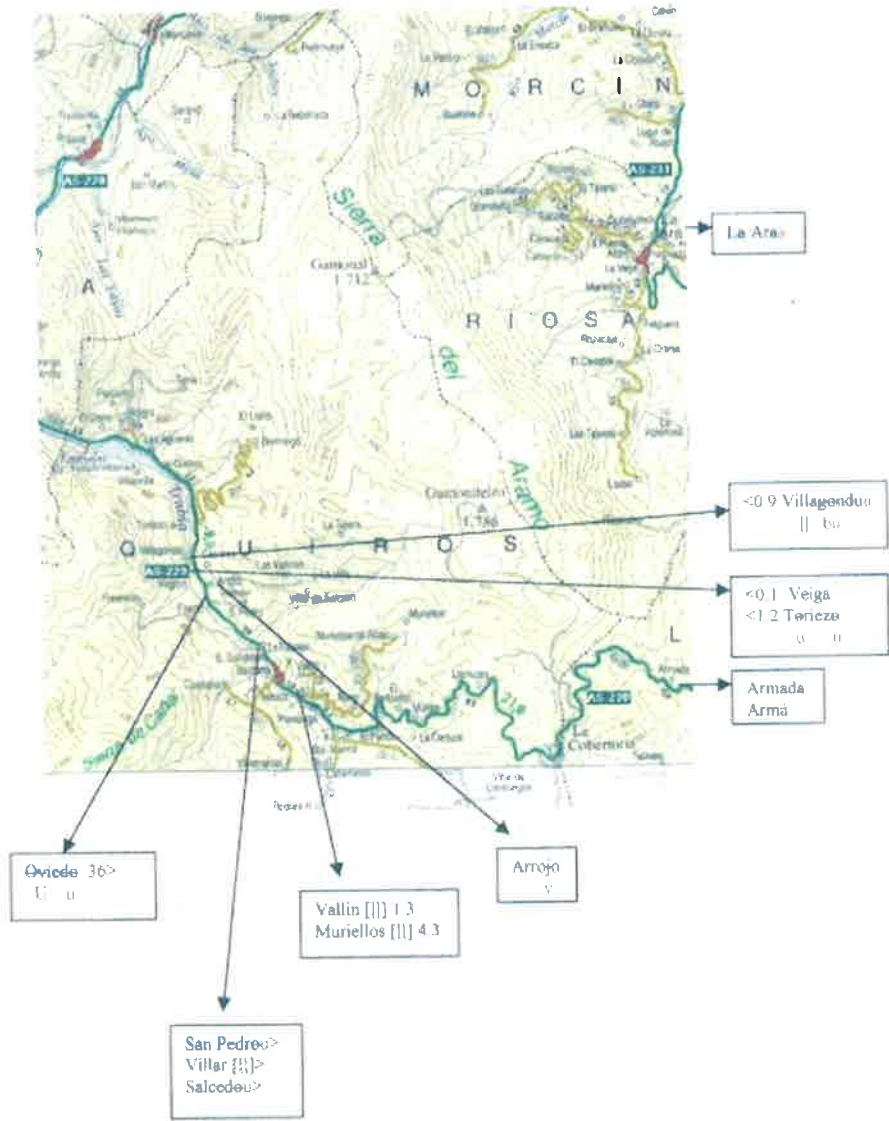


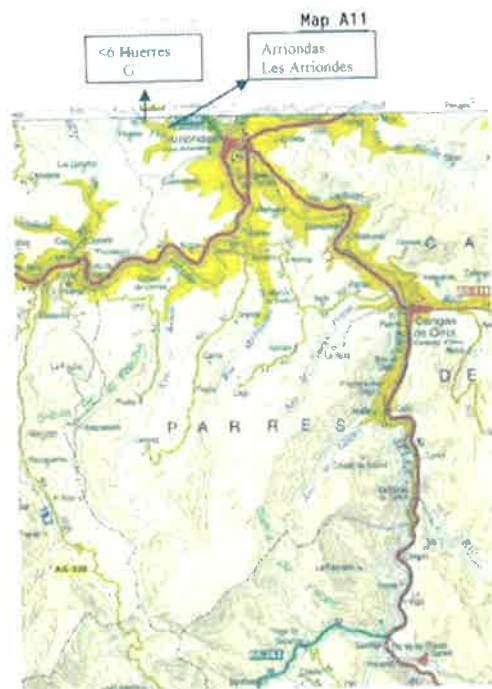
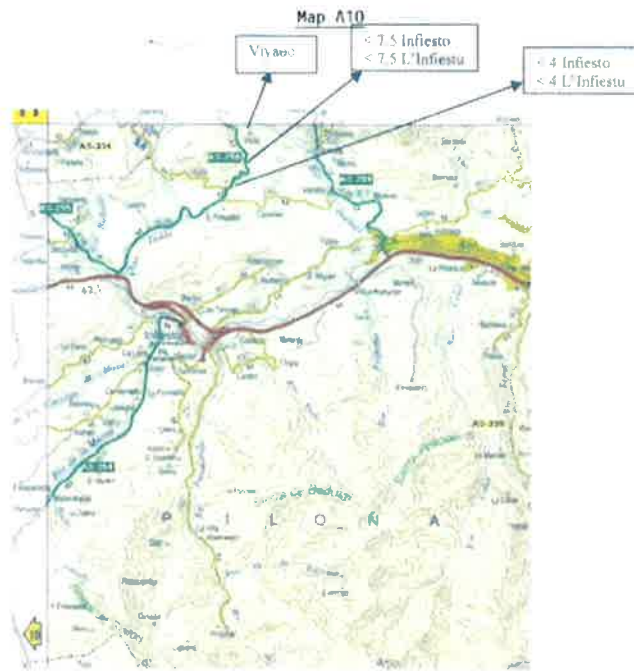
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Map A8



Map A9





APPENDIX C

This appendix contains information relevant to the Conference of teachers and others referred to in Chapter 13.

The contents are:

- Table C 1: Raw data of information supplied by conference attendees. [page ii]
- Table C2: Information from Table C1 reported as percentages. [page iii]
- Original language responses from conference attendees to four of the questions asked. [page iv]
- Graphs derived factors reported in Table 13.1 which have not been included in Chapter 13. [page xviii]

Table C1: Raw data of information supplied by conference attendees

Personal characteristics	N =	Motivation for attending							Language capacity					Where learnt					Usage			
		Like to speak	Learn to write	Cultural	Defend/pro mote	Want to teach	Further study/work	Overcome diglossia	Nil	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Mother tongue	Home environme	Local community	School	Other	Family	Friends/c'ty	Work	General
s=	122	75	12	21	26	34	8	11	2	19	60	21	16	20	70	49	7	86	87	80	33	34
Gender ns	7	4	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	1	3	2	-	3	2	2	-	3	3	4	1	1
Male	31	17	4	6	8	4	6	3	-	3	14	11	3	6	21	14	3	23	28	23	9	9
Female	84	54	7	15	14	30	2	8	2	15	43	8	13	11	47	33	4	60	56	53	23	24
Occup. nk	28	20	4	4	5	5	2	4	1	6	11	5	3	5	12	8	4	21	15	12	3	6
Other	11	6	1	2	4	1	-	3	-	2	6	2	-	1	9	5		10	8	6	4	2
Teacher	66	39	6	13	13	27	2	2	1	10	34	10	11	10	35	28	2	45	51	48	21	19
Student	17	10	1	2	4	1	4	2	-	1	9	4	2	4	12	8	1	10	11	11	4	4
Age ns	26	18	2	2	6	6	-	2	-	3	10	6	5	5	12	11	2	14	15	18	8	5
Twenties	43	23	-	6	10	10	5	9	1	8	21	8	4	7	24	13	2	35	30	26	10	12
Thirties	34	21	6	11	8	12	2	-	-	6	19	4	4	4	20	15	3	22	27	25	8	9
Forties +	19	13	4	2	2	6	1	-	1	2	10	3	3	4	14	10	-	15	15	11	7	8
Zone s/ext	36	24	5	8	8	9	-	1	2	9	13	4	5	8	15	8	-	27	20	19	10	10
Central	69	38	5	10	16	17	7	9	-	10	37	15	7	8	42	32	7	50	54	50	20	20
Occidental	10	7	1	3	-	5	1	1	-	-	7	-	2	-	9	6	-	6	7	6	2	2
Oriental	6	5	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	3	2	1	4	3	2	-	3	5	4	1	2
Ast-Gall	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Ext/ns	28	20	2	4	6	7	1	-	1	7	13	-	4	6	13	8	-	16	14	14	5	3
Urban	29	18	2	4	5	7	1	7	-	8	14	6	1	3	14	12	1	25	20	18	5	7
Mining	20	11	2	4	6	3	4	1	-	-	10	5	5	3	15	10	4	13	19	17	9	9
Rural	45	26	6	9	9	17	2	3	1	4	23	10	6	8	28	19	2	32	34	31	14	15

Table C2: Conference data as percentages

Personal characteristics	N as %age	Motivation for attending							Language capacity					Where learnt					Usage			
		Like to speak	Learn to write	Cultural	Defend/promote language	Want to teach	Further study/work	Overcome diglossia	Nil	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Mother tongue	Home environment	Local community	School	Other	Family	Friends/c'ty	Work	General
s=	122	75	12	21	26	34	8	11	2	19	60	21	16	20	70	49	7	86	87	80	33	34
Gender ns	5.7	5.3	8.3	-	15.4	-	-	-	-	5.2	5	9.5	-	15	2.9	4.1	-	3.5	3.4	5.0	3.0	2.9
Male	25.4	22.7	33.3	28.6	30.8	11.8	75	27.3	-	15.8	23.3	52.4	18.8	30	30	28.6	42.9	26.7	32.2	28.8	27.3	26.5
Female	68.9	72	5.8	71.4	53.8	88.2	25	72.7	100	78.9	71.7	38.1	81.2	55	67.1	67.3	57.1	69.8	64.4	66.3	69.7	70.6
Occup. nk	23	26.7	33.3	19	19.2	14.7	25	36.4	50	31.6	18.3	23.8	18.8	25	17.1	16.3	57.1	24.4	17.2	15	9.1	17.6
Other	9	8	8.3	9.5	15.4	2.9	-	27.3	-	10.5	10	9.5	-	5	12.9	10.2	-	11.6	9.2	7.5	12.1	5.9
Teacher	54.1	52	50	61.9	50	79.4	25	18.2	50	52.6	56.7	47.6	68.8	50	50	57.1	28.6	52.3	58.6	60	63.6	55.9
Student	13.9	13.3	8.3	9.5	15.4	2.9	50	18.2	-	5.3	15	19.0	12.5	20	17.1	16.3	14.3	11.6	12.6	13.8	12.1	11.8
Age ns	21.3	24	16.7	9.5	23.1	17.6	-	18.2	-	15.8	16.7	28.6	31.3	25	17.1	22.4	28.6	16.3	17.2	22.5	24.2	14.7
Twenties	35.2	30.7	-	28.5	38.4	29.4	62.5	81.9	50	42.1	35	38.1	25.1	35	34.3	26.5	28.6	40.7	35.5	32.5	30.4	35.3
Thirties	27.9	28	50	52.3	30.8	35.3	25	-	-	31.2	31.7	19	25	20	28.6	30.6	42.9	25.5	31	31.3	24.2	26.5
Forties+	15.6	17.4	33.4	9.6	7.6	17.7	12.5	-	-	10.6	16.7	14.3	18.8	20	20	20.5	-	17.4	17.2	13.8	21.3	23.5
Zone s/ext	29.5	32	41.7	38.1	30.8	26.5	-	9.1	100	47.4	21.7	19	31.3	40	21.4	16.3	-	31.4	23	23.8	30.3	29.4
Central	56.6	50.7	41.7	47.6	61.5	50	87.5	81.8	-	52.6	61.7	71.4	43.8	40	60	65.3	100	58.1	62.1	62.5	60.6	58.8
Occidental	8.2	9.3	8.3	14.3	-	14.7	12.5	9.1	-	-	11.7	-	12.5	-	12.9	12.2	-	7	8	7.5	6.1	5.9
Oriental	4.9	6.7	8.3	-	3.8	8.8	-	-	-	-	5	9.5	6.3	20	4.3	4.1	-	3.5	5.7	5	3	5.9
Ast-Gall	0.8	1.3	-	-	3.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.3	-	1.4	2.0	-	-	1.1	1.3	-	-
Ext/ns	23	26.7	16.7	19	23.1	20.6	12.5	-	50	36.8	21.7	-	25	30	18.6	16.3	-	18.6	16.1	17.5	15.2	8.8
Urban	23.8	24	16.7	19	19.2	20.6	12.5	63.6	-	42.1	23.3	28.6	6.3	15	20	24.5	14.3	29.1	23	22.5	15.2	20.6
Mining	16.4	14.7	16.7	19	23.1	8.8	50	9.1	-	-	16.7	23.8	31.3	15	21.4	20.4	57.1	15.1	21.8	21.2	27.3	26.5
Rural	36.9	34.7	50	42.9	34.6	50	25	27.3	50	21.1	38.3	47.6	37.5	40	40	38.8	28.6	37.2	39.1	38.8	42.4	44.1

Answers to four questions from survey conducted at Asturian language conference
held in Cangas de Narcea, 30 August 1995

#	¿Habla asturiano en su vida cotidiana?	¿En que ambiente?	¿Cree que lo habla bien?	¿Como ha aprendido la llingua? Indique las distintas formas si hay más de una.
S001	Falo n'asturianu poco, o mui poco.	Sólo cuando teno la oportunidá de facelo con dalgúen que tamién fala con cierta soltura. El asturianu lu falo más colos collacios y en casa. Normalmente falo n'amestau d'asturianu y castellán na mayor parte del tiempu, anque si me pongo mui seciu o a discutir daqué con enfotu o m'enfado, suelo falar más castellanu.	Nun creo que falo mui bien l'asturianu, l'influxu del castellán ye mui fuerte	En mio casa. Comu entá se tenía algo de ganau y dalgún prau y huerta, creo que teno ciertu vocabulariu a cause d'ello. Na vida cotidiana de casa utilízase comu yá dice l'asturianu amestau. Tamién fixe/toi faciendo un cursu de llingua asturiana p'adultos subvencionau pol Principáu d'Asturies n'Uviéu.
S002	Falo n'asturianu d'arezu.	Na casa, colos fíos; nes xeres culturales, polítiques o sindicales colos collacios que toos ellos falen tamién asturianu; nel trabayu colos que tan por por oyime y colos que nun tau por ello; na cai, nos parques, nos tiendes, lo mesmo.	Prestaríame falalo entá más seveso(?) pa cafiar más a los culturalmente intranxsixentes, políticamente colonialistes.	Mio ma, mio pá, mios güelos falaben asturianu, frañín, pero asturianu. Tamién o más de la xente de la rodiada de la mio infancia. Recuperelu dafechu colos llibros y cursos de l'Academia Asturiana.
S003	Depende de es situaciones y con quien.	Cuandu toi con castellanofarlantes espresome en castellán mentantu que cola xente que fala la llingua asturiana falo n'asturianu.	Si bien, ye verdá que con dificultaes.	Sobre too a través de los cursos de l'Academia y sintiendo falar a la xente, ya que al ser mayestra interina, tengo recorridu muchos pueblos de les diverses fasteres onde se falen distintes variantes.
S004	Sí.	Na familia, nel pueblu, sobretoo colos güelos y colos pas.	Falamos una amestanza col castellán, pero falamos un bon asturiano.	La llingua depredila en casa, mamela nel ambiente sin dame cuenta, dase tamién la cosa de que de guahe taba muncho colos mios güelos, ayudavalos na yerba, diba a llindar con ellos.
S005	En la mio casa normalmente falamos n'asturianu.	Colas amigas menos, nel sentí de que usamos menos léxicu asturianu y pronunciamos consonante que nun tien l'asturianu comu la 'j'. Pero lo que nun desanicí(?) Fueron los verbos simples polos compuestos.		La llingua depredila na mio cá so too. Pero nel cursín depredí munchu vocabulariu y la fala d'otros partes d'Asturies
S006	Falo Asturianu (rexistru coloquial) colos amigos y familiares direutos. Nel restu los casos altermolu col castellan.		El nivel de dominiu fue considerase de grau mediu.	Nel sen familiar, tamién nel entornu social y nos cursos de l'Academia de Llingua. La forma foi oral nun primer momentu, pa facelo a nivel académicu posteriormente.

S007	No.	Na familia y con dellos collacios y collacías.	No. Paezme que la mio fala ye un exemplu peruaro(?) de diglosia.	Deprendilo na familia y nos pueblos onde los míos pas y los míos güelos nacieron. Tamién falando con collacios a los que yos presta falar n'asturianu. Colos primeros llibros que mio güela me regalara pa que no se m'escaeciese la nuesa llingua y colos llibros de agora.
S008	L'asturianu que falo na vida cotidiana ta mui entemecíu, nun se paez ... cosa al que falo agora nos cursos, porque ente otres coses cuestame a ... esfuercio y camento que munches coses nin me les entedieren.	Nel trabayo falo castellan, con xente foriata tamién, y en situaciones formales y depende que amistaes o el tema del que fale tamién.		De manera informal (na cai, cola collacios, colos míos pas, nel pueblu de los míos pas) y de manera formal nestos cursos y de cursos adultos que organizen dalgunos Ayuntamientos en colaboración cola Consejería.
S009	Falo asturianu se xerres en cuandu.	Suelo falalo n'ambientes familiares y colos collacios d'esti entornu.	Falalu en forma correutu	Deprendí l'asturianu no mio familia. Va pa unos años qu'entamé estos cursinos y depredilu me mou más normalizau y ganando altor de conocencia n'ello.
S010	Dalgunes vegaes.	Na mio casa.	Procuo poner en practica too lo que m'.. nos cursos.	A traves de los cursos de llingua.
S011	Falo asturiano siempre.	Colos míos fíos, col mio home, colos collacios, nel llugar de trabayu...	Creo que lo fala bastante bien, aunque too se puede ameyorar.	La llingua depredila antes qu'el castellán porque na mio todos falaben asturiano. Tamién deprendí munches coses nos cursos de l'Academia de la Llingua Asturiana sobre too a l' hora escribila.
S012	Falo asturiano	Nel ambiente familiar.	Nun lo falo del too bien.	Ye la mio fala materna y depredila na casa míos güelos y pas. La escritura nun la se bien porque nun se depredia nes escueles.
S013	Como vivo fuera d'Asturies, nun pudo falar normalmete l'asturianu.	Cuándu vengolos fines de semana a la "tierrina", sí que digo dalgunes pallabres y espresiones,	Pero faltame muncho per deprender y gustaríme falalo bien, por eso toi tamién equí.	El primer contautu cola llingua, túvelas ya dende pequeña, porque nací nuna cuenca minera. Nel colexu dixerónme que falaba "mal" y escaeci munches pallabres col tiempu. Ya siendo mayor reecontréme con l'asturianu nun cursu organizáu pol Ayuntaminto de Llingua Asturiana pa adultos y el siguiente pasu fue'l d'apuntame nestos cursinos.
S014	Nun me falo n' asturianu a mio vide cotidiane porque la xente colo que toi nun fala asturianu.	Falolu cuandu toi con xente rellacionao con temas asturianos, col estudio de la llingua asturiana.		Pue dicise que deprendí a falar asturianu solo. El cursu de l' "Especialistas en Filoloxía Asturiana" ayudóme a afitar los míos conocimientos y aportóme otros nuevos.

S015	Falo un entemecío d'asturiano y castellán que foi lo de deprendi, aunque hai más vocablos castellanos qu'asturianos.	Esto fagolo normalmente tanto nel amiente familiar comu coloquial y laboral.		Al tener pas asturianos que vienen d'una zona onde se falaba dalgo d'asturiano, dalgunes coses aprendiles perlu. Lo que ye l'asturiano normalizao y un vocabulariu más estenso foi a través de los cursos de la Academia.
S016	-	-	-	-
S017	Falo asturianu na mayoría de les situaciones	(familia, amigos, estudios &c)	Creo que too un nivel de llingua asturiana suficientemente altu.	La mía conocencia de la llingua foi primeru atraves de la familia y dempués de forma autdidautá, pa finase afondando colos cursos de la ALLA y na Universidá.
S018	Normalmente falo asturiano	en tolos llars tanto en la mía cá comu colos collacios pero entavía teo(?)	Que deprender más porque hai muncha influencia de pallabres en castellán.	La llingua deprendí a falalo nel sitiu onde vivo pero más correutamente nos cursos de l'Academia de la Llingua.
S019	Na casa de los míos pas falo lo que siempre se faló. Na vida cotidiana colos collacios/es falo amestao. Profesionalmente "Lengua Castellana" y nos cursinos y nos ambientes asturianu dafechu.		Nun lo falo bien del too porque son munches interferencies del castellanu que hai, que les son difícils de desanicar.	Na mía familia y colos míos collacios de pequeña. Nos cursinos d'asturianu de l'Academia.
S020	Falo asturianu en casa, colos collacios de la Universidá partidanos de la normalización y con dellos amigos. Na vida académica, con dellos amigos o nes instancias oficiales, en castellán.		El mía nivel d'asturianu ye bonu, pero les más de le veces falo con castellanismos, lo mesmo que falo castellán, les más de les veces, con castellanismos.	La fala deprendila en casa. A escribir y a lleer, pola mía cuenta, cuando garré conciencia llingüística militante a lo dieciseis años.
S021	Teo que dicir que yo falo lo que se entiende por "amestao", falo un asturiano castellaizáu.	La verdad ye que lu empleo (?) En tolos ambientes nos que des... la mía vida.	La verdá ye que aunque teo munches deficiencias de vocabulariu, les estructures más carauteri... del asturiano creo que les empleo defechu.	Yo deprendí lo que sé d'asturianu, po lafala de los míos pas y de los míos güelos. Na cai, per exemplu, en Xixón onde vivo dende que ñaci, nun deprendí, ya que ta mui castellanizáu elli la fala. Dafechu yo teo un acentu o de la zona de oído son los mos pas, nou de Xixón. Perfeccionó lo que deprendí en casa a travé de cursos d'asturiano p'adultos de la Conselleria, y los que fice equi na Academia de la Llingua.

S022	Si, falo asturiano amestao na mio casa.		Nun falo bien l'asturianu porque nun me dexaben falalo nel colexiu y se m'escaecieron munches pallabres daprendies cuandu yera neña.	La lingua deprendila nos tres cursos d'asturiano que fice camentando les pallabres que ya conocía. Lleendo llibros n'asturiano. Falando colos míos güelos.
S023	Sí, fálolo na casa con míos pas y tamién con los amigos de tola vida porque criáronse comu yo, falándolo na casa.		Camento qué ye un asturianu enforma amestáu de castellan porque nun sé facelo meyor.	Con los míos güelos, col mio hermanu, colos collacios na escuela, colos mayestros non porque cuando yo diba al colexu non se deprendia elli. Y tamién con esti cursin de quince dies deprendí muncho.
S024	Falo una amesteura asturianu-castellán, más cargáu de asturiano que de castellán.	Entolos ambientes, en casa, na cai, na mina.	Nun lo falo tolo bien que quiero pero pasu ente pasu voi meyorando.	Deprendí la llingua oyendo falar y falando yo conellos, a lo míos güelos, los míos pas, la mio familia, na cai y faciendo los cursos d'asturiano p'adultos. Amás de lleer n'asturiano que ye perimportante.
S025	Falo un asturianu meciu col castellán.	Na vida familiar y colos collacios falo un asturianu más puro; con xente forietu falo cuasi siempre en castellán.	Sí.	Deprendí la llingua de forma natural; los míos pas falen n'asturianu; yo empecipie a falar castellán cuando fui por primera vegada a la escuela. Agore toi deprendiendo más colos cursinos de l'Academia de la Llingua; un asturianu más cultu. Lleendo llibros n'asturiano, ...?,
S026	Falo n'asturiano too lo que pues y en cuantes que pescancio que los que me sienten le puen pescanciar tamién.	En xeneral a nivel coloquial.	Ca añu que faigo ún d'estos cursos nolo que falo ya escribe meyor. Creo que faloformal, del montón.	En lo na mio familia, na cai colos collacios-es. Lleendo daqué n'asturiano y nestos cursinos.
S027	Podría dicir que sí.	Praúticamente en toos (llaboralmente non)	Sí.	En casa. Estudiando.
S028	Sí, falo asturiano na vida familiar y de rellaciones pero, non nel colexu.		Nesti intre camiento que falo bien.	Deprendí la llingua estandarizada nos cursinos qu'entamó la Academia.
S029	Si falo asturiano en la mio vida familiar, tamién a vegaes sin dame cuenta con otru tipu de collacios de la facultad, pero nun siempre elli porque paez que nun ta mui ben güeyao.			Yo la llingua deprendíla na mio cá y tamié colos collacios del mio conceyu y agora equí nesti cursu elemental nel que toi y nel que deprendí muncho y sobre to a saber cuandu falo una llingua u otra anantes nun la distinguía.

S030	Falo asturiano na mio ca, colos collacios, nel trabayu a nivel coloquial, na vida cotidiana de dir a mercar, nos chigres cuandu salgo.		El problem ye que falo amestao porque na mio fascera fálalo ol mundu asina y ye comu lo deprendí.	L'asturianu (amestas) ye la mio llingua materna. Dempués na escuela entamé a deprender el castellán, lo que fixo que l'amestao fora espoyetando ca vez más. Nel institutu y la facultá llegué a separtar bien el castellán pa escribir, pero na fala nun soi quien a falar nin lo úno nin lo otro.
S031	Si, fálola dácezu.	Na casa, colos collacios.	Polo nes ... intentandolo	Falando colos collacios. Lleendo llibrus; lleendo da... nos periódic... Nes cursus d'asturianu.
S032	Falo l'asturian de la zona onde yo vivo. Falolo allí, pero cuando tengo que facer coses oficiales falo el castellán.		Nun creo que lo fale bien, pero agora con los cursos meyoré mucho y espero reclíclame lleendo y faciendo curso que sofiet...	Deprendila xugando coles mios collacias, na calle y agora colos cursinos de llingua pa enseñantes.
S033	Falo asturiano colos coyacios/es	Na casa lo mios güelos. N'otros interaciones a veгаes.	Colos que facemos los cursos d'asturianu, coles que ficieron el curso na universidá.	Deprendila per testos escritos, oyendo falar a la xente colos cursos d'asturianu de la Academia de la Llingua y de la Universidá d'Ovieu.
S034	Nun falo l'asturianu por desconocelo.		Faigo uso elemental dalgunes pallabres solo.	Nun cursin de l'Academia de la Llingua Asturiana.
S035	Falo la llingua cuando toi con los collacios que falen l'asturianu.			Deprendí algo de la llingua oyendo falar la xente de l'aldea.
S036	Falo l'asturiano.	Prauticamente en tolos ambientes, dependiendo un poco del interlocutor.	Camiento que lo falo bien.	Ye la mio llingua materna - na cái nos. Nos cursinos de llingua.
S037	Nun falo asturianu na mio vida cotidiana, porque vivo fuera la comunidá.	Pero n'Asturies falo colos collacios qu'utilicen esta llingua. Falo siempre ave pueo, toi a favor de la normalización. Pienso que lu falo de mou aceptible.	Por otra parte, escribo cartes n'asturianu a los collacios.	Estudiando por "llibre" simplemente, garré la normativa y dalgunos llibros pa neños y púnxime a estudiar pola mio cuenta.
S038	Falo asturiano siempre y en tolos ambientes, fasta na escuela, colos neños y collacios, anque dalgunes vegades teo que al castellán.		Creo qu'entovia tenía que falar meyor, por eso vengo a los cursos.	Deprendile'n mio casa, porque los mios pas fálenla abondes veгаes y sobre too, teo que dicir que con quien meyor lo deprendí foi con mio güela, cola que vivé veinte años.
S039	Si falo n'asturianu tolo que pueo.	El ambiente ónde lo falo ye en tolos llaos en casa, nel trabayu, nel mestau.	Paezme que lo falo meyor que lo escribo, pero teo que la escritura pue superase.	Anque la mio ma ye de procedencia Castellana, el mio pa siempre lo fala y yo sigo el mesmu camín. Le dici nel entornu familiar, nel colexu, nos medios de comunicación &c.

S040	Falo pocu asturianu.	Xeneralmente nun ambiente familiar.	Creo que nun lo falo bien.	Deprendí la llingua de rapoza yá qu'esa la mia llingua materna. Agora deprendi mas nel cursín.
S041	Nun falo de manera habitual.	Cuando tamos reunión toa la familia en dalguna fiesta familiar. Entós falamos toos de les coses y recuerdos de fai tiempo.	Falo daqué pero espero seguir recuperando.	D'aniciu foi familiar por parte de pá y ma. Los dos son de zona rural y falen dadqué asturianu.
S042	Hablo más o menos igual en tolos ambiente, a nun ser que salga fuera.	En tolos ambientes.	L'asturianu que yo falo ye 'amestao' yá que tien munchos interferencies del castellan debio a diversos motivos que nun ye momentu de falar d'ello.	Pienso que l'aprendí de forma natural al llevar viviendo n'Asturies desde fai treinta años. Agora con esti cursín pues falar meyor poles nuas pallabres que aprendí y tamién escribilo se fai falta (por supuesto con bastantes limitaciones).
S043	Falo daqué d'asturianu.	Dende llueu nunca falo castellán bien falao nun siendo que tea fora d'Asturies, pero tampocu falo bien l'asturianu.	Pero tampocu falo bien l'asturianu. Creo que ye un amestao.	Aprendila dende que nací por oyela a mio pá ya mio ma, xugando con otros guahes ... Reprimila tolo que pude cuandu a los 9 años fui a un colexu internu a Uviéu y llueu ya mayor volví a falala y a intentar estudiala un poquiñín
S044	Non, porque al vivir en Xixón, na ciudá nun se fala tanta comu nel pueblu.	Falolo d'alguna vegada cola mi collacia que ta haciendo tamién el cursín.	Nun creo que lo falo bien pero inténtolo polo menos, que ya me paez abondo.	Deprendila de guaha nel pueblu onde nací y anque foi a vivir con los pas a otru sitiú nun la escaeci porque prestábame falala con toles collacies na cai. Llueu comu diba tolos branones vacaciones practicábala abondo.
S045	Si falo n'asturianu	Anque dende que vivo en Xixón comu hai xente de munchos llugares fálolo menos que cuandu taba nel pueblu.		Aprendila de neña, na mio casa ya que los mios pas, falaben perbién l'asturianu y güei préstame afondos nella pa poder deprendela a les mios fies y tamién a los mios alumnos.
S046	Si, habla asturiano na vida cotidiana en el ambiente familiar. En el trabayu diariú de la clas fala castellán.		Fálalo un pocu bien porque daprendiólo ya dende neña na escuela y porque cola so Familia siempre se fala en asturianu.	La llingua asturiana no primero daprendióla na escuela del so pueblu y con los sos pas. Dempués fue pa la cuidá y na Universidá fizo un cursín de Bable.
S047	Nun falo muncho en la mio vida de tolos dies porque entá nun toi segura de facelo bien y pae mi que siendo 'foriata' n'Asturies cuandu tou'l mundu fáló equí dacuala vegado daqué d'asturianu na so cá. Va notase muncho que nun soy asturiana.		Tengo la sensación de que puen resultar mas ridicules los mios faltes ... pero esti año equí entamé a falar asturianu muncho más que nel añu pasau y estu ye motivu d'alegría pa min.	D'un mou pasivu conocí daqué d'ella dende la mio niñez. Vivía na mio cá una hermana de mio ma que fala asturianu pues ye bastante mayor qu'ella y en xamás esforzose por escaecer la so fala de ñacencia d'otru llau pasabamos les vacaciones del branu n'amieva y siempre gustabame muncho sentir falar a la xente d'equí > preguntaulos vocabulariu normativamente nel llibru "les normes ..." de l'Academia y falar equí en Cangas.

S048	Yo nun falo l'asturianu. Colos mios amigos falo amestao		Nun falo bien l'asturianu, agora sé un poquitín más, pero nun lo falo bien	Lo poca que sé deprendilo falando coles persones que tuato (?) y un poquitín más neste cursín.
S049	Falo l'asturianu amestao	En ambiente coloquial.	Non.	Nesti cursín. Deprendí algunes palabres o expresiones col mi home que ye de la cuenca minera.
S050	Delles vegaes falo asturiano entremeció col castellano y otre vegaes falo castellano	L'asturiano falolo más bién en cá que fuera della.	Nun paez que lo fale del too bien porque entremecolo col castellan pero voi emyorando.	Deprendila en casa al sentir falar a los mios guelos. Dempués continue deprendiéndola na escuela de Maxisteriu cuando la escoyi coanu optativa y nestos cursinos que fice l'añu pasau y esti.
S051	A veces.	En el rural.	No bien del tou. Entiendo más que falo.	En casa, conociendo les distintes zones d'Asturies. Y estudiándolo principalmente.
S052	No siempre falo n'asturianu cuando nun toi trabayando.		Bueno agora falo algo meyor.	Un poco colos mios pás y lo otro en cursinos y nestos cursos.
S053	Falo, un pocu amestau.	En tolos ambientes	Un pocu amestau.	Deprendí a falar asturiano en casa, ya qué la mio ma y el mio pa le falaben.
S054	Na mia vida cotidiana fala asturiano.	Nel ambiente en que más lu falo ye equí.	Creo que nun lu falo bien.	Aprendí la llingua sobre tol nos cursos que fui, lleendo, escuchando na cai falar a la xente.
S055	Falo asturiano, o eso pienso	Colos collicios, na casa y ónde puelo. Non ye siempre porque entamé non ta comu llingua oficial.		Nun soi consciente. Paezme qu'en casa dende lluéu na escuela nunca, en tou usu l'escolanizacios nun me sirvió más que pa escaecer coses.
S056	Nun falo asturiano na mio vida cotidiana porque nel entorno onde me muevo nun lo falen.		Paezme que tovia puedo meyorar nesta llingua pa dominala igual que'l castellan.	La llingua deprendíla nestos cursinos, enantes tenía mui pocos conocimientos.
S057	Fálolo normalmente	Pero sobre too en casa y colos collacios.	Nun lo falaba mui bien pero camiento que ameyoré equí.	Ye la llingua de mio casa, pero con rasgos castellanos. Esti cursín valióme muncho pa deprender más coses.
S058	Sí, na Universidá.	Colos asturianistes y tamién na ... das d'asturianu. Delles vegaes na radio, cola prensa.	Nun y doy a la parpayela tolo bien que me petare, pero camiento que toi meyor fue'l añu pasáu.	Na aldea (diba al monte polos branos de mio niñera, diba al conceyu de Valdeurna), mio ma falaba fino pero amestaba pallabres como: cobertor, calcañu, respigos, riestra. Colos trabayaores (xardineru, coanera &c) Lluéu, dende'l otru añu nos cursinos (lo normativu).
S059	No hablo asturiano en mi vida cotidiana		Portanto no lo hablo bién.	En diversos cursos y oyéndola.

S060	Nada de nada.	Solamente cuando asisto a cursos de asturiano.	No lo hablo porque empecé a decir mis primeras palabras lia ... solo 3 años y caola ... que tenía que hablar me costaba un tiempo.	En los cursos de Asturiano en Lluarca y aquí en Cangas. Si decir que lo entiendo todo mi problema es hablarlo.
S061	Falo asturiano na universida, con collacios de la faculta, en cursos y aconceyamientos academicos.	Parcialmente nel ambiente familiar, en dalgunos pueblos y situaciones, con xente que ye tamien asturfalante.	Si.	Llingua materna (aunque mediatizada). Llectures tempranes (autoaprendizax). Cursos de branu. Universidá.
S062	Si.	En toos los que m'entienden.	Perbién. Yo suaño en voz alta a glayíos Y faigolo n'asturianu.	Mamándola/ cola xente al oyela xugando/ trabayando/ estudiando/ leyendola.
S063	Non.	Nos cursos de llingua	Faigo lo que puedo	Un pocoñín na familia y na cai de neñu. Mayormente nos cursos de llingua y pola lliteratura.
S064	A veгаes	Nel de la mio ñiaceacia, o cola xente que ta' nesta mena o cuando nun atopo pallabres que pa min lean al mesmu siñu(?) en castellan so tou ab nivel sentimientos	Non faltarme muncho	D'oreya, leyenda, cursos
S065	A veces	Cola familia y algunas amigos, nos pueblos cuando fago turismo rural		Con la familia y en la vida cotidiana y ahora nos cursos y leyendo literatura n'asturianu
S066	Nun falo asturianu puru, ye amestao como'l ambiente nel que vivo, aunque dende que vivo en Llanera entama l'asturianu a superar al castellán.		Non, nun creo que lo falo bien, entavía me queda sobre too en lo que se refier al vocabulariu	Daqué conecía por tresminiáu familiar y social, pero entamé el so deprendimiento nos cursos p'adultos del Ayuntamiento de Llanera y seguir nos cursos de l'Academia.
S067	Non, nunca falo asturiano. Entamo a facelo agora.			Lo poco que sé deprendilu nesti cursu y amás de lo que oyo falar al mio home y la so familia nel pueblu.
S068	Utilizo expresiones asturianas xeneralmente pero nun lo falo dafechu a nun ser na clas d'asturianu.	Na cas de mio ma falase tamién más cuando tamos en conceyu.	Bastante bien, y toi equí pa meyoralu.	La principal fonte foi la llingua materna y güei falariala dafechu si nun me lo fixere escaecer el colexu nos años 60 y 70 onde nun lo respetaben. Güei gracias a los cursinos de la Academia y al propiu interés toi recuperándolo.
S069	Si,	Nel ambiente familiar y nel colexu onde trabayu	Si.	A través de los mios pas y del contautu colos collacios.
S070	Nun falo asturianu na vida cotidiana: vivo una criore baxo'l fenómeno de la diglosia	solo fala asturianu cuando topa a le mis hermanes	Falo meyor qu'hai un año ya espero meyorar.	Deprendí l'asturianu nos cursos de la Academia de la Llingua, equí en Cangas. Tamien dellos recuerdos de las mis vacaciones en ca mios güelos, en branu.

S071	Na ambiente poléticu (?) falo asturianu darreu, nel resto de les llugares falo meua		Paezme que nun lo falo del to mal., aunque tovía pueo meyorar muncho	En casa, na cai, nel colexu colos collacios, nos cursinos de Llingua Asturianu, en maxisterio na asinatura de llibre configuración de llingua asturiana.
S072	Sí	Nun ambiente familiar.	Falo amestao comu casi asturianos d'orixe urbanu (metá asturianu, metá castellán).	Deprendíla en casa y na cai; lleendo lliteratura asturiana y falando con amigos nacionalistes asturianos. Dempués matriculéme nestos cursos.
S073	A vegaes falo amestao, ye decir asturianu entemecíu con delles pallabres castellanes.	Esto davezu na vida cotidiana. Pero cola familia, na mio casa falo asturianu y sobre too equí en Cangas nestos cursos d'inmersion.	Creo que lo falo bastante bien. Aunque siempre se pue meyorar nello.	En primer llugar transmitiéronmela los mios güelos y los mio pas. Dempués principié cursinos d'aprendizax y de meyoramientu na escritura y na fala nel mio Ayuntamientu – posteriormente colos cursos de l'Academia de la Llingua y cola especialidá en Filoloxíu Asturiana.
S074	Falo n'asturiano	Cuandu'l mio interlocutor tamién lo fala.	Se que'l mio asturianu nun ye 'puru'. Doime cuenta de que ta mecíu col castellán, y de que la diglosia ye la causa d'esta situación.	Na familia, falamos asturianu mecíu con castellán. Lo que nun depredí na casa, depredílo nos cursos d'asturianu.
S075	Procuero facelo, siempre que puedo.	Sobre too en casa, con collacios, na escuela.	Non, nun me parez que lo fale bien.	Sobre too, depredíla en casa de los mios güelos asturianos y nos cursos de l'Academia, Ceps(?), colos collacios/collacies.
S076	Si.	En tolos ambientes, a nun ser dando clase nel colexu.	Creo que nun lo falo 'bien' (porque ye un asturianu mui castellanizáu) pero la verdá ye que me da vergoña falalu d'otra manera: si la xente nun ti entien de castellán nin en asturianu, acaba dexando de comunicase contigo.	A falar, aprendí en casa, de mio pá y mio ma (aunque los pas d'ella yeren castellanos, falaba muncho asturiano), na caleyas tamién calegando per ehí. Casi nada leyendo – Tamién nos distintos cursinos d'asturianu que llevo fechos.
S077	Falo asturiano dende que nací.	Fálolo na mio casa, colos mios collacios na escuela, colos vecinos &c.	Yo camiento que lo falo perbien. La xente cola que falo entieneme.	Ye la mio llingua materna. Falábala colos mios pas y la mio hermana y toi deprediendo más colos cursinos. Tamién lleendo llibros n'asturiano.
S078	Yo tola vida falé asturianu.	En tolos ambientes aunque na escuela y el restu d'estudios tenía que camudar esta fala na posible pol castellano.	Paezme que nun falo totalmente asturianu, aunque lo que se fala na mio zona si que la tengo mui arraigao, porque ye d'usu diariu.	La llingua aprendila en casa y na cai y depués na relativo a cuestiones más específiques comu la escritura nos cursinos de l'Academia de la Llingua asturiana.
S079	Na vida diaria nun falo asturianu	En ningún siti (llugar)		Lo que sé de llingua asturiana depredílo n'este cursu elemental y daques pallabres oyéndole a persones que falé con elles.

S080	Si, pero amestáu.	Fálolo colos míos collacios.	Regular.	Deprendilo de los míos pas y de la xente del mio pueblu.
S081	Xeneralmente non, lo que ocure ye que na fala cotidiano siempre dicos (?) d'alguna pallabra n'asturianu.	Tamién depende de la xente, cola que es toi, dices mas o menos pallabres n'asturianu.		N'un principiu deprendes d'alguna pallabra n'asturianu sin sabelo, pero ónde me puse en contautu direutu con la llingua fue en los cursillos de branu de l'academia.
S082	Non falo, ni con amigos, nin profesionalmente, sí falo algo (pallabres sueltas) en casa y familia y persones miu allegaes(?)			Lo poco que sé, falelo n'escuela, colos cogacio (?) y en casa mio güelo, pa sofitalo (abondo) n'estos cursinos.
S083	Sí.	Falo como ya dixen antes en casi toos los ambientes, respetando como non, a los interlocutores que nun falan asturianu.	Camiento que sí, aunque too se pue mexorar y pa eso toi nesti cursu.	Deprendilo na mio casa, colos collacios, na cai, y como non nestos cursinos.
S084	Si falo algo d'asturianu.	En casa, nel trabayu y na cai.	Non, nun lo falo bien del too, y por eso vengo equí a deprender.	Na mio casa, dientro de la familia, dende piquitín falo l'asturianu.
S085	(Hablo) Falo lo amestao	Nel ambiente tanto de casa comu per la cai ya que de xuru que si falase el castellán n'elena dalguna qu'otra pallabra o expresión asturiana. Sería lo que conocemos comu 'meter la pata'.	Camiento que nun lo falo bien pues ye comu dixi – amestao.	La llingua comu tal, deprendila un pocu nesti cursu aunque algunes pallabres ya les conocíe al falalo en mio casa, con la mio familia ya que los dos son d'un pueblu.
S086	Na mio casa falamos un asturiano que ye el que conocimos siempre. Tien los rasgos orientales, pero como vivo n'Uviéu conozo perbien lo que ye l'asturianu central.	Fálolo colos collacios, colos pas, colos neños.	Camiento que lo falo como tien que falase: bien.	Deprendila de pequiñicia ensin dame cuenta, más allante foi perfeccionandola y deprendiendo ciertos normes nos cursos d'asturianu y delles coses no comerciante a la cultura asturiana que nun conocía bien.
S087	L'asturianu que yo falo nun ye perfeute, ye meció.	Fálolo lo mesmo en casa, colos collacios, na cai, ye lo único que se falar.	Creo que puedo meyoralo.	La llingua asturiana fa lo que me deprendieron los míos pas y lo que-yos deprendieron a ellos ya que la nuesa familia ye asturiana cuantayá (??). tamién deprendo meyor la llingua nestos cursos d'asturianu.
S088	Normalmente falo nun asturianu entemecía con castellan.	Pero na casa de los míos pas falo n'asturianu, aunque agora doime cuenta que tampocu ye un asturianu pura.		Deprendila de los míos pas y de la xente del pueblu.
S089	Hasta'l momentu, non,	Non, tantu nel trabayu comu nel tratu coloquial y cotidianu.	Na casa y cola familia atrevome a decir que hablaba un asturianu amestao y mezclas de castellan.	El conocimientu d'asturianu que teno (?) ne desía a la asistencia del cursu ofertau pola Academia de la Llingua.

S090	Non tanto comu quisiera	Na mio casa y daque na cai.	Faltame munchu pa falalo bien.	Ye la mio materna, pero mayormente nos cursos d'asturianu de l'Academia.
S091	Si. Procuero falalo en toles ocasiones aunque non siempre lo faiga.	El ambiente que topo más afayaizu ye colos collacios y amigos y de mou bien especial colo de mio, na familia.	Quisiere falalu y conocelu meyor.	En casa con mio güela. Nel pueblu colos amigos y vecinos. Lleendo. Colos cursos de la Academia. Col enfotu los mios fíos.
S092	Non. Puedo amestar mis cuantes pallabres en ambientes coloquiesles y con xente que lo fala.		Nun sé tous l'asturiano. Toi aprendiéndolo equí.
S093	Falo asturiano solo nes situaciones 'de ghetto', esto ye, con la xente que tamién "sé" que fala asturianu. Nel resto de les situaciones sociales, tanto del mundo familia, afectiru (??) como alministrativu usu un asturianu amestáu. Nes situaciones de comunicación escrita utilizo mayoritariamente l'asturianu, nun porcentax del 80% les situaciones.		Deprendila al través de los pocos medios de comunicación qu'hebia n'asturianu nos años 80, y de mou autodidacta sobremanera. Nos distinta cursos de llingua alquirí los conocimientos teóricos imprescindibles y les normes ortográfiques.
S094	Falo asturiano amestao	Na mio casa	Tengo que depender falalo mucho meyor	Falándole na mio casa y d'otru llau estudiándole.
S095	Dalguna vegaes	Colos collacios del colexio	Camiento que falo regular	Na mio casa. Pel conceyu colos neños. Mia má ye asturiana. Na caso dalgunes vegaes falábamos na asturiano. Tambien y sobre too nestos cursinos.
S096	Na vida cotidiana falo amestao aunque intento falar más n'asturianu de un tiempu a esta parte		Paezme perimportante esmolecese por falar bien la llingua	Pa entamar conotola como llingua materna aunque al nacer nuna zona industrial ta un poco tapecía. Por ello apuntáme a los cursinos de l'Academia de la Llingua.
S097	Nun falo asturianu normalmente. Colos mios collacios empleo castellán amestáu col asturianu	en llugares		Na universidà. Na cursos de l'Academia. Nos cursos de la ayuntamientos.
S098	Sí	En tolos ambientes, aunque fundamentalmente nel familiar y na escuela emplégolu siempre que puedo.	Nun lo falo tan bien como quisiera.	Daprendilo na mio casa, la pena ye que fuimos castellanizándonos toos.
S099	Si aunque ca vegada menos	Sobre too nel ambiente familiar y nel mio pueblu	Yo creo que lo falo bien, pero non el normativu si non lo falo real del pueblu donde nací.	Na mio casa cola mio familia, tamien na escuela cola collacios. Esa en quantu a la fala coloquial. La normativa aprendilo nos cursos de la Academia de la Llingua Asturiana.

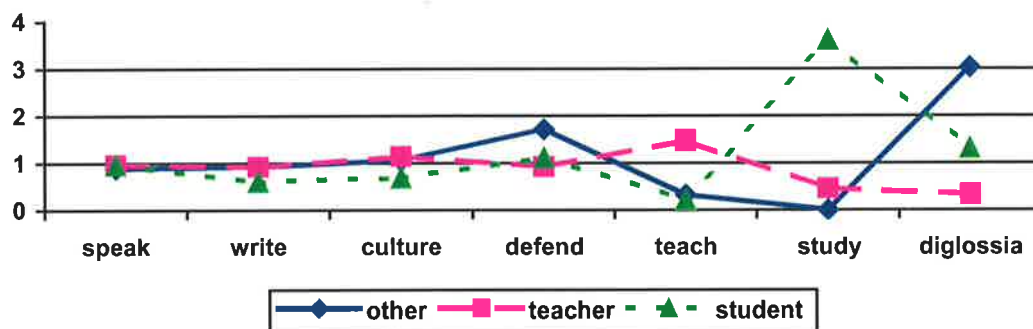
S100	Na mio vida cotidiana nun falo asturianu, entamé a falalo un pocu nesti cursu y caso que tengo abondes dificultades			Realmente nun considero que sepa o coñozca la llingua, ya que los mios conocimientos son abondo escasos, pero tolo que sé, o la mayor parte deprendilo nel cursu.
S101	Falo colos collacios amestao y nos sitios oficiales intento falar un castellán debío al vezu que me fixeron tener cuandu yo diba a la escuela (diglosia dura)		Espero qu'antes que d'escaezca tenga xente cola que pueda falar	a) nel tarréu 'amestau' de los pas mios, y de la xente del mio alrodice?? (ya comenté l'ataque de los nos enemigos). b) Nel tarréu normalizáu nun cursín del Ayuntamiento y pola Academia.
S102	Si.	Nos ambientes de la vida diaria (casa, amistaes ...) non n'ambientes onde'l castellán ye llingua oficial (universidá, oficines del Principau ...)	Meyor que lo escribo.	Ye la mio llingua materna, y perfeccionemementantu, estudié coma asinatura optativa, amás de nestos cusinos.
S103	Si	Pero sola en ca con los mios pas y los mios hermanos y dalgun collacio pero hai xente con lo que nun lo falo.	Creo que nun lo falo bien porque non lo practico pero entiendo perféutamente.	Ye la mio llingua materna, aunque fai abondos años me la prohibieron y cambie pol castellan. Tamién aprendí munches coses nos cursinos.
S104	Na mio vida cotidiana falo, comu ya dixi anantes, un asturianu amestao, con formes de la nueso llingua y con formes del castellán.	Falolo en tolos llaus, o seya que siempre falo igual nun sitiu que n'otru	Nun creyo que lo fale bien, porque en primer llugar lo de la amestaura tendria que desaparecer.	Deprendile nos cursinos que fize nel mio pueblu, organizaos pol ayuntamentu en collaboración cola consejería de cultura, ya parte d'equí foi cuandu m'animé a apuntame a estos cursinos que foi la Academia de la Llingua Asturiana.
S105	En casa siempre se faló un amestáu de asturianu y castellán (quizás un pocu más de lo primero – usu de los pronombres, el ye, dellos verbos)	Colos collacios tamién falo enti tipu de amestáu.	Nun creo que apo... mesmo sea capaz de separtar del too y falar castellán puro o asturianu puro.	Sobre too en casa colos mios pás, colos mios güelos (ellos falaben muncho más asturiano) y colos amigos na cai. Agora creo que mi conciencia del léxico y de delles normes ye meyor dempués de ... esti cursu.
S106	Falo asturianu nel trabayu y nel ambiente familiar		Cola xente empleo un asturianu poco correuto, nun uso pallabres que diría equí.	Entamé colos cursos de l'Academia y llectures de llibros n'Asturianu.
S107	Al vivir tol tiempu en Lleón, l'emplegu Nel tratu colos collacios y cola familia; en siendo especial l'emplegu dientru d'asociación cultural.		Creo tener un nivel de falo mediu, n'especial nel central, y daqué meyor no que ye l'occidental.	De mano, de mena autodidacta; lleendo, escribiendo y recuperando lesicu remanáu na mio familia. Dempués cola asistencia a cursinos pa perfeccionar lo deprendío enantes.
S108	Nun falo asturianu académicu, pero sí fálo.	En casi toos, sobremanera colos amigos	Nun del tou	Na cai y na escuela.

S109	Por el pocu conocimientu que hasta agora tenía, falo amestáu.	Utilízolo en ambientes familiares y colos amigos.	No lo falo ni bien ni mal pues no ye nin castellan nin asturianu.	La fala que falo deprendila fuera del ambiente familiar; mios pas son inmigrantes y la llingua la deprendila en la cai, colos collacios, y agora nos diez dies que llevo nel cursin.
S110	Nun falo asturiano na mio vida. Na mio casa y con los mios amigos falo castellano, o mellor amestao, pero más castellano qu'asturianu.			Toi aprendiéndola nesti cursu, year mui poco lo que sabia d'asturianu. Dalgunes pallabres y de oir a mio güela falar dalgunes pallabres.
S111	En mio casa nun se fala asturianu nin siquiera amestao tola vida me refien si me salia dalguna pallabra del pueblu. Tampocu fala asturianu naide del mio ambiente.		Y poro camento que nun lo falo na bien, ¡Vamos! nun lo falo ná. Anque paeiome increíble qu'entousa m'alcordase dalgunes coses.	Deprendí esto poco nesti cursin de Cangas pero paezme que cuando vaiga pa casa nun voi poder falalo porque naide diba entienda, sólo un pocu la mio neña (fia) que tien 7 años y entamó a deprendelo esti añu na so escuela.
S112	Si.	Falo asturiano cola familia, colos amigos y cola xente de los pueblos desa fastera.	Falo un amestao del asturiano y el castellano.	Deprendi la llingua cola familia, colos amigos.
S113	Hai pocos años que recuperé l'asturianu de la mio neñez.	De mano falábalu colos amigos y en situaciones informales, tamién en casa cola mio ma. Agora faigo por remanalo en cualquier situación (esceuto con aquelles persones que nun entienden gota).	Fálolo bien pero podría falalo mucho meyor.	Colos amigos, na cai. Na escuela ficeron por que lo escaeciére. Cola mio ma. Lleendo llibros. N'estos cursinos.
S114	Na vida de tolos dies falo un amestamientu un tantu raru. La suitasis ye asturiano el palabreru coloquial más d'andar per casa tamién pero les demás pallabres son castellanos.		Polo tantu nun pue dicise que lu falo bien.	Col averamientu que fice nesti cursin a la llingua ya pues seguir perfeccionandome.
S115	Xeneralmente falo el castellán porwue nos ambientes nos que toi falon el castellán.	Comu ca añu tengo que tan nun sitiú distintu por necesida llaboral, falo lo que ehí.	Camiento que falo meyor el castellán anque el asturianu ye lo que prestariame falar na vida cotidiana y ca vez faigolo meyor. Estos cursos son perimportantes pa perfeccionar sobre tou con respeto a la práutica oral.	Pola y en primer llugar através de la expresión oral, nel entornu onde vivo, na cai mas que nel colexu o que la mio casa, onde falase nun mui bien tres tipos de llingua: gallego, asturianu y castellán. Nel colexu deprendíamos el castellan y asina nos comunicábamos tanto en expresión oral comu escrita.
S116	Falo un amestao asturiano-castellano.	En tolos ambientes, pero más na mio casa y colos collacios, y nenos na universidá o nel trabayu.	Agora sí camiento que ya lo falo o lo escribo bien y non enantes, que comu ya dixé, year un amestao lo que falaba.	Principalmente na mio casa, pero non deprendí tolo que yo quería en casa, por eso vine a estos cursinos.

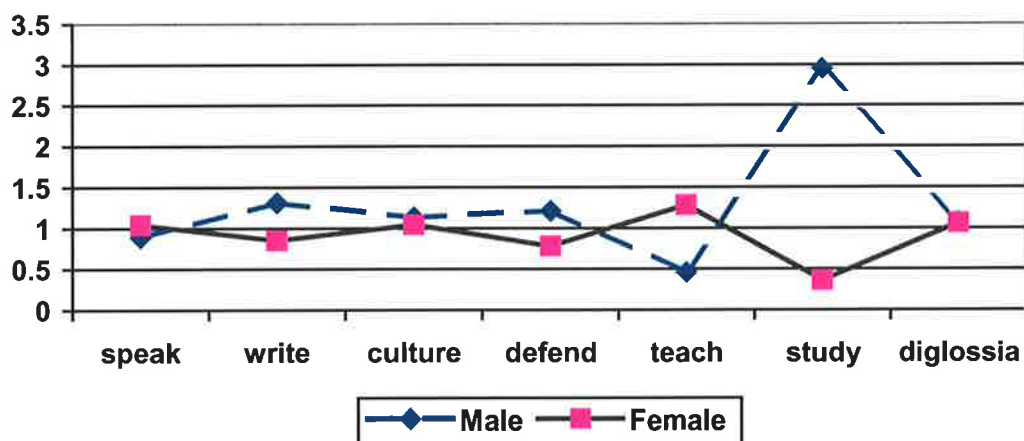
S117	Na mi vida cotidiana nun falo na de asturianu, solo lo falo mentatu faigo los cursinos, pero ye un esfuerco pergrande para mi, da mio conocencia de la llingua asturiana ye perprobe y tendría que deprendela muncho meyor.		Anque lo más difícil ye poneme a falala cola demás xente. Eso cuéstame abondo.	Deprendí la llingua asturiana yendo a los cursinos, tamién de fai 4 años pacó toi trabayando na fastera occidental d'Asturies, en zones rurales y sientu pallabres que puen resultame enforma rares o curioses, ya que nun les sientu'n otros fasteres. Asina que xemes en cuando quedame con daqué.
S118	Non too'l que me prestaría por razones nidies. Pero en xeneral mui de xemes en cuando.	En un ambiente de ciertu miéu a facer el ridículo per parte la otra xente.	Dende llueu podría facelo meyor, pero di un salto pergrade nos últimos años.	Sintiéndola nel mio pueblu. Dempués yá escoyí la optativa en mxisteriu, y agora equí.
S119	Si.	En tolos que ... ye posible. Colos collacios y na vida cotidiana nun siendo en delles instancies oficiales onde l'usu del Español ye obligatoriu.	Parezme que lo falo aceptablemente, coles interferencies del castellán, inevitables nun contestu urbanu como'l de Xixón.	Na mio casa. Caltengo un nivel de fala bonu prauticando con falantes "concienciaos" de la mio ciudá. Viví dellos años en L'Infiestu (zona rural) onde tuví en contactu cola llingua nun llugar onde tien menos interferencies del castellán. Esto ayudóme enforma a meyorar la fala.
S120	Algunes vegaes.	Falo asturianu sobre too en casa, el mio mariu ye asturianu y cuando tamos cola so familia que son toos asturianos. Nel colexu algunes vegaes tamién fálase colos collacios o cuando los entruzan n'asturianu.	Intento falarlo bien pero camento que puedo meyorar muncho.	Aprendí la llingua falando cola xente, col mio mariu y su familia y faciendo diversos cursinos.
S121	Si	En casa y colos collacios	La fala meyor que lo escribo. Si bien.	En casa sobre tou con mios güelos y la mio ma y tamién cola xente del pueblu. Falando.
S122	Nun falo asturiano na vida cotidiana		Falolo con deficiencias, pero toi deprendiéndolo.	Aprendí la llingua na universidá comu optativa y en los cursinos. Delles veces oía falar n'asturianu a mios pas.

Graphs of factors drawn from survey responses not included in Chapter 13

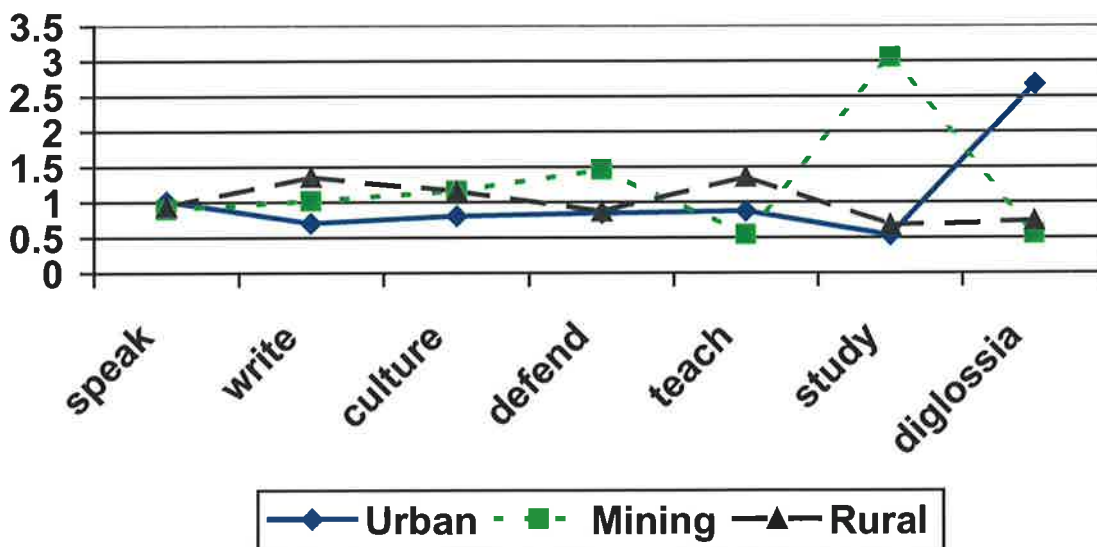
Graph C1: Motivation according to occupation



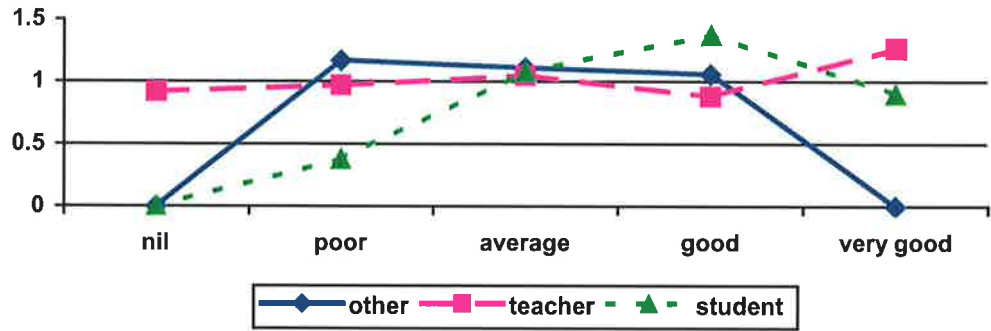
Graph C2: Motivation according to gender



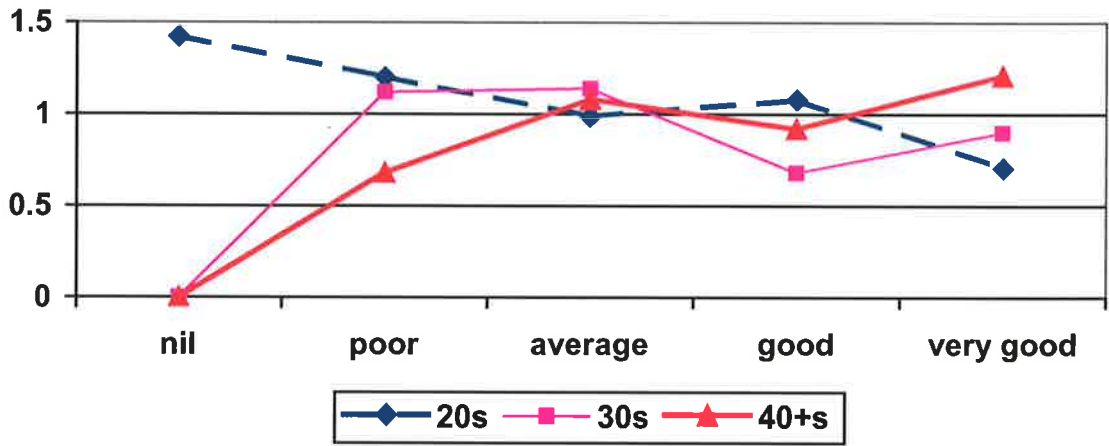
Graph C3: Motivation by locale



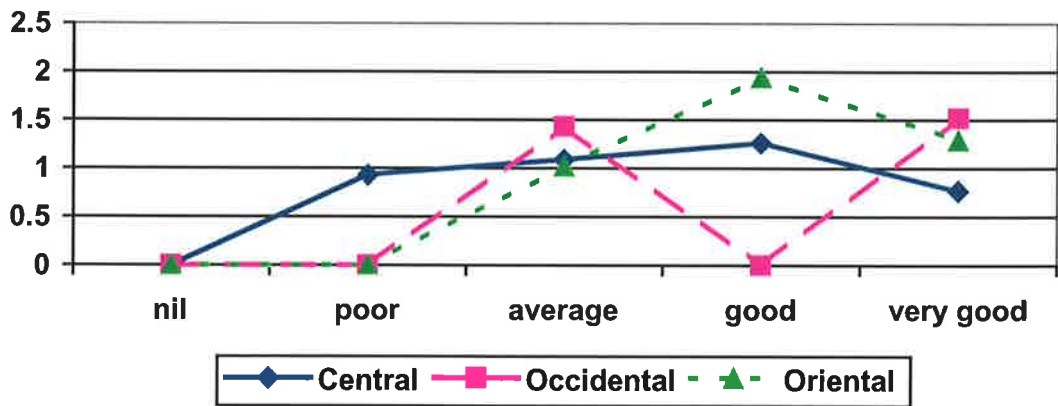
Graph C4: Language capacity by occupation



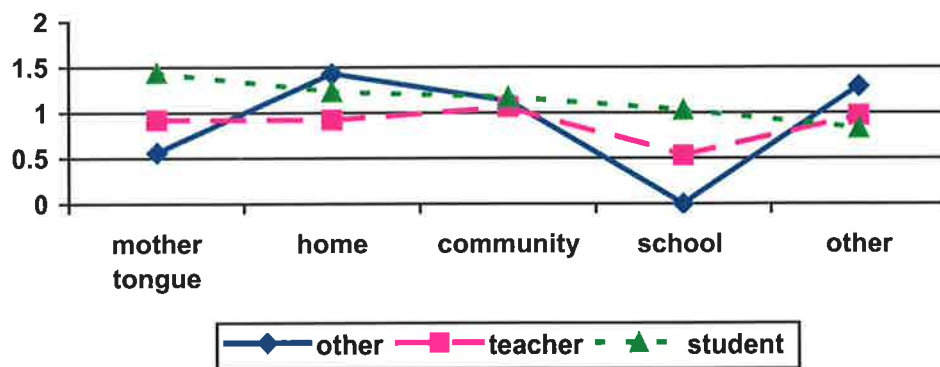
Graph C5: Language ability by age



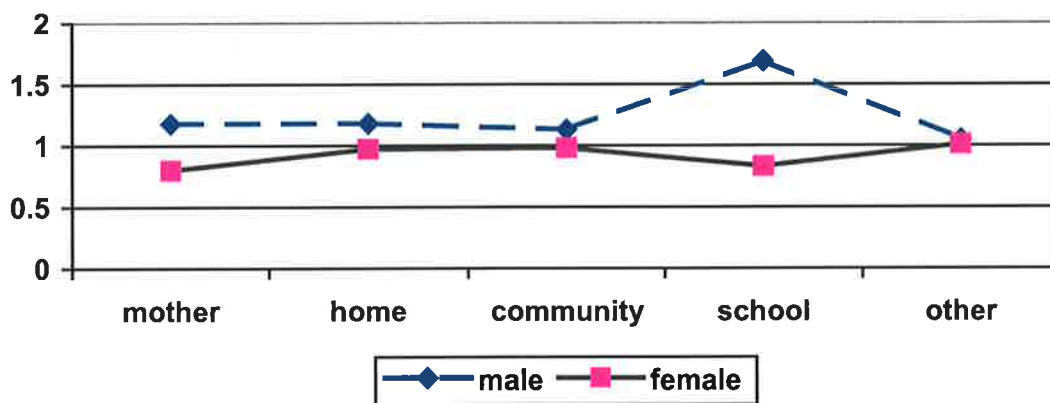
Graph C6: Language capacity by language zone



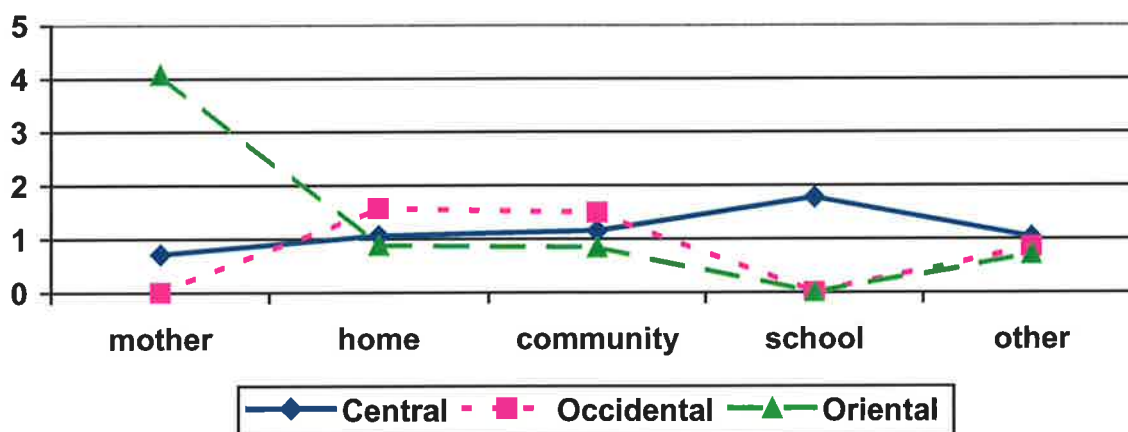
Graph C7: Source of learning by occupation



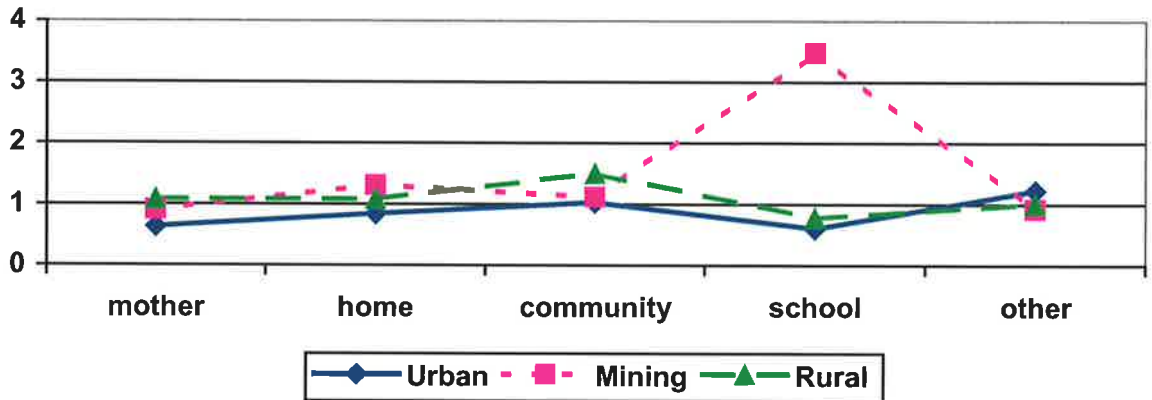
Graph C8: Source of learning by gender



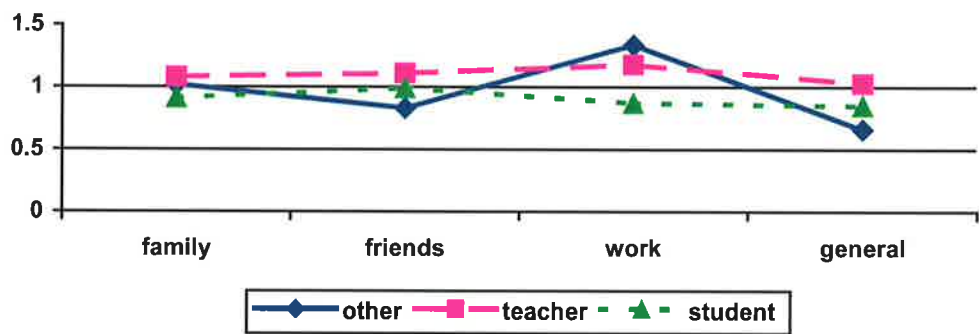
Graph C7: Sources of learning by language zone



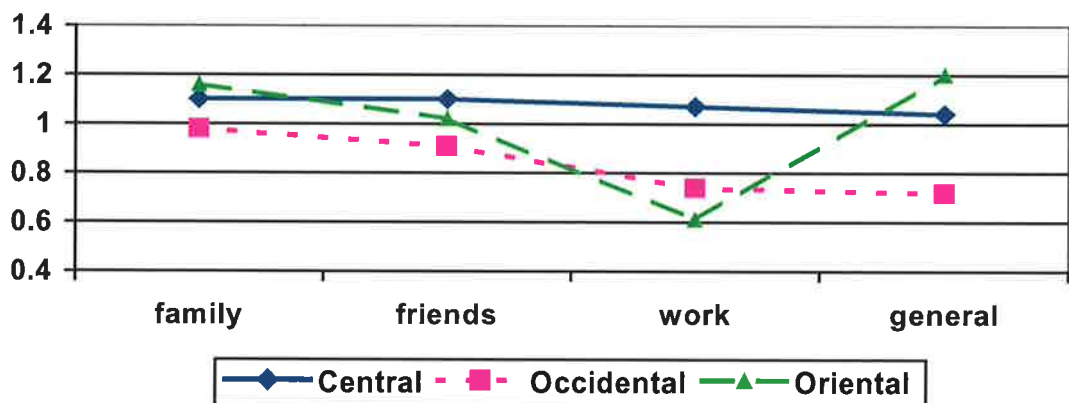
Graph C8: Sources of learning by locale



Graph C9: Usage domains by occupation



Graph C10: Usage domains by language zone



APPENDIX D

Section 1

Preliminary analysis of letters to editor - by name

Name:																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self			Usages/references							Asturian			Other			
				Z	G	L	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	G	n	í	A	O	N	P	S

Legend:

Z = zone. E: Oriental C: Central, W: Occidental, G: Navia-Eo

G = Gender

L = Language used Asturian: A Castilian: C Castilian/Asturian phrases: C/A Castilian/Asturian words: C/B

P = Political affiliation: PAS: A IU: I PSOE: S PP: C

R = relatives G: grandparents parents: P

T = Toponymy Asturian: A Castilian: C Castilian/Asturian phrases: C/A

ñ = Personal names: Asturian: A Castilian: C Castilian/Asturian: C/A

F = Folkloric markers ✓

V = village or aldeu references (including “paisanu” and variants) ✓

M = Mining or mineru references ✓

í = diminutive ✓

A = Nomenclature Bable: B Bables: Bs Asturian: A Llingua Asturiana: L Gallego-Astur: G

D = Language or Dialect Language: L Dialect: D

O = Coofficiality Support: Y Oppose: N

N = Normalisation Support: Y Oppose: N

S = Asturias status Región: R País: C Patria: P Tierra: T Nación: N Other: O

U = Asturian diaspora (incl. León, Cantabria, Miranda do Douro) ✓

E = Education references ✓

G = Usage of words Guapa/u, Patrimonio/u

n = Use of “nuestro(s)”, “nuesu(s)” and variants.

L001 Abad Barrientos, Ernesto																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
173	9/5/95		León	F	M	C														✓		

L002 Aguirre, Gonzalo																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
422	5/12/97		Gecho (Bilbao)	F	M	I						✓							T			

L003 Alado Fernández, Rebecca																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
220	14/11/95		Oviedo	C	F	B													T			

L004 Alberto Cepeda, Luis																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
440	23/1/98		Oviedo	C	M	I																

L005 Aller Lobo, Victor																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
417	4/12/97	425	Gijón	C	M	B		G	C						B					✓		✓

L006 Almanza Riesco, Ismael																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
415	4/12/97		Pola de Siero	C	M	C			A			✓										

L007 Alonso Alonso, Benjamín																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Muros de Nalón	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
455	25/2/98			W	M	A																

L008 Alonso Fernández, Estrella																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Sobrepiedra Cangas de Onís	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
170	23/4/95			E	F	B						✓		✓								✓

L009 Alonso González, Ana																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Pola de Siero	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
268	18/8/96			C	F	B									A			✓	T			✓

L010 Alonso Morán, Faustino																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Oviedo	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
135	24/11/94			C	M	C													P			

L011 Alonso Romero, Eduardo																						
Other information: Responding to article by Carlos Gallego [LNE 28/8]																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Málaga	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
112	7/10/94			F	M	C								✓								

L012 Alvarez, Antonio J																						
Other information: writer is against plurilingualism.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Oviedo	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
111	5/10/94			C	M	C																

L013 Alvarez, Jesús Manuel & Alvarez, Lourdes (shared)

Other information:

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other					
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E			
95	18/6/94		Turón	C		A						✓	✓											✓

L014 Alvarez, Lluís

Other information: SEYF; LLA 12 [1984]. Conference title in Asturian.

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other					
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	Ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E			
163	30/3/95		Gijón	C	M	I			✓															

L015 Alvarez Alba, María Dolores & Fernández Mier, Margarita (shared)

Other information: Asc. Asturiana de Amigos de la Naturaleza.

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n
171	23/4/95		Oviedo	C	F	B	✓					✓	✓						T			P	✓

L016 Alvarez Alvarez, Lucio Aurelio

Other information:

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
196	29/8/95		Mieres	C	M	I					✓												

L017 Alvarez Argüelles, A.

Other information: referring to book of poems by Antón de Chiova, edited by Pablo Antón Marín.

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
187	23/6/95	191	Oviedo	C	?	C			✓						B				✓				

L018 Alvarez-Balbuena García, Fernando																					
Other information: Correspondence interchange with J. I. Gracia Noriega over the Padre Galo affair; reference to IDEA. 174 refers to II																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
119	16/10/94		Avilés	C	M	A			A					✓	?						✓
130	13/11/94	121							A					✓							
138	26/11/94	131							A		✓			A		✓					
142	10/12/94	140												✓							
174	18/5/95	LNE 13/5							A												

L019 Alvarez del Busto, Eloy																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
375	22/8/97		Oviedo	C	M	I															✓

L020 Alvarez del Busto, Juan Luis																					
Other information: Asociación Amigos de Cudillero.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	Ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
051	23/6/93		Cudillero	W	M	I			A												

L021 Alvarez Fernández, Fernando																					
Other information: 393: el castellanu, "españolismu a ultranza".																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
052	23/6/93		Oviedo	C	M	A															
403	2/10/97							✓						A		✓					✓

L022 Alvarez Fernández, Ludivina																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
021	13/10/91		Oviedo	C	F	A															

L023 Alvarez García, Lourdes & Estrada, Antón Marí (shared)

Other information:

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
039	6/12/92		Uviéu	C	F	A															

L024 Alvarez González, Mario

Other information:

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
128	11/11/94		Oviedo	C	M	I	✓		A		✓				I						
236	28/2/96											✓									

L025 Alvarez Gurdíel, Alejandro

Other information: writer describes himself as 'asturianista', after more than independence (tradition), asturianismo, nacionalismo asturiano.

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
195	29/8/95		Cangas del Narcea	W	M	C					T				ll				R		✓

L026 Alvarez Iglesias, Maria del Carmen

Other information: reference to 'han mamado'. ALLA

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
004	11/6/88		Colunga	C	F	C							✓		+			Y			✓

L027 Alvarez-La Fuente Delgado, Constantino

Other information: 367: language is 'noble, tradicional, milenaria', ALLA

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
125	7/11/94		Gijón	C	M	I			✓					✓	A			✓			
379	10/9/97		Oviedo			C					T				+		✓			✓	

L028 Alvarez Lauret, José Luis

Other information:

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
359	30/7/97		Gijón	C	M	I	✓	G													

L029 Alvarez-Laviada, María del Mar																					
Other information: references to Conceyu Bable and ALLA; reference to l'asturianismu.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
103	5/8/94		Gijón	C	F	A	✓					✓			+		✓			✓	✓

L030 Alvarez López, Xicu																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
431	28/12/97	409	Gijón	C	M	I								+					✓		

L031 Alvarez Martinez, José Luis																					
Other information: reference to 'bablistas (más bien diría bablayos)'.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
141	2/12/94		Oviedo	C	M	I		A		✓				*				R			✓
382	13/9/97					I		G													
420	5/12/97					I				H											✓

L032 Alvarez Martinez, Santiago																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
105	8/8/94		Trubia	C	M	C				A				✓							

L033 Alvarez Martinez, Xuan																					
Other information: reference to union 'señes d'identidá'. * = union matters re mining																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
183	12/6/95		La Nisal (Langreo)	C	M	A							*								

L034 Alvarez Mayo, José Manuel																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
238	15/3/96		Gijón	C	M	C															

L035 Alvarez Merino, Enrique

Other information:

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
328	12/5/97		Oviedo	C	M	C	✓													✓	

L036 Alvarez Peña, Alberto

Other information: reference to 'señas de identidad'.

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
166	10/4/95		Xixón	C	M	C			A												

L037 Alvarez Rodríguez, Ricardo J

Other information: anti-Catalan

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
090	17/5/94		Oviedo	C	M	C															✓

L038 Antuña García, Manuel

Other information:

#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	Í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
102	2/8/94		Sotrondio	C	M	C				✓												✓

L039 Arbesú, Laureano

Other information:

#	Date	Rel.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	Í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
150	8/1/95		Soto de Rey, Rib.de Arriba	C	M	C				✓												✓

L040 Arcadio Alonso Alonso, Gabino

Other information: refers to an article in LNE 8/1/98 ("Comenzaron las obras de rehabilitación de la iglesia de Santo Medero")

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	Í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
438	22/1/98		Oviedo	C	M	C			A	✓											

L041 Arévalo Fernández, Celso																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	Í	A	D	O	N	S	U
244	5/4/96		Mieres	C	M	C												T		
263	21/7/96					B						✓								

L042 Arévalo Murciego, Alberto																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	Í	A	D	O	N	S	U
398	27/9/97		Mieres	C	M	B								+		✓	✓	P		✓

L043 Arias García, Alberto																				
Other information: Comments on 3 contributors to LNE: Juan Vega, Montserrat Garnacho & Gracia Noriega. 'señas de identidad'. ALLA																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	Í	A	D	O	N	S	U
082	25/4/94		Oviedo	C	M	C						✓			L					

L044 Arjona, Javier																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	Í	A	D	O	N	S	U
083	26/4/94		El Entrego	C	M	B						✓								
201	15/9/95		S M del R Aur'			B						✓								

L045 Armando Fernández, Jesús																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	Í	A	D	O	N	S	U
362	6/8/97		Oviedo	C	M	I						✓								

L046 Arribas Jimeno, Siro																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	Í	A	D	O	N	S	U
445	30/1/98		Oviedo	C	M	C														

L047 Artime Fernández, Florentino																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
025	19/2/92		Carreño	E	M	C																

L048 Artime, Nacho																						
Other information: Writer originally from Luanco where 'fatu' is 'fato'.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
202	17/9/95	205	Gijón	C	M	C								B								

L049 Ayala, Francisco A																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
071	9/3/94		Villa viciosa	C	M	C							✓									

L050 Balbino Arias Alvarez, César																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
400	30/9/97		Mieres	C	M	C		✓		✓		✓		ll				✓			✓	✓

L051 Baldomero Prendes Suárez, Nicanor Angel																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
296	18/1/97		El Entrego	C	M	B				✓												

L052 Ballesteros Alvarez, Manuel																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
088	15/5/94	081	Mieres	C	M	B			✓	✓	✓		✓	+								

L053 Baños, Remedios																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
070	8/3/94		Oviedo	C	F	C									B						✓	✓

L054 Barbón Barbón, Eloi																						
Other information: Codinadora Nacional del Conceyu d'Estudiantes Nacionalistes.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
158	2/3/95		Gijón	C	F	A									ll				✓		✓	✓

L055 Barceló Sicilia, María Isabel																						
Other information: written in the name of a number of anti-drug groups, re course at CP Villabona (a prison).																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
341	23/6/97		Oviedo	C	F	C	✓			✓											✓	

L056 Baro Delgado, Angel																						
Other information: refers to LNE article of 30/4/97																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
326	6/5/97		Avilés	C	M	C														✓		

L057 Bedia Alonso, Andrés																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
214	18/10/95		Navia	C	M	C																

L058 Bello Fernán, Xuan																							
Other information: Lliga Liberal Antiprohibicionista Asturiana, cited as one of the writers of the Surdimientu; Acad. Corr. de ALLA.																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n
063	31/1/94		Uviéu	C	M	A													*		P		

L059 Benito Sierra, Rafael																				
Other information: use of a quasi-phonetics, commentary on effectiveness of language academies. Response to column of Ladislao de Arriba,																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
239	23/3/96		Villamayor (Piloña)	?	M	A														

L060 Blanco Llera, Lucio																					
Other information: member of Coleutivu Siero pola Oficialidá																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
350	11/7/97		Siero	C	M	A	✓		✓						A		✓			✓	P

L061 Blanco Muñiz, María Pachina																					
Other information: comes from Pola de Laviana.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
215	2/11/95		Zaragoza	F	F	C				✓				✓							✓

L062 Blanco Prado, Daniel																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
430	28/12/97		Noreña	C	M	C								A		✓	✓			

L063 Blanco Puente, Xurde																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
383	13/9/97		Oviedo	C	M	A	✓							A		✓				
401	1/10/97					A						✓				✓				✓

L064 Bonilla, Tete																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
200	15/9/95		Oviedo	C	?	I					✓									

L065 Bousoño, Carlos																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
012	12/7/88		Madrid	F	M	C								B			✓			

L066 Buergo Gómez, Juan Manuel																					
Other information: though not born in Asturias, he regards himself as from Asturias Oriental. Refers 'anacronismo del castellano antiguo'.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
104	8/8/94		Madrid	F	M	C		G	✓					A							✓

L067 Burgos Fernández, Ernesto																					
Other information: sec-genl. Fed. Republicana d'Asturies; reference to Conceyu Bable.																					
#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
298	8/2/97		Mieres del Camino	C	M	C	✓		✓												
402	1/10/97					I	✓							A							✓

L068 Busto Peláez, Xuan R.																					
Other information: * = various																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
147	3/1/95		Gijón	C	M	A		G	A					*				+			

L069 Cachero Sánchez, Juan Luis																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
136	24/11/94		Oviedo	C	M	C	✓		✓					A							

L070 Caldevilla Vega, Ismael																					
Other information: reference to 'bablistas' in 003.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
003	11/6/88		Gijón	C	M	C					✓			B				R		✓	
154	11/1/95		Xixón			A		A						A		*					✓

L071 Caldevilla Vega, Xosé Nel																						
Other information: Andecha en Defensa de la Identidá Cultural Asturiana																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
			Xixón, Gijón	C	M	?																
054	23/6/93																					
192	27/8/95					A								A		*					✓	✓
211	11/10/95					A																
373	22/8/97					A	✓		A		✓	✓		B								

L072 Camilo Diaz, Adolfo																						
Other information: cited as a writer of the Surdimientu; Académico Correspondiente de ALLA [1981], reference to 'pseudoasturianista'.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
001	9/4/87		Avilés	C	M	A	✓						✓	?			✓					

L073 Campomanes Calleja, Enrique																						
Other information: Ayuntamiento de Oviedo.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
017	5/5/91		Oviedo	C	M	C																

L074 Camuño, José																						
Other information: writer describes himself as a Pixueto. * = Pixueto.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
386	16/9/97		Oviedo	C	M	B			A			✓		*								

L075 Candel, Xosé																						
Other information: l'Asamblea de Xixón de la Xunta pola defensa de la Llingua.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
208	6/10/95?		Gijón	C	M	A								ll					C			

L076 Carbajo Quirós, Manuel

Other information:

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other							
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E					
435	14/1/98		Sama de Langreo	C	M	I					✓															

L077 Castañeira Fernández, Juan

Other information: * re Gallego-Astur

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other							
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E					
115	11/10/94		Madrid	F	M	C					✓					*										
116	13/10/94					C			✓		✓	✓														

L078 Castañón del Río, Raúl

Other information: writer refers to a letter in LNE on 7/5/96

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other						
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n		
269	3/9/96		Oviedo	C	M	C					✓					+			✓	T					✓

L079 Castro, Natalia

Other information: Conceyu d'Estudiantes Nacionalistes

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other						
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E				
013	19/1/91		Oviedo	C	F	A					✓					B			✓						

L080 Cavanilles Navia-Osorio, Ramón

Other information:

#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other						
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E				
262	20/7/96		Villaviciosa	C	M	I	✓		A																

L081 Cayarga Rodríguez, Xabier																				
Other information: 034: neonacionalcuadonguismo.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
033	21/5/92		Uviéu,	C	M	A														
034	22/9/92		Oviéu,			A	✓							+				*		✓
043	11/6/93		Uviéu			A														

L082 Cerra Bada, Yolanda																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. c	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
251	15/5/96		Melverda (Ribadesella)	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
				E	F	C															

L083 Codesal Menéndez, Carmen																						
Other information: writer is student of geography and history.																						
#	Date	Rel. c.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
271	9/9/96		Ribadesella	E	F	I					H										P	✓

L084 Collada García, Mundo																						
Other information: PAS																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
165	1/4/95		Villa viciosa	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
				C	M	I	✓			✓												✓

L085 Copen Fernández, Sabino																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
453	13/2/98		Oviedo	C	M	I															

L086 Corteguera, Francisco																					
Other information: Part of the Cela correspondence																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
077	22/3/94		La Felguera	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
				C	M	C															

L087 Costa Pérez, Evelio																				
Other information: * = Gallego Normativo,																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
137	24/11/94		Avilés	C	M	C											*			✓

L088 Cotarelo Pallares, Dimas Antonio																				
Other information: ALLA. About Gallego-astur. 'Ortodoxa asturianista'																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
175	19/5/95		Taramundi	G	M	I			A					✓				✓	t	

L089 Crespo García, Joaquín																					
Other information: + 4 uncited co-signatories																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
038	6/12/92		Villa	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
			viciosa	C	M	I															

L090 Cuervo González, Olga																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
304	6/3/97		Oviedo	C	F	A								ll							✓

L091 Cuesta Tamargo, Braulio																				
Other information: 117: asturianistas.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
053	23/6/93	Cela	Oviedo	C	M															
079	29/3/94				B					✓				✓						
117	15/10/94				B						✓	✓			B					

L092 d'Andres Diaz, Ramón; 056 shared with d'Andres Diaz, Vital (Instituto de E.S. de Valliniello & Alvarez Menéndez, Alfredo (Facultad de Filología)																						
Other information: Escuela Universitario Magisterio, Academico de numberu of ALLA [1981]; LNE "Tribuna" 23/6/93; LLA4 [1987]; LLA 9.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references						Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
027	14/3/92		Xixón	C	M	A																
056	29/6/93		Oviedo(s)			C									A						✓	✓

L093 d'Andres Fernández, Manuel																						
Other information: Cited as one of the writers of the Surdimientu; 351: valores culturales. P= Pequeña Patria																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references						Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
363	14/8/97		Gijón	C	M	A	✓		A	✓					ll		✓		P		✓	
412	21/11/97			A	✓								ll								✓	

L094 De Arriba, Ladislao																						
Other information: LNE regular columnist																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references						Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
203	17/9/95		Gijón	C	M	I				✓	✓											

L095 de la Ballina-Carús Suárez, Miguel Angel																						
Other information: Castellán. * = Astura																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references						Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
197	8/9/95	210+	Gijón	C	M	A								*				C				

L096 de la Hera, Froilán																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references						Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
066	7/2/94		Oviedo	C	M	B																

L097 de Lausen, Enrique																				
Other information: ALLA																				
#	Date	Rel. c.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
323	25/4/97		Barcelona	F	M	C		✓		✓		✓		✓						✓

L098 Delgado Munden, Paloma																				
Other information: Periodicucho.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
338	21/6/97		Porrúa (Llanes)	E	F	C							✓	B						✓

L099 Díaz, Alberto Augusto																				
Other information: pres. del Club de Vuelo Viento'n Cola																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
312	26/3/97		Castrillon	C	M	C			✓											

L100 Díaz del Robledano, Juan Antonio, Oviedo																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
229	22/1/96		Oviedo	C	M	A														

L101 Díaz Díaz, Marino																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
391	20/9/97		Oviedo	C	M	I														

L102 Díaz Fernández, Francisco																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
127	11/11/94		Anzo (Grado)	W	M	C				✓										✓

L103 Díaz Fernández, Rubén																				
Other information: pro-ALLA; linguistic varieties.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
089	16/5/94		Gijón	C	M	A	✓								+			✓		✓

L104 Díaz González, Ludivino																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
260	16/7/96		Aramil (Siero)	C	M	I					✓									

L105 Díaz Jove, José																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
078	28/3/94		Gijón	C	M	I					✓									

L106 Díaz Marcos, Ana María																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
041	20/12/92		Xixón	C	F	A														

L107 Díaz Palacios, Angel																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
447	2/2/98		Mieres	C	M	C					✓				✓					

L108 Díaz Zapico, Oliver																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
462	27/3/98		Sama de Langreo	C	M	A														✓

L109 Echevarria, María																				
Other information: Grupu d'Investigación "L'Aniciu"																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
049	23/6/93		Mieres	C	F	A														

L110 Escobar Díaz, Francisco																					
Other information: * "asturiano puro", ALLA																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
002	13/3/88		Oviedo	C	M	B			A	A	✓	✓	✓		*			N	R		✓
250	15/5/96					I															

L111 Espolita García, Santiago																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
335	11/6/97		Gijón	C	M	B	✓														✓

L112 Estrada López-Rodríguez, María																					
Other information: identidad cultural.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
421	5/12/97		Oviedo	C	F	C	✓								+		✓				✓

L113 Fandos Rodríguez, Celso																					
Other information: 'llinguateros', ALLA																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
330	21/5/97		El Entrego	C	M	I										D					✓
337	18/6/97			B			✓	✓						B							

L114 Feito Blanco, Javier José																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
267	4/8/96		Ribade sella	E	M	B								✓							✓

L115 Felgueroso, Dionisio																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
395	23/9/97		Gijón	C	M	C	✓							A						✓

L116 Fernández, Alfonso Mauricio																				
Other information: Sec. la Agrupación de PAS																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
254	14.6.96		Gozón	?	M	C	✓			✓			✓							✓

L117 Fernández, Enrique																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
240	27/3/96		Oviedo	C	M	C														

L118 Fernández, José Manuel																				
Other information: also signed by 26 uncited signatories.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
018	26/5/91		Llangreu	C	M	A														

L119 Fernández, Yoya																				
Other information: ALLA																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
334	7/6/97		Xixón	C	F	A								A		✓				✓

L120 Fernández Alvarez, Rufino																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
092	7/6/94		Oviedo	C	M	B		✓		✓	✓									P	✓

L121 Fernández Blanco, J.L.																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
460	20/3/98		Anes (Siero)	C	M															

L122 Fernández Cabal, Luis Manuel																					
Other information: pres. Asoc. de Vecinos de Fitoria-Pando-Villamejil.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
261	16/7/96		Oviedo	C	M	I															

L123 Fernández del Valle, José María																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
266	2/8/96		Gijón	C	M	C	✓		A												✓

L124 Fernández Díaz, Francisco Joaquín																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
273	13/9/96		El Entrego	C	M	I															

L125 Fernández Fernández, Leonardo																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
074	14/3/94	Cela	Madrid	F	M	I								✓	A						

L126 Fernández Fernández, Luis																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
365	17/8/97		Candás	C	M	I					✓										
369	18/8/97					B					✓	✓									✓

L127 Fernández García, Carmen María																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
355	24/7/97		Corvera	C	F	C			A		H									P	✓	

L128 Fernández Glez., Angel Luis																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
389	19/9/97		Oviedo	C	M	C	✓												+	✓		

L129 Fernández González, Yolanda Elvira(shared)																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
035	22/9/92		?	?	F	A							✓	+	✓	✓	O			P	✓	

L130 Fernández-Guisasola Muñiz, Francisco Jesús																						
Other information: re Castilian. Medico and naturopath. Latin references.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
433	10/1/98		Oviedo	C	M	C														✓	✓	

L131 Fernández Gutiérrez, Gauzón																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
048	22/6/93		Mieres	C	M	A																
065	6/2/94		Mieres del Camín			A			*		✓				+					✓	✓	

L132 Fernández Lorenzo, Guillermo																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
414	1/12/97		Moreda (Aller)	C	M	C				✓												

L133 Fernández-Llampaxuga, Marisa																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Loriana	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
172	30/4/95		(Oviedo)	C	F	I	✓					✓										✓

L134 Fernández Malvárez, Miguel B																						
Other information: Bablistas; anti-ALLA.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
008	15/6/88		Oviedo	C	M	C							✓		*							

L135 Fernández Menéndez, Enrique																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Cangas del	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
168	14/4/95		Narcea	W	M	B	✓					✓										

L136 Fernández Moro, Raúl																						
Other information: ALLA																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
392	22/9/97		Mieres	C	M	C									A		✓					

L137 Fernández Obaya, José																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n
221	21/11/95		Gijón	C	M	C																	

L138 Fernández Rodríguez, Elías																							
Other information: señas de identidad, 'el bable más puro y hermosa (digno de toda normalización)'.																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
			Pola de	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n
124	7/11/94		Allande	W	M	C					✓	✓	✓		B			✓	+				✓

L139 Fernández Rodríguez, Jesús Antonio																						
Other information: 'nacionalismo'. cites 'Tribuna' of 18/6 in LNE. Enclisis 'enseño-me'																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
191	21/8/95		Oviedo	C	M	B			A		✓	✓						n			✓	

L140 Fernández Ruiz, Florentino																						
Other information: 101: mi identidad																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
101	28/7/94		Mieres	C	M	C					✓		✓								✓	
169	18/4/95			B							✓	✓	✓									
310	23/3/97			I				✓	✓			✓			B						✓	

L141 Fernández-Trujillo Villarnea, Federico																						
Other information: lengua materna: Asturiano-gallego. CP Ramón de Campoamor																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
132	16/11/94		Navia	G	M	C	✓													✓	✓	
209	8/10/95					C																
227	4/1/96					I																

L142 Fernández Vega, Luis																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
064	1/2/94	Cela	Oviedo	C	M	B								✓							✓	

L143 Ferrara, Xuan																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
320	23/4/97		Pola de Laviana	C	M	B			A		✓	✓									✓	

L144 Fidalgo López, Alberto																						
Other information: Ensame Xuvenil Trisquel																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
114	11/10/94		Candás	C	M	C				✓		✓										

L145 Flórez, Delfina																						
Other information: plus 12 other uncited co-signatories from a meeting of teachers of CRA Huerna-Pajares. Castellán.																						
#	Date	Rel. c	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
442	28/1/98		Campomanes	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
			Lena	C	F	A	✓		✓		✓					+		✓				✓

L146 Flórez-Keno, Uxenu A																						
Other information: Xuntanza Astur en Compostela. 222: asturianismo.																						
#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
245	27/4/96		Compostela																			
259	10/7/96			F	M	B								B					C		✓	
297	7/12/97					B	✓		A	✓	✓	✓		✓	+				C			✓
410	9/11/97					B								+		✓			*			

L147 Fonticiella Gutiérrez, Chari																						
Other information: originally from Ribadesella (note “habes” not “fabes”)																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
405	3/10/97		Gijón	C	F	A	✓	✓	A													

L148 Frechilla, Ana Rosa																						
Other information: 262 more uncited signatories to letter. Re Gitanos																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
344	29/6/97		Langreo	C	F	C							✓						?			✓

L149 Fresno, Asunción																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
331	23/5/97		Gijón	C	F	B		✓												✓	

L150 Frieria Suárez, Florencio																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
434	13/1/98		Oviedo	C	M	C			✓												

L151 Galán Rodríguez, Benigno																					
Other information: ALLA,																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
011	5/7/88		La Felguera	C	M	I								?							✓

L152 Gallego Llamas, Valentín																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
424	7/12/97		Gijón	C	M	I							✓								

L153 García, Elena G																					
Other information: refers to LNE article of 29/1/97 by Silvino Lantero Vallina ("Valores y disciplina escolar").																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
299	13/2/97		San Martín del RAurelio	C	F	B				✓										✓	✓

L154 García, José María																					
Other information: ALLA,																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
349	11/7/97		Bimenes	C	M	C	✓							B		✓				✓	✓

L155 García, José María & Hevia, Rafael																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
360	30/7/97		Avilés	C	M	C					✓				✓					

L156 García Antuña, Mario																				
Other information: rep. Ensamble Ecoloxista Musgosu.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
336	12/6/97	276	El Entrego	C	M	C					✓									

L157 García Barrero, David																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
348	11/7/97		Lugones	C	M	C					✓	✓								

L158 García Cosío, Xosé Firmu																				
Other information: 014: writer is anti-bablist.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
014	25/1/91		La Pola (Sieru)	C	M	A														n
277	10/10/96		Pola de Siero			A								ll					✓	✓

L159 García de Vega, Fabián																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
257	1/7/96		Moreda	C	M	A	✓		A			✓								
393	22/9/97		(Aller)			A	✓							A		✓				✓

L160 García de Vega, José Anibal																						
Other information: Castestsán, Tsingua Tsariega																						
#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
086	3/5/94		Ponferrada (León)	F	M	A			A			✓	✓	?								✓
199	14/9/95		Villafranca del Bierzu (Ponferrada)	F		A			A						+							

L161 García Fernández, Angeles																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
225	27/12/95		Villaviciosa	C	M	A			✓	✓	✓											

L162 García Fernández, José																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
106	12/8/94		Teverga	W	M	C			✓	✓	✓											

L163 García García, Alberto																						
Other information: sec. D'agrupación del PAS																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
295	6/1/97		Nava	E	M	C	A					*		✓								✓

L164 García García, José																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n
346	8/7/97	328	Oviedo	C	M	C									+		✓				✓	p	✓

L165 García García, José Manuel																				
Other information: Ensame Ecoloxita Musgosu																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
305	6/3/97	318	El Entego	C	M	C			A	✓	✓	✓								

L166 García García, Manuel																					
Other information: originally from Pola de Allande																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
316	2/4/97		Avilés	C	M	B			✓				✓								✓

L167 García Leal, Alfonso																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
046	22/6/93		Oviedo	C	M	C															

L168 García Llera, Carlos																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
107	12/8/94		Colloto(O)	C	M	I	✓														

L169 García Martínez, Leopoldo																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
437	21/1/98		Avilés	C	M	I	✓					✓		A							

L170 García Martínez, Marcelino																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
189	9/8/95		S Claudio (Oviedo)	C	M	I															

L171 García Menéndez, Elia																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
232	30/1/96		Mieres	C	F	C														
252	1/6/96					C														

L172 García Muñiz, Carmen Fabiola																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
151	8/1/95		Avilés	C	F	I	✓														✓

L173 García Oliva, Vicente																					
Other information: Cited as one of the writers of the Surdimientu. ALLA.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
097	2/7/94		Xixón	C	M	A			A												

L174 García Rodríguez, M.																					
Other information: bablistas.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
411	19/11/97		Oviedo	C	?	I	✓		✓					+		✓	✓				

L175 García Ruiz, Kety																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
406	4/10/97		Gijón	C	F	B				T	✓			B						✓	

L176 García-Sampedro Vega, Xosé Antón																					
Other information: 54 other signatories to letter (all teachers and students)																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
377	24/8/97		Oviedo	C	M	A	✓							ll		✓					

L177 Garrido Barrientos, Antonio																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
185	14/6/95		Gijón	C	M	I														

L178 Gimeno, Ricardo R																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
324	30/4/97		El Castañéu,	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
			El Remediu (Nava)	C	M	C			✓			✓									

L179 Gómez, José Antonio & de Eusebio, María Sonia (shared)																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
223	10/12/95		???			I														

L180 Gómez Alonso, Francisco																				
Other information: enamorada de Asturias, asturianista. ALLA																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
407	4/10/97		Gijón	C	M	C								+		✓				

L181 Gómez-Tabab(n)era, José Manuel																				
Other information: ALLA, RIDEA																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
087	5/5/94	085	Oviedo	C	M	C			✓						B					
347	10/7/97			I				✓												
446	30/1/98			C										*						

L182 González, José																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
289	8/12/96		Oviedo	C	M	A			A						+					

L183 González Alvarez, Alfredo																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
031	30/3/92		Mieres	C	M	C														

L184 González Alvarez, Enrique																					
Other information: bablistas. * Castilian with "a nosa fala"																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
010	16/6/88		Roxios (Boal)	G	M	I		P				✓			B			✓			✓

L185 González Cambaral, Fran Gayo																				
Other information: Grupu de folc Xixonés																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
037	21/11/92		Xixon	C	?	A														

L186 González Fernández, Norberto																				
Other information: anti-ALLA																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
404	3/10/97		Oviedo	C	M	I		G		✓		✓			*			*		✓

L187 González Fernández, Oscar																				
Other information: It appears that #345 was written whilst he was travelling through the area (perhaps on holiday).																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
032	2/4/92		Uviéu	C	M	A														
094	16/6/94		Uviéu			C			✓						B					
157	1/2/95	151	Oviedo			A			✓					+						✓
358	27/7/97		Llanes	E		A				✓	✓		✓							✓
461	23/3/98		Oviedo	C		A														

L188 González García, Vicente José																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
302	5/3/97		Oviedo	C	M	C			✓												

L189 González González, Enriqueta																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
080	30/3/94	Cela	Gijón	C	F	C														

L190 González González, Manuel																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
006	11/6/88		Fuentespino (Siero)	C	M	B								B			✓				✓

L191 González González, Miguel Angel																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
322	24/4/97		Oviedo	C	M	B															

L192 González Iglesias, Joaquín																						
Other information: ALLA, n is ironic																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
443	29/1/98		Mieres	C	M	B									A						✓	

L193 González Lada, Alejandro & Noelia (shared)																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
399	27/9/97		Urbiés	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
			(Mieres)	C	M	C	✓			✓		✓										

L194 González Morán, Xurde Nel																						
Other information: Tertulia 'El Garrapiellu'																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
110	17/9/94		Xixón	C	M	A																
180	1/6/95		Gijón			I			A													✓

L195 González-Quevedo, Roberto																						
Other information: Cited as one of the writers of the Surdimientu; Academico de numberu of ALLA [1981].																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
044	20/6/93		Uviéu	C	M	A	✓		A						+		✓				✓	
397	25/9/97		Oviedo			C					✓				+		✓					
448	4/2/98		Oviedo			C									A		✓					

L196 González Riaño, X.A.																						
Other information: Academico de numberu of ALLA [1981]; LNE "Tribuna" 22/6/93; LLA9 [1995]. Asturianista.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
374	22/8/97		Cangas del	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
			Narcea	W	M	A	✓								ll		✓					

L197 González Sobrecueva, Angel																							
Other information: Asociación 'Valle de Güeña' de Deportes Autóctonos.																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
321	23/4/97		Cangas de Onis	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
				E	M	C				✓													

L198 González Vázquez, José Luis																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
249	7/5/96		Oviedo	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
				C	M	C				✓													

L199 Goti del Sol, Manuel																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
272	10/9/96		Navia	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
				G	M	I																	

L200 Gracia Noriega, José Ignacio																							
Other information: IDEA																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
026	25/2/92		Llanes	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
113	7/10/94			E	M																		
121	29/10/94					I	✓																
131	16/11/94					I																	
133	19/11/94					B	✓								B								
140	1/12/94					C																	
313	27/3/97	281				I									B								
						I								✓									

L201 Grana Alvarez, Juan Carlos																							
Other information: re holidaying in Vegamagaz as a child.																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
428	26/12/97		Gijón	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
				C	M	I		G	A			✓		✓									

L202 Granda Rodríguez, José María																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
300	1/3/97		Villalegre (Avilés)	C	M	C			✓													

L203 Gutiérrez, Deva																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
432	8/1/98		Gijón	C	F	A	✓								A		✓					✓

L204 Gutiérrez Busto, Manuel																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
371	21/8/97		Oviedo	C	M	B				✓	✓		✓									

L205 Gutiérrez García, José Luis																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
314	31/3/97		Oviedo	C	M	I			✓													

L206 Gutiérrez Morán, Xelu																						
Other information: el castellanu																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
394	23/9/97		Barcelona	F	M	A	✓		A						A							✓

L207 Gutiérrez Tejón, Ernesto																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
210	11/10/95		Felechosa	C	M	C																
224	16/12/95					A																

L208 Gutiérrez Valdés, Maximiliano																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
			La Rasa (Carbayín)	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
275	22/9/96			C	M	I					✓		✓										

L209 Hevia Llavona, Nacho																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n
449	4/2/98		Gijón	C	M	A					H	✓											P

L210 Hevia Suárez, Jesús Manuel																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
			Felechosa (Aller)	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
419	5/12/97			C	M	B	✓				✓												✓

L211 Hevia Velasco, José Angel																							
Other information: co-author of book on gaita playing.																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
			Villa viciosa	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n
149	6/1/95			C	M	I			✓														✓
176	19/5/95					C	✓				✓												
181	4/6/95					I		G			✓	✓											P

L212 Huergo Lora, Paloma																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
			Oviedo	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
458	4/3/98			C	F	C	✓				✓												✓

L213 Huerta Suárez, Andrés																							
Other information: Coordinador de IU de Villaviciosa																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
			Villa viciosa	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
452	12/2/98			C	M	I			✓														

L214 Igelmo Pérez, Ricardo																							
Other information: re Basques																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
288	8/12/96		Gijón	C	M	A																	

L215 Iglesias, Francisco																							
Other information: Andecha Astur; 12 years earlier (in Llangréu) he had lodged a complaint of discrimination for the refusal of the authorities to accept "Marcos Xabel" as the name of his son instead of the Spanish "Marcos Javier" (LLA12 [1984])																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
278	12/10/96		Langreo	C	M	A	✓			✓													

L216 Iglesias Fernández, Lluís Aique																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
264	23/7/96		Llangréu	C	M	A	✓						✓										

L217 Iglesia Rato, José Manuel																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	
155	17/1/95		Oviedo	C	M	A																P	

L218 Juegas Fernández, Miguel																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
233	3/2/96		Oviedo	C	M	I																	

L219 Junquera-Huergo y Torres, Felipe Neri																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
311	26/3/97		Oviedo	C	M	C			✓														

L220 León Costales, Julio																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
193	27/8/95		Mieres	C	M	A			A											
307	13/3/97			I				A				✓								
376	23/8/97			I				A		✓	✓									

L221 López, Manuel Jesús																							
Other information: ALLA																							
#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n
009	15/6/88		Pola de Lena	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n
				C	M	C		✓					✓		A			✓	C		✓	P	✓

L222 López, Pepe																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
145	19/12/94		Teverga	W	M	A						✓										✓

L223 López Alvarez, Antón																						
Other information: nacionalista militante																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
444	29/1/98		Oviedo	C	M	C	✓					✓		A		✓						

L224 López Alvarez, Antonio																						
Other information: ALLA																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
005	11/6/88		Cudillero	W	M	C		✓				✓		*					R		✓	

L225 López González, César Ramón																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
190	20/8/95		Oviedo	C	M	I					✓									
285	20/11/96					I	✓				✓									

L226 López Hernández, Enrique																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
247	4/5/96		Suares (Bimenes)	C	M	A														

L227 López Junquera, Guillermo M.																				
Other information: vocal de Defensa del Patrimonio Asturiano. RIDEA																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
159	20/3/95		Gijón	C	M	C														P

L228 López Méndez, César																					
Other information: re Gallego-asturiano. Asturianismo.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
427	26/12/97		Illano	G	M	I		✓			✓			+		✓				✓	✓

L229 López Pacios, Jesús																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
153	10/1/95		Oviedo	C	M	A							✓							

L230 López Robledo, Pilar																				
Other information: asturianismo.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
235	27/2/996		Mieres	C	F	C		G			✓			+		✓				✓
255	20/6/96					C														

L231 Loredo Fernández, Fernando																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
007	15/6/88		Gijón	C	M	C					✓					X		✓		T		✓

L232 Loureda Fernández, Abel																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
270	4/9/96		Caborana (Aller)	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
				C	M	C				✓				✓	A							

L233 Loy Madera, Ignacio																						
Other information: Colectivo de Universidade de IU																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
060	2/7/93		Oviedo	C	M	C	✓															

L234 Loza Cortina, Constantino																						
Other information: jefe del servicio de pediatría del Hospital comarcal de Jarrío																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
206	2/10/95		Jarrío	G	M	I																
213	17/10/95		(Navia)																			

L235 Lozano López, Tino																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
109	15/8/94		Oviedo	C	M	A			A					✓							P	✓

L236 Llamazares Martínez, Santiago																					
Other information: 272: identidad.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
146	29/12/94		Pravia	W	M	A	✓														
178	28/5/95					A								A		✓					
301	4/3/97					C	✓			✓								O		✓	

L237 Llana Fernández, Xulio																					
Other information: 17 uncited other co-signatories, all from Colexu Público [sic] Pinto Joan Miró																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
293	23/12/96		Palma de Mallorca	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
				F	M	A			A		H					+		✓			

L238 Llera Pedro																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
384	15/9/97		Gijón	C	M	C		G								+		✓		P	✓

L239 Llope, María Xesús																					
Other information: ALLA – Galician connection. Asturianidá																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
463	27/3/98		Xixón	C	F	A			A							ll			✓	C	✓

L240 Llorente Alvarez, Félix																					
Other information: P is ironic.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
354	21/7/97		Oviedo	C	M	I															P

L241 Machicado Company, Montserrat																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
093	7/6/94		Gijón	C	F	C									L						

L242 Maire Fernández, Gilberto																				
Other information: LNE 7/6 – José Angel Hevia																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
100	11/7/94		Oviedo	C	M	C					✓									

L243 Marín Estrada, Pablo Antón																				
Other information: Cited as one of the writers of the Surdimientu; in 1984 lived in Llangréu and lodged complaint on behalf of Xunta pola defensa la Llingua (LLA12[1984]). Responding to Manuel Lombardero LNE 27/5/95 (Cultura)																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
184	12/6/95	193	Gijón	C	M	A			✓					✓	ll			✓		

L244 Mariño, Milio																				
Other information: Columnist for LNE, F = fala.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
309	20/3/97	285	Salinas	C	M	A	✓								F					n

L245 Marqués Rodríguez, Guzmán																				
Other information: * = Castilian & English																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
084	28/4/94		Cudillero	W	M	I	✓							A		✓				

L246 Martín, Norberto																				
Other information: sec. de Asturias SUATEA																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
205	28/9/95	212	Oviedo	C	M	A								+						✓

L247 Martín Martínez, Félix																				
Other information: Asturianía. r = Navia-Eo referred to as Region																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
274	16/9/96		Tapia de Casariego	G	M	C												r		✓

L248 Martínez Alvarez, Fernando																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
332	24/5/97		Pravia	W	M	I																
439	23/1/98					B																✓

L249 Martínez Fernández, Ignacio																						
Other information: rep. Conservation & ecological groups.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
216	2/11/95		Langreo	C	M	I																✓

L250 Martínez Muñoz, Manuel																							
Other information: Conceyu I. d'Asturies.																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		n
023	13/12/91		Les	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
			Regueres	C	M	A																	

L251 Martínez Rodríguez, Manuel																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
228	17/1/96		Mieres	C	M	C																

L252 Martínez V., Alberto																							
Other information: ALLA, bablistas. Enclisis?: compruébenlo.																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		n
396	24/9/97		Sama de	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
			Langreo	C	M	C							✓			B	D	✓				✓	

L253 Martino Ruz, Xandru																						
Other information: llicenciáu en filoloxia francesa y espertu en llingua Asturiana																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
230	25/1/96		Ribadesella	E	M	A																
388	19/9/97			E	M	A	✓		A		✓			ll		✓						

L254 Mateos, María Antonia																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
			Sama de Langreo	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
333	30/5/97				C	F	I		✓					✓	✓								

L255 Medina García, Valentín																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
			Benis de Onis	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n
076	14/3/94				E	M	I																
160	22/33/95		Benia			B			A		✓	✓											P
219	12/11/95		Benia			I																	P

L256 Menéndez, A. Francisco A.																							
Other information: 'el idioma de su patria chica'																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
			Gijón	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
426	15/12/97				C	M	C									*				P		✓	

L257 Menéndez, Manuel																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
			San Claudio	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
226	31/12/95				C	M	I									*				P		✓	

L258 Menéndez, María Berta																							
Other information: bablistas (Don Emilio: "el mejor lingüista del mundo")																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
			Oviedo	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
286	7/12/96				C	F	C									B							

L259 Menéndez Revero, Ezequiel																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
024	17/2/92		Madrid	F	M	C																

L260 Menéndez Veiga, Federichu																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
143	14/12/94		Gijón	C	M	A	✓															

L261 Merchán Fernández, José & Mari Luz Alvarez Suero (shared)																						
Other information: holidays in Niembro (Llanes)																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
179	28/5/95		Avilés	C		C								✓								✓
218	3/11/95					C																

L262 Mere Ovalle, Ildefonso																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
		158	Villa	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
144	18/12/94	160	viciosa	C	M	I																

L263 Mesa Pantiga, José Antonio																						
Other information: nacionalistas, galleguistas																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Pola de	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
122	31/10/94		Allande	W	M	C	✓					✓			*							

L264 Miranda García, Juan Carlos																						
Other information: Defensa del Patrimonio Asturiano.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
152	9/1/95		Gijón	C	M	B																

L265 Miranda Rocés, Manuel																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
108	12/8/94		Gijón	C	M	A					✓			✓							

L266 Monteserín, Xicu																					
Other information: 349: against ETA																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
050	23/6/93		Xixón	C	M	A															
361	5/8/97					A			A												

L267 Montero Escrigas, Francisco Javier																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
182	11/6/95		Oviedo	C	M	A		G				✓			ll						✓	✓

L268 Murias Pérez, César																						
Other information: some Astur-Gallego used (extremo occidente Asturiano), born in Grandas de Salime, in Madrid in Civil War																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
282	10/11/96		Oviedo	C	M	B		G				✓			+				t			

L269 Navarro, José																						
Other information: LNE 3/10 news																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
409	5/10/97		Oviedo	C	M	C				✓							✓					

L270 Noriega Guerra, Alberto																						
Other information: Instituto del Ambiente CCI de EC																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
378	26/8/97		Ispra (Italia)	F	M	C	✓		A			✓										

L271 Ordiz García, Ramón																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
342	24/6/97		Oviedo	C	M	A		G				✓		✓							

L272 Ordiz Suárez, Nicanor																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
459	20/3/98		Sotrondio	C	M	B					H				?						

L273 Padilla, Fernando																					
Other information: Colegio María Balbín																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
036	12/11/92		Oviedo	C	M	A															
292	21/12/96		Oviedo	C	M	I															✓

L274 Palicio, Marina																					
Other information: 'gloria nacional'																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
099	10/7/94		Oviedo	C	F	C	✓								B			*			

L275 Palacio Noval, Miguel Eladio																					
Other information: pres. Asociación de vecinos de Valdesoto																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
456	25/2/98		Siero	C	M																

L276 Pañeda Quirós, Enrique (Kike)																					
Other information: 71 years of age. LNE editorial																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
280	2/11/96		Madrid	F	M	I															

L277 Paredes Vázquez, Adrián																				
Other information: 17 years of age.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
318	8/4/97		Sama de Langreo	C	M	C							✓			A				

L278 Pedrayes, Carmen																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
283	11/11/96		Oviedo	C	F	A	✓	P						✓	+					✓

L279 Pendás Benito, Juan Manuel																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
134	22/11/94		Avilés	C	M	C														✓
457	1/3/98					C														

L280 Pérez Capellín, Juan Luis																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
281	9/11/96		Oviedo	C	M	A			A						A					✓

L281 Pérez López, Roberto																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
029	17/3/92		Belmonte de Miranda	E	M	I														

L282 Pérez Rodríguez, Mercedes																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
265	24/7/96		Cangas del Narcea	W	F	I							✓							✓

L283 Pontigo Concha, Frutuoso																						
Other information: Coordinadora Ecoloxista d'Asturies																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
177	22/5/95		Avilés	C	F	C					✓			✓							P	
327	10/5/97					C	✓															✓
372	21/8/97					C	✓						✓									

L284 Porta Allende, Xuan																						
Other information: Conceyu pol Estudiu y Proteición de la Llingua Asturiana																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
040	12/12/92		Xixón	C	M	A																
387	18/9/97		Gijón			A	✓								+		✓		O			
454	20/2/98		Gijón			A	✓		A						ll		✓		P		P	

L285 Prado Alvarez, Carmen																						
Other information: SOS Racismo Asturias. Re Gitanos																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
340	22/6/97		Oviedo	C	F	I			A													

L286 Puente, Antonio																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
243	4/4/96		Cangas de Onís	C	M	I																

L287 Puertas Cabal, Victor Arturo																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
067	7/2/94		Noreña	C	M	C			*													

L288 Quintana Fernández, Ignacio																					
Other information: refers to LNE article [29/11] "Asturias, ¿A la deriva?"																					
#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
			Piedras Blancas	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
291	20/12/96			C	M	C									+					✓	

L289 Rancaño Cardo, Nieves																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
246	3/5/96		Oviedo	C	F	C															

L290 Rato Blanco, Francisco																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
			San Martín de Anes (Siero)	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
319	20/4/97			C	M	C				✓											

L291 Recio García, Tomás																					
Other information: ALLA, some Latin references																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
085	1/5/94	087	Oviedo	C	M	C			✓						B						n

L292 Redondo Viado, Arturo																					
Other information: re ETA + govt. 'terrorism'																					
#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
			El Remediu (Nava)	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
352	20/7/97			C	M	A	✓														

L293 Reverte, Javier																					
Other information: 'asturiano del corazón ... yo no tengo ningún antepasado asturiano ... hijo adoptivo de Quinzanes, Pravia.'																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
329	14/5/97		Madrid	F	M	I		x			✓	✓									

L294 Ribera Pardo, Manolo																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
357	25/7/97		Gijón	C	M	B			A	✓				✓							✓

L295 Riesco, Diego																					
Other information: sacerdote somedano y párroco de Ceceda (Nava)																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
207	3/10/95		Ceceda (Nava)	C	M	C			A				✓								

L296 Rivaya Luis																					
Other information: from La Chalga Producciones SL																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
423	5/12/97		Nava	C	M	C				✓				✓							

L297 Rodrigo Romeo, Javier																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
256	29/6/96		Oviedo	C	M	C															

L298 Rodríguez, María																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
413	28/11/97		Gijón	C	F	A			A						A		✓	✓	N		✓

L299 Rodríguez, Serafín																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
276	1/10/96		Oviedo	C	F	I		P	A		✓	✓									✓
306	12/3/97					I					✓	✓									✓

L300 Rodríguez Alvarez, Ricardo																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
343	26/6/97	331	Oviedo	C	M	C														

L301 Rodríguez Benito, Flavio																					
Other information: director de la Banda de Gaites "Xaranzana" and various other gaita groups																					
#	Date	Rel. c	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
253	4/6/96		Morcín	C	M	A			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓						T	✓

L302 Rodríguez Camino, Ricardo																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. c	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
290	8/12/96		Pola de Siero	C	M	C					✓									T	✓

L303 Rodríguez Coya, María																					
Other information: reference to linguistic situation in Mallorca.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
118	16/10/94		Gijón	C	F	C															

L304 Rodríguez Escudero, María Victoria																					
Other information: Consejerade Educación, Cultura y Deportes																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
204	25/9/95	213	Oviedo	C	F	C	✓														✓

L305 Rodríguez Fanjul, Ignacio																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
248	5/5/96		Oviedo	C	M	C															

L306 Rodríguez Fernández, Ana María																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Rebellada	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
069	28/2/94		Oviedo	C	F	G			A					✓					P			✓

L307 Rodríguez Fernández, Rosario																						
Other information: presidenta de Coral 'Mohíces'																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
315	1/4/97		Luarca	W	F	C			✓	F												✓

L308 Rodríguez García, José Manuel																						
Other information: Secretariáu de Mediu Ambiente del PAS																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
068	15/2/94		Xixón	C	M	C	A		A	✓												

L309 Rodríguez González, Rafael																						
Other information: Asturian is heavily interferred.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
450	8/2/98		Lugones	C	M	A	✓					✓		✓								

L310 Rodríguez Pérez, Fernando																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Pola de	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
015	16/3/91		Allande	W	M	C																

L311 Roldán, Justo																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
075	14/3/94		Siero	C	M	C			✓													

L312 Rozada, Angel																				
Other information: 'exclusiva lengua nacionalista'.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
385	15/9/97		Arriondas	E	M	B	✓	G	A					✓	+			✓		✓

L313 Rozada García, Nicanor																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
231	27/1/96		La Paré (Sta Bárbara)	C	M	I														
303	5/3/97		Sotrondio	C	M	C	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓						

L314 Rozas Gutiérrez, Ana																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
451	10/2/98		La Galguera (Llanes)	E	F	I														✓	

L315 Rubio, Pio																				
Other information: re 'ñ'; reference to 'bablistas'																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
366	18/8/97		Oviedo	C	M	C														

L316 Ruíz Alvarez, Rebeca																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
061	12/1/94		Uviéu	C	F	C	✓		A	✓										

L317 Ruíz Francés, Helena																				
Other information: reference to 'señas de identidad'.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
351	16/7/97		Bilbao	F	F	C														✓

L318 Ruíz, Jacinto																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
234	3/2/96		Salinas	C	M	I																

L319 Saavedra Rodríguez, Antón																						
Other information: responds to comments of Sr. Llamazares (sec-gen'l PCA) reported on 26/9.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
408	4/10/97		Oviedo	C	M	I	✓												R		✓	

L320 Sánchez Candanedo, Juan José																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
042	22/5/93		Siero	C	M	A																

L321 Sánchez García, Gonzalo																						
Other information: Andaluz.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Lebrija (Sevilla)	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
198	9/9/95			F	M	I													P			*

L322 Sánchez Guardado, Eduardo																						
Other information: sec. regl. de Sanidad FSP-UGT																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
436	16/1/98		Oviedo	C	M	I					F											

L323 Sánchez Iglesias, María E.																						
Other information: ALLA,																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
081	4/4/94	088	Gijón	C	F	C	✓			✓		✓		✓	+		✓	✓	R		✓	

L324 Sánchez Iglesias, Encarnita																					
Other information: reference to 'lengua materna'; responding to Javier Neira's article [LNE 26/6]																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
059	1/7/93		Gijón	C	F	C								A		*				✓	✓

L325 Sánchez Marino, Enrique																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
222	2/12/95		Oviedo	C	M	C															

L326 Sánchez Sánchez, Gustavo																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
055	23/6/93		Xixón	C	M	A															
072	11/3/94		Gijón			A		A													

L327 Sánchez Vicente, Xuan Xosé																					
Other information: PAS, would regard himself as one of the writers of the Surdimientu; Academico de numberu de ALLA [1981].																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
028	16/3/92		Uviéu	C	M	A															
156	28/1/95		Gijón			I	✓	A													

L328 Sandoval Rodríguez, Pilar																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
161	22/3/95		Avilés	C	F	I															

L329 Santa Marina Zapico, Crisanto																						
Other information: from Poreñu																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
284	15/11/96		Tudela (Navarra)	F	M	C						✓		✓						✓	P	✓

L330 Santana Vázquez, José Ramón																					
Other information: coordinador del Aula de Paz 'Camín de Mieres'																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
416	4/12/97		Camín de Mieres	C	M	C			A	✓											

L331 Sáenz Rioja, Jesús																					
Other information: "llamado lengua asturiana"																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
091	17/5/94		Cangas del Narcea	W	M	C	✓								*						
096	21/6/94			W	M	C							✓	+	D						

L332 Sarmiento Suárez, Susana																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
212	16/10/95		Oviedo	C	F	B															

L333 Somoza, Santiago																					
Other information: ALLA																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
098	7/7/94		Valdesoto (Siero)	C	M	C															

L334 Sordo Sotres, Ramón																						
Other information: 254: 'asturianísimo'. * = includes Latin. ALLA 369 - * = terrina.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G
016	14/4/91		Llanes	E	M	C																
126	11/11/94					I			✓		C											✓
139	1/12/94					I			✓		T	✓			H							
148	5/1/95					I			✓			✓			*		✓					
242	31/3/96					I																
287	7/12/96					I			✓			✓										✓
339	22/6/97					I			✓			✓										P
356	25/7/97					I			A													✓
370	21/8/97					I																
380	11/9/97					C			A			✓										
381	13/9/97					I			✓			✓			+		✓		*		✓	✓
418	4/12/97					I			✓						A		✓				✓	

L335 Suárez Antuña, Faustino																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
120	16/10/94		Sotrondio	C	M	I																	

L336 Suárez Arias, Xosé Lluis																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
057	30/6/93		Candamo	C	M	A																	

L337 Suárez Fernández, Antonio																							
Other information: born in Yernes.																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
164	1/4/95		Pravia	W	M	I	✓					✓											

L338 Suárez Fernández, Manuel																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
022	13/10/91		Avilés	C	M	A														

L339 Suárez Morán, Chema																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
317	5/4/97		Pola de Laviana	C	M	C			A			✓		✓							✓

L340 Suárez Pérez del Río, José Luis																					
Other information: Teacher at CP San Cucao de Llanera																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
308	15/3/97		Oviedo	C	M	C			A												

L341 Tamargo Alonso, Angel																					
Other information: 52 years old.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
188	6/8/95		Oviedo	C	M	I			✓			✓		✓							

L342 Tapiella Fernández, Octavio																					
Other information:																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
047	22/6/93		Morea (Aller)	C	M	C															

L343 Tejón Llaneza, Santos																					
Other information: note Andalusian reference.																					
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other		
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E
325	2/5/97		Gijón	C	M	I					✓										✓

L344 Torga y Llamedo, Alberto																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
019	13/8/91		Nava	C	M	A														
073	12/3/94	Cela	Nuremberg	F		I														

L345 Torrente Fernández Ballester, Isabel																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
045	22/6/93		Oviedo	C	F	C														
367	18/8/97					C								+						P

L346 Trejo Fombella, Helena																				
Other information: written on behalf of the Comité Antitaurín.																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
194	28/8/95		Gijón	C	F	A					*				A				*	

L347 Valdés, Angel																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
353	20/7/97		Oviedo	C	M	C	✓											✓	N	

L348 Valdés Fernández, Antonio																				
Other information:																				
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other	
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U
020	6/10/91		Avilés	C	M	I														

L349 Valdés Fernández, Lino																						
Other information: also signed by 120 uncited signatories. Reference to 'antiasturianismo'.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
058	1/7/93		Avilés	C	M	B					✓					A					✓	✓
241	29/3/96		Llaranes			A																

L350 Valencia Rodríguez, Manuel Ricardo																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
279	29/10/96		Oviedo	C	M	I					✓	✓	✓									

L351 Vázquez Montoto, Ricardo																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
429	28/12/97		Mieres	C	M	C																
441	28/1/98					I								✓								

L352 Vázquez Ortiz, Enrique																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
237	6/3/96		Oviedo	C	M	C																

L353 Vega Blanco, José María (Xosé María)																									
Other information: Tertulia Cultural 'El Garrapiellu'. 168: identidá asturiana																									
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other						
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n		
030	28/3/92		Xixón	C	M	A																			
062	21/1/94					A			A	*	✓	✓		✓											
123	4/11/94		Gijón	C	M	A	✓				*														
162	25/3/95	LNE 2/95				A				✓						ll								✓	
258	5/7/96					B			A	✓	✓				✓										✓
294	30/12/96	LNE 9/12				I		✓	A											P			P	✓	

L354 Velasco Fernández, Antonio																						
Other information: reference to LNE article [27/5/95] “El Chiova y la Llingua” by Manuel Lombardero																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			Sama de	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
186	16/6/95	191	Langreo	C	M	I				✓				✓								

L355 Velázquez, Alfonso																						
Other information: ALLA reference – nacionaliego-fundamentalistas.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	n
167	12/4/95		Oviedo	C	M	C	✓								L							✓

L356 Velázquez Bobes, Alfredo																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
364	15/8/97		Oviedo	C	M	I					✓											

L357 Villa Costales, Isidoro																						
Other information:																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
			La Pola	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
425	11/12/97		(Siero)	C	M	A			A		H	✓										

L358 Villar Menéndez, Carlos																						
Other information: concerning the reaction of “señores derechistas” at the performance of a Catalan singer. ‘Patriotismo de los pobres’.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
390	20/9/97		Avilés	C	M	C	✓															

L359 Zapico López, María Teresa																						
Other information: socio de AMAM; 217 responds to article (LNE 27/10) “La provocación de la mujer”.																						
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other			
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	
217	2/11/95		Mieres	C	F	I																
345	5/7/97		Mieres del Camino			I	✓				F											

OTHER

L360 Bar El Pedrosu																							
Other information: Responding to article in the "Rutas de fin de semana" series in LNE by Nacho Poncela.																							
#	Date	Rel. co.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
			Rioseco	Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E	G	n
129	11/11/94		Sobrescobio	C		C																✓	

L361 Un visitante asiduo del pueblu de Posada Ramón Ordiz García																							
Other information:																							
#	Date	Rel. corr.	Place	Self					Usages/references					Asturian					Other				
				Z	G	L	P	R	T	ñ	F	V	M	í	A	D	O	N	S	U	E		
368	18/8/97		???			I	✓		✓			✓											

Appendix D

Subsection 2: Quotes from letters

Village & rural related references (including *paisano/aldeano*)

- L002** [422] *Y'e un paisano* (words of his friend *gran asturiano*)
- L008** [170] *más praos, más arboles, más vaques, más gochos, más oveyes, paisanos montañas y menos 'turistas'.*
- L013** [095] *unos pueblos condergaos a ser residentes de vieyos, porque la xente restante tuvo que marchar, les muyeres y los homes de Turón tienen drechu a un futuru dignu nel so propiu valle, n'escures negociaciones en Madrid certifiquen la muerte del nuesu pueblu.*
- L015** [171] *monte, vaca roxa.*
- L018** [138] *nel dialectu del so pueblu natal*
- L024** [236] *vino un paisano que ye de Zamora y ye presidente de un partido que ye asturianista*
- L029** [103] *xente del pueblu*
- L043** [082] *siendo nosotros asturianos de distintos pueblos de la región*
- L052** [088] *quotes from L320/081*
- L063** [401] *un paisanín*
- L070** [003] *la aldea de donde nunca debió moverse* [talking about Bable]
- L091** [117] *conversation recorded: Tranquilu, paisanín.*
- L094** [203] *les oveyes*
- L097** [323] *la emoción de caminar en su compañía por los calles de Cangas de Onís, el pueblo de mis ancestros.*
- L110** [002] *los mineros, los aldeanos, los vaqueros, en fin, la gente del pueblo, lagente obrera, la gente humilde. El pueblo.*
- L120** [092] *ya estoy oyendo tronar, ye en un pueblu de Asturias*
- L122** [261] *barrio, writer communicates on behalf of vecinos.*
- L126** [369] *nuestros vecinos 'del puertu de Payares pa lla', un concejo y un pueblo tan 'preciosu', a veces no valoramos lo que tenemos hasta que lo perdemos.*
- L133** [172] *la cantidad de 'praos' que hay 'pa pacer', porque 'vaques' ya no hay ... no hay ya 'vaques', ni na de na, 'paceremos los praos' ...*
- L135** [168] *nun ye un paisanu, nun tien pallabra.*
- L138** [124] *en los pueblos está la vida de un país. En ellos nace y se desarrolla todo lo que he dicho antes... references to campo, la pesca. Ellos son el espíritu vivo de una región, los configurantes de una 'raza' o casta muy nuestra con caracteres comunes*
- L139** [199] *de pueblu vamos.*
- L140** [169,310] *paisano, madreñas, fesoria. El pueblo está en silencio como todo el valle.*
- L160** [086] *ye tierra de bon paisanaxe y bon 'botelo'*
- L162** [106] *tener al dia las cosas del pueblo. del movimiento vecinal*
- L184** [010] *hablando con amigos, vecinos*
- L186** [404] *writer describes himself as un asturiano de aldea.*
- L187** [358] *la silueta del paisanu escanciando*
- L207** [224] *los paisanos que yeran como tenían que ser. Descubrí por qué nun*

consultaben pa na con los paisanos cuando facien algo nel monte.

L211 [181] *el asturiano, como tantos pueblos con una base social eminentemente rural, ubicó su vida familiar en torno a un espacio físico muy concreto: el llar, la cocina.*

L218 [233] *Asturias es tierra de 'praos'*

L224 [005] *yo soy aldeano*

L230 [235] *un aldea recóndita, admirable y bendita*

L255 [160] *dignísimos 'aldeanos', a mucha honra [reference to shepherds guardianes de la naturaleza].*

L277 [318] *los 'paisanos' (como decimos en asturiano).*

L289 [246] *Asturias ... sí lo es de grandes paisanos ... con Antón Saavedra, Asturias recupera al paisano.*

L295 [207] *no atropellemos al paisano*

L299 [276,306] *de nuestres vaques, oveyes y cabres de nuestres montañas En nuestras cuevas.*

L301 [253] *los concursos puen llevar a lo más alto la música tradicional d'un pueblu*

L323 [081] *falar en bable, significaba imitar al aldeano, al paisanín con la vaca, al ignorante, al analfabeto*

L329 [284] *nuestro pueblín*

L332 [212] *los rasgos autóctonos de abolengo medieval, perdurar en pueblos y aldeas [quote by letter writer of another]*

L334 [139,148,287,380] *escuchar a los paisanos y divulgar lo que nos cuentan, en la Memoria de los paisanos más tradicionales de pueblos ...; vecinos autóctonos; los muchos valles del país,*

L337 [164] *braña, los vecinos subiendo al hombro, desde Castro, cargas de leña o paxos con maíz o escanda ...*

L341 [188] *writer referred to by a receptionist as paisanín; he offers to share information with any payaso who may want it.*

L353 [062] *Tengo de subir al Puertu ... al Puertu y a la montaña.*

Mining

L015 [171] *about a new mining project.*

L026 [004] *Yo, que nací en la cuenca minera ...*

L044 [083,201] *Mineru pa quien trabayas x 2.*

L050 [400] *en las cuencas centrales*

L110 [002] *asturiano puro sung by los mineros, los aldeanos, los vaqueros &c...*

L134 [008] *about Hunosa retirees and employees in a language demonstration.*

L138 [124] *la minería (&) siderurgia, campo, pesca.*

L140 [101,169] *Pensé en nuestras tradiciones, nuestra música, aquel olor característico de Asturias, los marineros, los mineros, los labradores ...; estoy silicosu*

L169 [437] *letter entitled con los mineros.*

L208 [275] *yo soy asturianu y mineru. Letter is about Asturian bowls.*

L221 [009] *yo vi la primera luz y crecí en los valles mineros del centro de este país astur.*

L223 [444] *Yo no soy minero, ni nadie en mi familia lo es. Yo soy un asturiano.*

Diminutives and nicknames

L008 [170]	<i>paisanines</i>	L182 [289]	<i>muyerina</i>
L011 [112]	<i>probín, cafetín</i>	L187 [461]	<i>pueblín</i>
L018 [119,130,142]	<i>montesín, tocín, mayorín, bigotín.</i>	L200 [313]	<i>chistosín de caleya</i>
L021 [052]	<i>guapinos</i>	L201 [428]	<i>pequeñín, Güelito.</i>
L027 [125]	<i>un presidentín, pequeñín</i>	L204 [371]	<i>dulcín</i>
L032 [105]	<i>el borrachín</i>	L216 [264]	<i>presedentín</i>
L049 [071]	<i>conventín</i>	L220 [307]	<i>furaquín</i>
L061 [215]	<i>Pachu, Pacha/Pachina, Chintu, Fedrichu, Frichosu, Chema.</i>	L229 [153]	<i>borrachín</i>
L072 [001]	<i>papelín</i>	L232 [270]	<i>folletín</i>
L088 [175]	<i>folletín</i>	L235 [109]	<i>granín d'arena</i>
L091 [079,117]	<i>Pachu, paisañín</i>	L243 [184]	<i>cafetucu</i>
L097 [323]	<i>llibriquín</i>	L261 [179,218]	<i>el pueblín x 2</i>
L098 [338]	<i>Periodicucho</i>	L265 [108]	<i>pintina</i>
L107 [447]	<i>Gatu</i>	L267 [182]	<i>güelín</i>
L114 [267]	<i>Javierín</i>	L271 [342]	<i>calentín</i>
L123 [266]	<i>guapino</i>	L278 [283]	<i>pueblín</i>
L125 [074]	<i>Camilín</i>	L282 [265]	name: <i>Pachín</i>
L129 [035]	<i>poquiñín</i>	L296 [423]	<i>pueblín ejemplar</i>
L142 [064]	<i>ye pequeñina</i>	L301 [253]	<i>pasiquí</i>
L144 [114]	<i>muchachitos</i>	L306 [069]	<i>pueblín, pouquín (?), probetín</i>
L146 [297]	names: <i>Pachu, Pachin</i>	L309 [450]	<i>localín, homín, paisanín</i>
L152 [424]	<i>Papines</i>	L312 [385]	<i>güelín</i>
L155 [360]	<i>Miguel el Maraxu</i>	L313 [303]	<i>pueblerín</i>
L160 [086]	<i>merucu</i>	L323 [081]	<i>paisanín</i>
L163 [295]	<i>pueblerina</i>	L329 [284]	<i>pueblín</i>
L166 [316]	<i>Chus.</i>	L339 [317]	<i>casín</i>
		L341 [188]	<i>paisanín</i>
		L351 [441]	<i>maletín</i>
		L353 [062,258]	<i>poquiñín, puestín.</i>
		L354 [186]	<i>El Chiova</i>

[note also a number of the village references to “*paisanín*”]

Nuestros

- L005** [417] *nuestro himno a León*
- L009** [268] *nuesu pueblu*
- L013** [095] *nuesu pueblu, nuesos montes,*
- L018** [130] *la tierra de los nuestros*
- L019** [375] *nuestra idioma*
- L021** [052,403] *nuesu pueblu, la nuesa idiosincrasia comu pueblu con llingua y cultura propia, l'asturianu, ye'l más importante los idiomas porque ye'l nuesu.*
- L025** [195] *defender nuestra 'llingua' pérdida parcial de nuestra 'llingua'*
- L029** [103] *nuestres seños d'identidá*
- L031** [141,420] *nuestra región", "y nuestra plaza ya era el lago Enol*
- L037** [090] *nuestra lengua madre*
[referring to Latin]
- L038** [102] *nuestros músicos asturianos, que son los mejores.*
- L039** [150] *nuestra tonada*
- L041** [244] *nuestra lengua, nuestra memoria, nuestros descendientes*
- L042** [398] *nuestra lengua*
- L050** [400] *nuestra lengua*
- L054** [158] *nuestra universidad, nuesa llingua*
- L056** [326] *procesos similares al nustru n'otros países*
- L061** [215] *nuestra lengua lariega*
- L063** [401] *nuesa llingua*
- L066** [104] *nuestras valerosas abuelas*
- L067** [402] *nuestros 'dazibaos'*
- L070** [154] *nuesa cultura", "nuesa realidá", "nuesa identidá*
- L071** [054, 192,211] *nuestra tierra, nuestra propia cultura, nuestra llingua, nustru Estatutu, nuestra tierra patria, nuestros pas*
- L078** [269] *nuestra cultura, nuestra querida tierra, Pero el asturiano es nuestro.*
- L081** [034] *a falar del nuesu ser primixeniu español*
- L083** [271] *nuestro 'querido' alcalde, nuestra historia, nuestros antepasados, nuestro pueblo, nuestro patrimonio.*
- L084** [165] *nuestra Mariña (Quintes)*
- L088** [175] *nuestra región, nuestra tierra*
- L091** [117] *nuestro idioma*
- L092** [056] *nuestra lengua*
- L095** [197] *nuesu país*
- L097** [323] *por fortuna otros han venido a reparar nuestro error [poor conservation of literary records]*
- L098** [338] *un concejo ... como el nuestro*
- L102** [127] *nuestras fabas*
- L103** [089] *nuesa llingua, nuesu idioma*
- L105** [078] *nuestra provincia, nuestra autonomía*
- L108** [462] *nuestres inquietudes*
- L109** [049] *nuesa llingua*
- L110** [002] *nuestro folclore, nuestra región*
- L112** [421] *que nuestra lengua y nuestro estatuto necesitan.*
- L113** [330] *nuestro dialecto*
- L115** [395] *nuestra Carta Magna*
- L119** [334] *nuesu idioma*
- L120** [092] *nuestro deporte, nuestros antepasados*
- L126** [369] *pueblín como esti nustru, nuestra villa, nuestros vecinos 'del puertu de Payores pa lla, nuesa provincia, nuestros gentes, nuestras tradiciones y fiestas*

- L127** [355] *nuestro patrimonio, nuestras fronteras, nuestro futuro, nuestra región*
- L129** [035] *nuesos güelos, nuesu primer códigu de comunicación, de la nuesa Asturias, nuesa llingua,*
- L130** [433] *nuestra lengua castellana*
- L131** [065] *nuesa llingua, nuesu sentimientu astur.*
- L133** [172] *nuestros políticos*
- L138** [124] *una ‘raza’ o casta muy nuestra, a nuestro pueblo, nuestra terrina, mi lengua.*
- L139** [191] *nuestra conciencia autonómica, volvamos a lo nuestro.*
- L140** [101] *nuestras tradiciones, nuestra música”, “pero me resisto a perder lo nuestro, no sólo lo asturiano, sino el albariño, el ribeiro ...*
- L141** [132] *nuestros hijos, nuestra cultura, nuestra lengua*
- L142** [064] *pero nuestros, no, de ninguna manera, las gallinas ...*
- L143** [320] *nuestra aldea*
- L145** [442] *nuesa propia realidá económica, nuesa llingua*
- L148** [344] *nuestra reivindicación de la solidaridad*
- L149** [331] *nuestros ancestros de la Prehistoria*
- L151** [011] *nuestra propia lengua, ‘nuestra’ Academia de la Llingua, Real Academia de la Lengua Española no trata como una igual a la nuestra.*
- L163** [295] *nuestra sociedad*
- L154** [349] *nuestros jovenes*
- L158** [277] *que ye de nueso, nuesa llingua, nuesa sociedá*
- L159** [393] *nuesa tsingua*
- L160** [086] *nuestra cuenca*
- L163** [295] *nuestra historia, nuestro concejo*
- L164** [346] *español ‘nuestro’, nuestra región*
- L166** [316] *nuestra Mary Güay.*
- L172** [151] *nuestra tierra, lucha por lo nuestro, nos involucre en lo nuestro.*
- L184** [010] *nosa fala, nuestra fala*
- L187** [157,358,461] *nuestro Orru-Horrio, nuesu escanciaorín*
- L190** [006] *nueos(?) Munuzas, nuestra propia lengua, nuestra personalidad lingüística, nuestra misma identidad.*
- L192** [443] *nuestro diccionario asturiano*
- L194** [110,180] *nuestra xera, nuestra Tertulia ~ nuestra historia*
- L203** [432] *nuesu idioma.*
- L206** [394] *nuestro idioma*
- L211** [149,181] *nuestros eruditos concejales, nuestros gallardos lugares, nuestros próceres, nuestra heroica Maliayo, nuestras temas, nuestro patrimonio cultural, que nos hable de nosotros, nuestras abuelas.*
- L221** [009] *nuestros güelos, nuestra lengua vernacular, nuestro patrimonio.*
- L228** [427] *nuestro gallego-asturiano*
- L231** [007] *nuestra lengua, nuestra tierra, nuestra libertad (though this is attributed to X X Sánchez Vicente with whom writer disagrees on the question of coofficiality).*
- L235** [109] *nuestru patrimoniü, :nuesos muérganos político-culturales.*
- L236** [178,301] *nuesu pueblu, nuestra Comunidad Autonoma, nuestra tierra, nuestras arcas*
- L238** [384] *nuestra región, el asturiano forma parte de nuestra esencia cultural: es una de nuestras joyas; una herencia que*

- hemos recibido de nuestros padres y abuelos, imponer uno de nuestros idiomas sobre el otro, nuestra propia personalidad, nuestra 'clase' política.*
- L239** [463] *nuesu país.*
- L244** [309] *la fala y la cultura nuestres*
- L247** [274] *nuestra costa, nuestra región*
- L248** [439] *nuestros héroes destronados*
- L249** [216] *Asturies, nuestra martirizada, nuestros picos*
- L261** [179,218] *para nuestro pequeño mundo de Niembro [Llanes], nuestra región*
- L266** [050] *Nuesa Universidá, nuesa llingua llariega, nuesa tradición, nuesa cultura, nuesu pueblu, la llingua de nuesos mayores*
- L267** [182] *nuestru pariente Diegu Terrero*
- L279** [134] *nuestro idioma [writer is referring to Castilian]*
- L282** [265] *nuestro paisaje*
- L283** [327] *nuestras autoridades, nuestras vegas, nuestras ciudades, nuestros barrios, nuestro Patrimonio cultural, nuestra degradación ambiental, Picos ... uno de los más importantes de Asturias para nuestro presente.*
- L285** [340] *si les culpa de nuestras propias miserias*
- L291** [085] *nuestra ciudad, Oviedo, nuestro ilustro topónimo*
- L298** [413] *el drechu a usar n'Asturies la nuesa llingua y la nuesa dignidá ...*
- L299** [276] *nuestres vaques, oveyes y cabres de nuestres montañes nuestras cuevas*
- L301** [253] *nuestres músiques y bailles, nuestru humllde, nuna situación asemeyada a la nuestra, nuestros dies, creemos qu'hemos dirixir tolos nuestros esfueracios*
- L302** [290] *nuestra tierra, nuestra Asturias*
- L306** [069] *al misterio de nosa procedencia*
- L307** [315] *nuestra integración social, nuestro ilustre paisano D.Enrique Valentín Iglesias*
- L317** [351] *nuestras señas de identidad*
- L319** [408] *nuestra región*
- L320** [198] *vuestra tierra, vuestros quesos, vuestra sidra, vuestra hospitalidad*
- L323** [081] *nuestra región, la dignidad a nuestra lengua así como nuestra cultura*
- L324** [059] *nuestra lengua vernacular.*
- L326** [055] *nuesa llingua, nuesa identidá cultural y llingüística.*
- L329** [284] *nuestro pueblín, nuestro tiempo*
- L333** [098] *nuestra lengua [Navia-Eo region], nuestros dos viejes lenguas*
- L334** [126,287,380] *nuestra cultura pasada, nuestra cultura, nuestros localidades*
- L339** [317] *nuestra querida Asturias.*
- L343** [325] *a los asturianos nos gusta lo nuestro*
- L349** [058,241] *nuesa propia tierra, nuestra lengua, nuestra cultura, nuesos queríos güelos y güeles, nuesa identidá personal y cultural.*
- L353** [162,258,294] *nuesa llingua, la recuperación de lo nuestro, de nuestra cultura popular asturiana, nuestros antepasados nuestros descendientes.*
- L355** [167] *nuestra lengua*
- L360** [129] *nuestro cordero.*
- L361** [368] *nuestra sociedad, nuestra generación*

Guapu/a/es & Patrimonio/u

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--|--------------------|--|
| L008 [170] | <i>Asturias, que guapa yes.</i> | L227 [159]P | <i>Asociación Defensa del Patrimonio Asturiano.</i> |
| L018 [119] | <i>la guapura de les palabres.</i> | L235 [109]P | <i>nuestru patrimoni u cultural y ecolóxicu.</i> |
| L053 [070] | <i>un cuaderno muy guapo</i> | L240 [354]P | <i>Patrimonio del ruido [ironic]</i> |
| L120 [092]P | <i>hay tres cosas en Asturias que son patrimonio y fama: ...</i> | L267 [182] | <i>les poesíes tan guapes que-y</i> |
| L123 [266] | <i>muy guapina</i> | L284 [454]P | |
| L127 [355]P | <i>situación de nuestro patrimonio</i> | L294 [357] | <i>valle de Cabueñes (guapo ...</i> |
| L129 [035]P | <i>un tesoru cultural, patrimoni u esclusivu de la nuesa Asturias.</i> | L314 [451] | <i>lo 'guapu' que es nuestro concejo.</i> |
| L209 [449]P | <i>el patrimoni u hestóricu y ñatural.</i> | L345 [367]P | <i>El bable no sólo es patrimonio de Asturias, sino de España.</i> |
| L211 [181]P | <i>patrimonio cultural</i> | | |
| L222 [145] | <i>llibru bien guapu</i> | | |

Relatives

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| L028 [359] | <i>Ya me lo decía mi 'güelu' ...</i> | L211 [181] | |
| L031 [382] | <i>decía mi 'güela'</i> | L221 [009] | <i>lo que oi de labios de mis padres.</i> |
| L050 [400] | <i>nuestros padres o abuelos eran humiliados si al realizar determinadas gestiones pronunciaban ciertas palabras en asturiano coartano ...</i> | L224 [005] | <i>era la lengua que hablaban mis padres, la que sigue hablando mis parientes y amigos.</i> |
| L066 [104] | <i>nuestras valerosas abuelas.</i> | L230 [235] | <i>de la lengua de sus abuelos como un castellano mal hablado ...</i> |
| L097 [323] | <i>el pueblo de mis ancestros y uno de los más bellos que he visto (llevaba razón mi abuela), idioma de mis abuelos.en el exilio como mi tío.</i> | L238 [384] | <i>[lengua] una herencia que hemos recibido de nuestros padres y abuelos.</i> |
| L120 [092] | <i>que estar orgullosos de nuestros antepasados</i> | L266 [050] | <i>la llingua de los nuesos mayores</i> |
| L140 [310] | <i>donde nacieron tres generaciones de mis antepasados y yo mismo.</i> | L267 [182] | <i>Homenaxe al mi güelu.</i> |
| L184 [010] | <i>Esa lengua se ha transmitido de padres a hijos resistiendo la marginación.</i> | L268 [282] | <i>abuelos y nietos.</i> |
| L185 [404] | <i>o la [lengua] de mis tatarabuelos, como la mía, mi lengua paterna-materna.</i> | L278 [283] | <i>soi de les madres que saben lo que ye querer que los sos fíos estudien asturianu.</i> |
| L201 [428] | <i>Güelito, siempre te quise y siempre me acordaré de ti.</i> | L299 [276] | <i>[quesu] lo hicieron con mi padre.</i> |
| | | L312 [385] | <i>Pa que nadie hable como el güelín.</i> |

Use of Bable words in letters otherwise in Castilian

L002/422	<i>Ye un paisanu</i>	L114/267	<i>llacieries físicas; Javierín, tas fechu ...</i>
L004/440	<i>xastres</i>	L122/261	<i>argayu</i>
L008/170	<i>Asturias, que guapa yes and gochos, oveyes, vaques, praos</i>	L124/273	<i>na de na</i>
L016/196	<i>facer (related to sidra)</i>	L125/074	<i>Güevos</i>
L019/375	<i>babayu</i>	L126/365	<i>puxarra</i>
L024/128	<i>fabes, leches</i>	L133/172	<i>ye rentable; vaques; praos</i>
L027/125	<i>tesorín míu; que ye carretina</i>	L135/168	<i>nun ye paisanu</i>
L028/359	<i>güelu</i>	L140/169	<i>estoy silicosu; ye un llixu</i>
L030/431	<i>el bable lleunés</i>	310	<i>les castañes; les formigues de les baldunes; carne de pucheru</i>
L031/141	<i>fabes, pichadines, cocies, ho!</i>	L141/227	<i>fala que te falarás</i>
382	<i>güela; calderu; leídu</i>	L142/064	<i>ye pequeñina y galana</i>
420	<i>afallaízu, charcu, caxigalines</i>	L149/331	<i>???</i>
421		L151/011	<i>sin fronteras</i>
L045/362	<i>picu fino; pa Nava (related to sidra)</i>	L152/424	<i>papines</i>
L064/200	<i>cones ta tu</i>	L168/107	<i>caleya</i>
L067/402	<i>nuestros dazibaos</i>	L169/437	<i>estar en saraos</i>
L076/435	<i>amigu</i>	L170/189	<i>caleyes</i>
L080/262	<i>tan panchos; puxa Nava; llagares</i>	L172/151	<i>Puxa Asturias! Puxa la verdad!</i>
L083/271	<i>roñosu</i>	L177/185	<i>chuli</i>
L084/165	<i>maliayes (adj. related to a name)</i>	L179/223	<i>de l'Asturies del suañu</i>
L085/453	<i>goмерu</i>	L181/347	<i>caleya</i>
L088/175	<i>xateiro</i>	L186/404	<i>güizos (... niños de mi pueblo)</i>
L089/038	<i>pitos de caleya</i>	L191/322	<i>????</i>
L091/053	<i>esti paisanu ye más enrevesáu que un cuernu</i>	L192/443	<i>¿yes tontu o faeste?; tortazu</i>
79	<i>ye muy metafóricu; los xatos; al serviciu de la CE</i>	L199/272	<i>deagües</i>
L094/203	<i>les oveyes</i>	L200/026	<i>la co-oficialidá</i>
L096/066	<i>ye baratu</i>	113	<i>???</i>
L101/391	<i>Hola, tocayu!</i>	121	<i>rutiu fediondu; bocayada gochona; indignes y puerques manes</i>
L105/078	<i>campanu; bula</i>	140	<i>???</i>
L110/250	<i>???</i>	313	<i>???</i>
L111/335	<i>tabais mejor calláus</i>	L201/428	<i>güelito</i>

L208/275	<i>soy asturianu y mineru</i>	L318/234	<i>afogao; fala; gueyes del su guelo; prau; León nun ye Castiella</i>
L211/181	<i>güela electrodoméstica; diaños, bruyes, güesties, xanes, xastres y fames</i>	L321/198	<i>orbayu; prau; neños</i>
L218/233	<i>prao</i>	L322/436	<i>quesu; gochos; xatas;</i>
L220/307	<i>tixu; furaquín</i>	L327/156	<i>el plan Nuevu Llangréu</i>
376	<i>puya el ramu</i>	L328/161	<i>Puxa Colinas</i>
L225/190	<i>el campaneru; les famoses</i>	L334/126	???
<i>paxarines; les lagrimes</i>		139	<i>finu; las jablas</i>
285	<i>ta fecha</i>	242	<i>asturianu; jabas/fabes; jablas</i>
L228/427	<i>oficialidá; asturianu</i>	287	???
L234/206	<i>fala (disparagingly)</i>	339	???
213	<i>la jabla; la fala</i>	370	<i>ya jalemos jartu d'esti tetu ...</i>
L240/354	<i>Pues fale!</i>	380	???
L248/332	???	418	<i>jablaxe; falietsa</i>
439	<i>"p'a mí el timón" "tú p'al trabe"</i>	L337/164	<i>braña; paxos</i>
L249/216	<i>la lloba</i>	L341/188	<i>payaso; día del bollu</i>
L254/333	???	L343/325	???
L255/076	<i>Mayaos, el mayeu</i>	L344/073	<i>chivato</i>
L262/144	<i>pelotu</i>	L350/279	<i>potes, xarres</i>
L264/152	<i>muertu; jo; el llobu; llobu a llobu nun se come</i>	L351/441	<i>na de na</i>
L273/292	<i>paxarines</i>	L353/258	<i>xuegu la rana; el to esfuerzu y les tos investigaciones ...; enfotu</i>
L282/265	<i>pitás</i>	294	<i>les caxigalines; caleya</i>
L286/243	<i>gamonéu</i>	L354/186	<i>llingua</i>
L293/329	???	L356/364	<i>puxarra (relevant to sidra)</i>
L299/276	<i>yo faigo les cuentés; morrillu; nuestres vaques, oveyes y cabres de nuestres montañes; güeyos blancos; kilu</i>	L359/217	<i>liberaos</i>
306	<i>na de na; prau; culiebres; les escueles</i>	345	<i>Folixa na primavera</i>
L314/451	<i>guapu</i>	L361/368	<i>pueblu</i>

Topics of letters written in Bable:

- L003 [220] *Qué taben esperando de Gabino*
- L013 [95] *Rebelión en Turón*
- L018 [119] *Miseria del provincialismu (en respuesta a un llaniscu oriscu)*
 [130] *Gracia Noriega, el tocín y la velocidá*
 [138] *El padre Galo Fernández, un poeta censuráu*
 [142] *Dos octavuques reales (reales como'l RIDEA) al polífagu llaniscu J I*
Gracia Noriega.
 [174] *Ente Bustu y Vidiu*
- L023 [052] *¡Que lo diga la Universidá*
 [403] *¿De qué tienen mieu?*
- L023 [39] *Galezca y Asturias*
- L024 [236] *Pin o Xoxín*
- L029 [103] *20 años d'asturianismu*
- L033 [183] *Hores estres y reindustrialización*
- L054 [158] *Otru pasu alantre* [about Asturian language]
- L058 [063] *Lliga lliberal Antiprohibicionista Asturiana* [environmental heritage issue:
 Peaks of Europe]
- L059 [239] *Les lluces nel Ayuntamiento Piloña* [street lighting issue]
- L060 [349] *La oficialidad del asturiano*
- L063 [383] *¡Decil la verdá, hom!* [about language and human rights]
 [401] *La Cooficiliadad*
- L068 [147] *De la región y lo regional* [discusses concepts of title of Asturias]
- L070 [154] *De vergoña* [complaint about treatment of Asturian language entries at
 prize giving]
- L071 [192] *Hipocresies*
 [211] *Col pediatra topamos*
 [373] *Derechos lingüísticos*
- L072 [001] *Esclariando* [about Asturian, normalisation, ALLA, Regional Govt.]
- L074 [386] *Bable y cultura*
- L075 [208] *Respuesta a la consejera*
- L079 [013] *La oposición de García Arias.* [about Asturian song and official Bablists]
- L081 [033] *La Gabinada* [local government and car licence plates]
 [034] *Asturias parida querida* [about language, anti-normalisation, ref:
 neonacionalcuadonguismo]
 [043] *Respuesta sobre unos letreros*
- L090 [304] *La enseñanza del asturiano*
- L092 [027] *Organizólu la Xunta pola defensa de la Llingua*
- L093 [363] *La cultura asturiana*
 [412] *Los niños y el asturiano*
- L095 [197] *A Nacho Artime*
- L102 [089] *La enseñanza del asturiano.* [language: teaching in Bable, respects varieties,
 tho' supports ALLA]
- L105 [041] *El Gomeru* [the comic publication]
- L107 [462] *¿Qué ye de Jerónimo Grande?*
- L108 [049] *Al rector de la Universidá d'Uviéu*
- L117 [018] *Escontra'l deterioru de la llingua*
- L118 [334] *El quartu poder*
- L119 [092] *Tonada y cuatreada*

- L128 [035] *¡Escueya llingua!*
L130 [048] *Al rector de la Universidad de Oviedo*
[065] *Sobre Llaciana*
L144 [442] *El claustro del Huerna-Pajares, con el bable!*
L146 [405] *El Pleno de Ribadesella*
L152 [299] *Reflexión sobre el artículo de Silvino Lantero*
L157 [014] *mensaje a los iraquíes*
[277] *El asturiano en Sotrondio*
L158 [257] *Los vedaos nos ríos*
[392] *Fantasies animaes*
L159 [086] *De Mieres a Ponferrada [about multinationals]*
[199] *Murnia y gayola*
L160 [225] *Al ministru de Exteriores*
L172 [097] *Un importante olvidu*
L175 [377] *Porfesores y estudiantes por la oficialidad*
L181 [289] *El Partiu del señor Rozada y la llingua d'Asturies*
L184 [037] *¿Qué díaños ye la cultura asturiana?*
L186 [032] *Angel, Amable y Pin*
[157] *Más so toponimia*
[358] *Escanciador*
[461] *Liyo*
L193 [110] *Señas de identidad*
L194 [044] *Les declaraciones de Marita Aragón*
L201 [432] *La oficialidá del asturianu*
L204 [394] *Señor Noval, rectifique aina*
L205 [224] *¿Nun sabemos per ónde andamos?*
L207 [449] *La cantera de Cabranes*
L212 [288] *El Rh Vasco*
L213 [278] *Andecha Astur pide un trato justo*
L214 [264] *Esa televisión asturiana que dicen tan cara*
L215 [155] *El toru prietu*
L218 [193] *Un hogar para Mieres*
L220 [145] *Caleyos con mucho oficiu*
L227 [153] *Ayeri Hungría y Praga, güei Chechenia*
L233 [109] *El Garrapiellu y Cuadonga*
L234 [146] *Cerosiete*
[178] *Non más desigualdá*
L235 [293] *Con el bable desde Mallorca*
L237 [463] *L'asturianu, llingua propia*
L241 [184] *Pablo Antón responde a Manuel Lombardero*
L242 [309] *Por obra y Gracia de Noriega*
L244 [205] *SUATEA respunde a la consejería d'Educación*
L248 [023] *El llabor d'una xente*
L251 [230] *A don Manuel de la Cera*
[387] *La cooficialidad del asturiano*
L258 [143] *Felipe mató la utopía*
L263 [108] *Marqués de Garrafa*
L264 [050] *La Universidá ¿asturiana? Perdió la so independencia*
[361] *ETA, déxanos vivir en paz*
L265 [182] *Homenaxe al mi güelu*

- L269 [342] *Josefa, la del Praón*
 L271 [036] *¡¡Si ye cuestión de cuatro duros!!*
 L276 [283] *Precisiones a ún de Salamanca (señor Alarcos)*
 L278 [281] *¿Qué ye lo que pasa col asturianu?*
 L282 [040] *So'l paraisu natural*
 [387] *Bable y cultura*
 [454] *Natura y cultura*
 L290 [352] *Solidaridá d'un día*
 L296 [413] *Pola oficialidá del asturianu*
 L299 [253] ??
 L303 [069] *Severo Ochoa: un faro que alluma nel cenentenerio de Lluarca*
 L317 [042] *El riesgu circulatoriu y el cuartel Cabu Noval d'Argüelles (Siero)*
 L323 [055] *Universidá y bable*
 [072] *Somos pites*
 L324 [028] *El parlamentu asturianu y les antariques*
 L329 [212] *A Constantino Loza Cortina*
 L333 [057] *Nun hay mal que por bien nun venga: Universidá,); Prensa d'Asturies, 10*
 L335 [022] *Laura González: mui mal, fia, mui mal*
 L343 [194] *Carta abierta a Tino Pertierra y Serxu Solares*
 L346 [241] *Atilano, un nueu obispu*
 L350 [030] *Uviéu y Xixón*
 [062] *Botón*
 [123] *Cayó'l telón*
 [162] *Enguedeyu peligrosu*
 L354 [425] *La concentración de Cabrales*

QUOTES IN ASTURIAN CONTAINED IN CASTILIAN LANGUAGE ARTICLES

Note: where no date is next to the quote, the date of the preceding quote applies.

Q001 “Un anciano” and “otro hombre maduro” from Niembro (Llanes) on reports about the whereabouts of ex head of Telemex, Carlos Salinas:

“Seguro que está ahí. No ves que esti rapaz (Pérez Simón) se lo debe todo, que se hizo ricu con él (Salinas) ... Está endidu, hombre”

“Estará en el Caribe, debajo de una palmera con una buena moza al lado. Si no, ye tontu.” (3/4/95)

Q002 Celia Alvarez, retired, Bueida (Quirós):

“Si algunos de Quirós fuesen menos cerrados y permitir que algunas familias diesen vida a estas caleyas.” (3/4/95)

Q003 one of two women, Rosaria & María José, sisters, 60s, Tudela Veguín:

“... pero es que el Alcalde lo quiere todo pa Oviedo y nada pa los pueblos.” (13/5/95)

Q004 An unidentified women in the streets of Cue, Llanes, at a flower festival in honor of San Xuan:

“Non lo pises jiyu, que é pecáu” (25/6/95)

Q005 Celia Cruz, at the 300th anniversary of *El Carmín de Siero*, Pola de Siero:

“No hay ‘prau’ pa tanta gente!”

Q006 José Vicentiz, ‘Pachín de los Alpes’:

“... pero el Carmín ye muy grande y decidí que tenía que venir.” (18/7/95)

Q007 Participants in Fiestas del Carmen, Celorio (Llanes):

“Esi, ési, el más altu y el más derechu.” (18/7/95)

Q008 Inés Pidal, 97, Argüero (Villaciosa):

“Llevo ya 97 años de perra vieya, ... guárdolo bien en la memoria, porque yo, no ye por nada, pero fui una pollita muy lucida ... y entonces no era como ahora, que los guajes necesiten artilugios para pasar el ratu, nosotros éamos más apañaos, y nos conformábamos primero ... Taba en el chigre, el único de Argüero .., Si es que ahora nun saben divertise!” (1/8/95)

Q009 mourner at funeral for one of the Pozo San Nicolás victims, Ablaña (Mieres):

“Ñeru!Ñeru!” (6/8/95)

Q010 Cholo Jvacho, 35, humorist and singer:

Spoke at *La Nueva España* stand at Gijón fair in “*un lenguaje colloquial*”. (14/8/95)

Q011 Fali Carrera, spectator at the Abad chocolate making festival, at San Antonio de Villahormes [Llanes]:

“Qué se va a hacer, saliónos el santu mexón! ... Visti, chatu, qué faena?” (15/8/95)

Q012 Young child at a show in Boal:

“Ves como nun morrera? Si nun vimos la caxa por ningún lao.” (18/8/95)

Q013 Avelino Alvarez Vázquez, carretero, appears to be in his 50s, La Manjoya:

“Ye muy duro, de lo peor que hay”

Q014 Mari Luz Fernández commenting, at a school reunion, 31 years after last seeing a childhood friend, Belmonte:

“Pero, ¿tu yes Menchu ‘la ferrerina’?”

Q015 Rosa, his wife:

“Qué va!, ye que yo era buena administradora y con lo que él ganaba crié siete fios.” (19/8/95)

Q016 Pepe, participant in a tug of war with a donkey at Piedeloro (Carreño) at a fair:

“No sé Carmina, pero creo que ye tirar un paisanu de un lau y el burru del otro.” (23/8/95)

Q017 Aurelia González Caso, 70, Arenas de Cabrales (From article on Cabrales cheese):

“... el cuajo, que ye el estómago de un cabritín cuando aún no come hierba.”

- Q018 Padre Juan Antonio Ardisana, appears to be an older person:**
 "... si al partirlo se ennegrece al contacto con el aire, significa que no ye verdaderu."
- Q019 Isabellina:**
 "El mayor enemigo del quesu ye el mosquitu. Hay que tener mucho cuidáu cuando se abre y se cierra la cueva porque a la primer de cambio, cuélnense dentro. Lo mejor ye el matamoscas: cuando entras, echas un chorrín y repites la operación al cerrar la puerta."
 (26/8/95)
- Q020 comments from unidentified spectators at the participation of two young women in a "concurso de escanciadores":**
 "Mira esa chavalina", "¡Vamos neña, a por ellos!"
 (27/8/95)
- Q021 "Una vecina de Insierto" and "un veterano", speaking about the Romería de los Martires, Valdecuna (Mieres):**
 "¡Mira cómo ta el to prau!"
 "ye que no saben" (speaking about young people who "abusan de la sidra")
 (28/9/95)
- Q022 Unnamed person at Romería de los Martires, Valdecuna, Mieres:**
 "Mira cómo ta el to prau!"
- Q023 Milu, participant en Fiestas del Corpus, Vega de Poja (Siero):**
 "Vamos ecologista, que la prueba ye tuya!"
- Q024 Román, participant:**
 "Burros oh!, que mal pensaos sois."
 (4/7/96)
- Q025 Participant at Fiestas de San Antonio, Fitoria:**
 "Es que el gochu ye muy hábil."
 (10/7/96)
- Q026 Manuel Restra, 58, during a festive lunch at a cider bar in Oviedo:**
 "La sidra? Sí, ho. Gústame mucho. Lo que pasa es que ye muy meona. Yo prefiero el vino, que da menos cañu y, así, la muyer nun protesta de noche cuando la despierto pa ir al escusao."
 (13/7/96)
- Q027 Unknown person at the shoulder of Emilio Suárez, middle-aged, astur-mexicano, salmon fishing in Narcea river:**
 "Era un buen salmón, bien gordu"
 (14/7/96)
- Q028 Patrocinio, gitano woman, in her 60s, presiding at a wedding:**
 "Viva la novia y viva lo güeno!"
 (22/7/96)
- Q029 Azucena García, Queen of the Fishery at the XXVII Festival de la Sardina, Candás (headline of article: *Les Fresques de Candás*):**
 "Nos van a salir les sardines por los ojos."
 (31/7/96)
- Q030 Francisco González, mayor of Cudillero, at the civil marriage of a young gypsy couple a year after their marriage according to *tradicional rito gitano*:**
 "Yo cásolos con fíus incluidos."
 (1/8/96)
- Q031 Fernando Noriega, 8, winner of the Junior category of III Concurso de Deporte Autóctono "Villa de Candás", Carreño:**
 "Vaya nerviu que tien esi guaje ... La verdá ye que dáseme mui bien"
- Q032 Agustín Rodríguez, 50:**
 "Esto ye cuestión de fuerza y de mirar a un punto fijo."
 (3/8/96)
- Q033 Residents of Cudillero:**
 "Qué ye, que lus novius pirdierunsi fiu?"
 "La culpa ye del alcalde de Soto del Barca, que no acaba de solucionar lo del cruce."
 "Ni que el paisano ese fuera el presidente del Gubiernu pa facéi este recibimientu."
 [Quico]: "A ver dónde está el ramo de flores pa la novia de Ramón."
 (3/8/96)

- Q034 unnamed youth, resident of Los Cabos (Pravia), taking part in the Romería del Xiringüelu:**
 “El caso ye tener bastante que beber.” (3/8/96)
- Q035 unnamed person at Cheese fair in Llanes:**
 “Míralu ahí.” (End part of a response to a question re photographers) (5/8/96)
- Q036 Adolfo Martínez Palacio, 90, Valdesoto (Siero) at awarding of “güelos” of the locality as part of Fiesta of San Félix:**
 “Yo lo único que tengo ye un poco mal esta rodilla, pero con to los años que tengo, nunca dormí en un hospital porque nunca tuve na.” (12/8/96)
- Q037 Victor Galán Campillo, at Plaza de la Huertona, Llediás-Posada (Ilanes):**
 “No, home, no. Pa cornadas las que da la jambre. Míralu, ya se levanta.” (13/8/96)
- Q038 Nel del Solo (Leonardo), humorista:**
 “Nel mio pueblu somos tan probes que la misa de gallu facémosla con ‘Avecrem’ ... ye lo peor que hay. Porque ónde se reúnen esos de les Naciones? En Borines? Non, home non, en Ginebra. Veislo?” (16/8/96)
- Q039 Group of young people, Fair at San Cucao de Llanera:**
 “Venga, güelu, venga.” (Addressed to José Manuel Rodríguez García, 78, who is quoted in Castilian in his interview.) (17/8/96)
- Q040 Poem quoted at start of article, author not cited:**
 “De las fiesas de San Roque/ tou el mundu está admiráu./ San Roque está muy contentu/ y hasta el perru está pasmáu.” (At Fiesta of San Roque de Montpellier, where crowds shouted: “Viva San Roque y el perru!”) (17/8/96)
- Q041 “Rete”, 70, Argüero (Villaviciosa):**
 “El permisu téngolu en regla, así que quitái de delante ahora mismo o saco l’hachu y lo tiro así, por bajo.” (18/8/96)
- Q042 A neighbour of Varé (Siero), at the Fiesta of Nuestro Señora de la Asunción:**
 “Eses tortilles no van tar ni pa poder cenales, con lo que apetecía ahora un trocín calentín pa olvidase del agua!” (19/8/96)
- Q043 Pedro José Vallin (author of newspaper article):**
 “iba de bar en bar dándole al punteru.”
 “Es curioso pero cuando se trata de beber sidra, a nadie le cabe ninguna duda sobre quienes son los asturianos. Somos los que echamos la sidra desde lo altu, aunque la mitad caiga al suelu.” (21/8/96)
- Q044 At the *piesca del gochu*, festival in Rioseco de Caldones: Marcelino Vigil (propetario del ejemplar):**
 “Al ser un cruce entre una gocha y un jabalí no van a arreglase pa cogelu, ya lo verás. Ye algo salvaje y muy inquietu.” “Ni fartucos de vino vais a pillalu ... Esti gochu ye un torpedo, mairáilu cómo corre.”
- Q045 Juan Castro, 30:**
 “Hay que estirase todo lo que puedas p□abarcar más espacio ... Esti gochu ye muy piquiñucu.”
- Q046 José Amador Solís, 55, from Gijón:**
 “Esto, aunque no lo parezca, ye muy peligroso ... No ye nada fácil, y eso que yo ya participé más veces en coses de éstos.” (21/8/96)
- Q047 “mexicana ... integrante de la Compañía Nacional de México”, and an unnamed couple of streetside observers at the II Festival Folklórico del Oriente, Ribadesella:**
 “No la vi, pero será la única porque les demás tal paecen fies de Moctezuma ...”
 “Oye, vaya guapu el traje de los de Monforte” – “Sí, ellos paecen príncipes y elles dames de la corte” (26/8/96)
- Q048 unnamed man from La Cabana/Repedroso, amongst el Gordo lottery winners:**
 “Lo malo de esto, si ye que tien algo malo, ye que ahora quedamos sin bar.” (28/8/96)
- Q049 Fermín Iglesias junior, 9. Carcarosa (Turón), son of member of □Master Track□ el Gordo winners:**
 “Güelo, corre, mira a papá en la tele!” (28/8/96)

- Q050 Antonio Sánchez, 60+:**
 “Ye muy duro. Paga a hacienda, mantén a la familia con esto ... Pa comer lentejes y cuatro fabes.” (31/8/96)
- Q051 María José, from Teverga at village fair with counties of Somiedo, Belmonte, Teverga & Grado:**
 “Viste como nosotras teníamos más peñas animándonos que los homes?” (1/9/96)
- Q052 unnamed older person in Grandes de Salime:**
 “Nun teña pena, neste pueblo nun durme naide fora tendo eo cama.”(Referred to as being in “el gallego propio de esta zona.” (3/9/96)
- Q053 unnamed person at Feria Ganadera de Teverga (“Cueirín”), La Plaza (Teverga):**
 “Lu pior nun ya pa nusoutrus, ia pa lus que vien detrás.” (4/9/96)
- Q054 Marcos Feito Rodríguez (appears to be in his twenties), of El Valle, near Pola de Somiedo at V Certamen Nacional de rebaños de esta raza autóctona:**
 “Pa lo que merez, tovía se cotiza pouco.” (7/9/96)
- Q055 Domingo González, xipleiru of El Rebollal (Degaña), 65:**
 “... aunque ahora ya no salgo co'l acordeón.” (8/9/96)
- Q056 Magdalena (‘Made’) Tuñón, Bárzana (Quirós):**
 “... por un curiosu de los de aquí.” (8/9/96)
- Q057 unnamed lady to her daughter, at the Romería de la Morgal (Llanera):**
 “Nena, mira, es la ‘Muralla’ de television!” (9/9/96)
- Q058 a ganadero of valle del Pigüeña:**
 “Ta muy claro que ellos a lo que tan ye a chupar del cargo que tienen mientras les dure.” (9/9/96)
- Q059 unnamed participant in a fiesta in Llamigu (Valle de San Jorge de Llanes):**
 “De Llamigu a la lavadora que ya é hora.” (10/9/96)
- Q060 Paulino Alonso, maker of cheese, and questioner, at seminar in Oviedo:**
 (In answer to: “Entonces todavía ye baratu aunque cueste tres mil pesetes.”) “No, no ye baratu, esti quesu, por 3,000 pesetes, ye regaláu.” (19/10/96)
- Q061 Esperanza (91) y Alfredo Bobes Canga (90), Noreña, awarded titles of “Güelos” de la villa condal, as part of El Jarro, a “peña gastronómica-cultural”:**
 “Hoy la fiesta ye pa nosotros.” (21/10/96)
- Q062 person present at wedding of Francisco Alvarez-Cascos, in Cangas de Onis:**
 “Aquí no hay ‘Cascos’, pero hay ‘botijos’, que ye mejor!” (21/10/96)
- Q063 Engracia Riego Martínez, 104, Agones, Pravia:**
 “Toy bastante bien”, “aquél ye un pueblín muy solitario y nun se puede viajar a ningún sitio.”, “Son unos neños muy buenos.” (talking about her great nephews) (1/11/96)
- Q064 Miguel Angel Suárez, teacher at CP Poeta Antón, Candás, Carreño, at celebration of “esfoyaza”:**
 “Intentamos recuperar esta andecha que se facía nes caseríos asturianos nun hai tantu tiempu, porque ta perdiéndose la tradición de l’esfoyaza, cuando los güelos contaben historias a los neños y los mozos cortexaben”. (8/11/96)
- Q065 unnamed person during a visit of Don Felipe to Nava:**
 “Que guapu y que altu ye.” (11/11/96)
- Q066 unnamed miner attending fiesta, Cuenca del Caudal:**
 “Pero ye sólo pa los mineros.” (5/12/96)
- Q067 Ensidesa workers (also in a mountaineering club) who won a prize in the lottery:**

- “De verdá? Que fue, el ‘gordu’?” “No el ‘flacu’.”
 “Ye un pellizquín Qué pena. Por qué pocu.”
 “El añu pasáu tocónos la pedrea; esti añu que vien tócanos el ‘gordu’. Seguru.” (23/12/96)
- Q068 Balbina Iglesias, 20s-30s, lottery winner, Santa Eulalia de Oscos:**
 “Taba derriba de un ceniceru en la mesa como si nada, como si fuera un papel de tirar.” (13/1/97)
- Q069 Miguel Rodrigo, subastador de San Antón, Cuerres (Ribadesella):**
 “Sis mil pesetes a las tres. Pa ti pa siempre esti añu nótese la crisis.” (26/1/97)
- Q070 José Angel del Ríu, president of Cofradía de la Sardina Arenque, Carnaval de Gijón:**
 “Ni ye moza, ye travesti, ni va a Xixón, ye de Uvieu.” (6/2/97)
- Q071 bridesmaid at a wedding in Aviles (couple from Valliniello):**
 “Corre, nena.” (16/2/97)
- Q072 Manuel Javier Torres, 40s-50s, Mieres:**
 “Ye algo que viví desde pequeño.” (26/2/97)
- Q073 Etelvina Alvarez, 103, Oviedo:**
 “Es que yo voté al que ta ahora, al bigotinos. Ahora quieren atragantalo p’a ver si lo deja, pero no lo can a conseguir.” (4/3/97)
- Q074 one of three 11 year olds, Llanes:**
 “Yo todavía lo pienso algunas veces: lo que podríamos tener ahora mismo en el bolsillo ... Buenu, por lo menos salimos en el periódicu.” (8/3/97)
- Q075 friend of Carlos ‘Clarín’ Casado, 62:**
 “Ciudadanu, llibreru y amigu.” (14/3/97)
- Q076 Cuca Tamargo, Infiesto:**
 “Mi güelu compró esta casa,” (15/3/97)
- Q077 Engracia Riego, 105, Pravia:**
 “Yo creo que tais confundíos, paezme que nun tengo tantos Toi bastante bien. Lo que más me falla ye el oído y la memoria.” (19/3/97)
- Q078 Celia González, middle-aged +, Cezana (Belmonte):**
 References to her use of ‘forno’ and ‘yelde’ in her comments. (24/3/97)
- Q079 saying quoted by José Manuel Torre, Mier (Peñamellera Alta):**
 “Dios y el cuchu pueden muchu, pero sobre tou el cuchu.” (27/3/97)
- Q080 Agustín García, 60, slingshot champion at “torneo ‘San José’” held in El Natahoyo:**
 “Cuando era crío pirábamos la escuela pa ir a mata ñerbatos (mirlos) col gomeru. Luego los vendíamos y comprábamos castañes mayuques pa quitar la fame. Ahora las cosas son distintas; si no fuera por nuestro trabajo, los neños de hoy no conocerían el gomeru.” (2/4/97)
- Q081 Juan Bautista Alvarez, párroco de San Pedro de Pola de Siero, at the “bendición de los ‘huevos’”**
 “Quemósemos el picalín de la torre de la iglesia. Hubo mieu, sospiros y llárimes ... year guapo ver a tanta xente arrimando’l llombu.” (2/4/97)
- Q082 María Cosmen Menéndez-Castañedo, 31, born in Oviedo but lives in Gijón, daughter of José Cosmen Adelaida:**
 “Me considero ‘echada p’alante’.” (18/4/97)
- Q083 a neighbour of José Manuel Suárez, 73, Rubiano (Grado):**
 “Una vez le trajeron una cocina, pero no la quiso, siguió cocinando en el ‘llar’.” (23/4/97)

- Q084 Francisco Sobrecueva, □Pachu□, ganadero in Picos de Europa.**
 “Gabriel? Ser, e muy güena persona, pero ya tendrá alrededor quien lu jaga malu.” (26/4/97)
- Q085 José Antonio Asprón, ganadero, middle-aged, near Los Lagos, Picos de Europa.**
 “De palabra tóu e güenu, después llega el desengaño.” (26/4/97)
- Q086 José Cosmen Adelaida, businessmen:**
 “Como diría Manolo Avello, gustóme mucho.” (12/5/97)
- Q087 group of residents of Cudillero:**
 “Mirádilu, mirádilu! Hay vian el alcaldí. Ya□l nuastru Antonio Banderas de Cuideiru!” (15/5/97)
- Q088 José López, retired, miner for 32 years, La Camocha (Gijón):**
 “Es que de esta forma más que nada, se subsistiría. Para ganar un jornal un poco curiosu, tienes que ser un esclavu de la tierra.” (17/5/97)
- Q089 one of the speakers at the opening of a park in honour of footballer Eugenio Suárez, Arriondas:**
 “Ye muy fácil: tuya, mía, cabecina y gol.” (24/5/97)
- Q090 young person shouting to another at the opening of the park cited in Q049:**
 “No chupes tantu!” (24/5/97)
- Q091 Pepe el de Campu, ganadero, Arriondas:**
 “Partil pola mitad.” (25/5/97)
- Q092 Quique Torres, 50s, Vega-La Camocha, talking about cyclist Coque:**
 “Conózcolu desde que era un guaje y ye el padrín de la mi nieta ... Todo bueno, aunque de guaje más malu no lu había ... Bueno, iba más a manzanes que al colegio, esa ye la verdad. Yo iba en el coche cuando me enteré de que había ganao la etapa y cayéronme les lagrimes de la emoción.” (4/6/97)
- Q093 Nicasio Gómez, 40s-50s, Vega-La Camocha talking about cyclist Coque:**
 “Ye un fenómeno y por aquí hay pocos.” (4/6/97)
- Q094 Mother of Chechu, cyclist, Baldornón:**
 “Cuando vi que coronaba el último puerto sabía que iba a ganar, porque bajando ye tan burru como el padre.” (6/6/97)
- Q095 one of four named people (50s-60s), Baldornón, talking about Chechu:**
 “... al que queremos como si fuera fíu nuestru.” (7/6/97)
- Q096 Anita Bueno, 75, Abrado (Valdés):**
 “Hay que comere bien... por los dos nenos que ya tenía.” (11/6/97)
- Q097 various retired people, Castropol:**
 “Tá muy guapo, Amelia.”
 “Dios, tamos ilusionadísimas ...” (12/6/97)
- Q098 Manuel Iglesias and other livestock & other produce sellers, Piles:**
 “Mucha pregunta, pero poques perres.”
 “Mira qué cebolletes más fresques!”
 “Tengo flores recién cortades.” (14/6/97)
- Q099 Ramón Pérez, 100, Llanes:**
 “Para ti la alta, que de la pequeñina ya me encargo yo Saquéla a bailar y aquí la tengo. Sacóme a bailar y quedámonos juntos pa siempre.” (21/6/97)
- Q100 Chechu Rubiera, 24, from Gijón (in an interview after winning cycle race in Italy):**
 “Jo, Chechu, vas a ganar, vas a ganar!” “... le esperaba fiesta en Baldornón, romería popular y un grito común: Qué grande yes, Chechu!” (22/6/97)

- Q101 participants at the “polémica de ‘les sampedraes’”, Pola de Siero:**
 “San Daniel! Esti añu los solteros plantamos roble también.”
 “San Salvador!, voy plantar el roble alante de la casa'l corredor.” (30/6/97)
- Q102 José Antonio Vega, ‘mandanguero’ historico, Castandiellu (Langreo):**
 “... echar el resto, que ya falta poco pa les empanaes y les casadielles.” (1/7/97)
- Q103 Aurelio Capín, 65, curator of caves of Tito Bustillo, Ribadesella:**
 “Les pingarates (estalactitas), guapísimes. Pero les pintures, tantu cuentu con elles, nun valen pa na.” (4/7/97)
- Q104 Araceli Muñiz García, 89, Sierra del Aramo, at XXX Edición del prau Llagüezos:**
 “Pero si yo soy joven, qué coño voy a ser ‘güela’ de nadie, si no tuve hijos.” (7/7/97)
- Q105 Patricia Espejo & María García, 17, from Avila, at Romería de Asturias, Pola de Siero:**
 “... ye internacional ... ye la mejor del mundo.” (22/7/97)
- Q106 unnamed young person talking on a train between Oviedo & Gijón:**
 “Cagon ... Pa mí, no ye por hacer la pelota, pero y el periódico de Asturias, y llevábalu pa mi padre, porque yo apéome en Santiago del Monte.” (23/7/97)
- Q107 comments from a family and a young person at peregrinación to Mayáu les Capilles (Morcín):**
 “... ye mucho más difícil.”
 “Antes tábase muy bien arriba, con el bar y la gaita un vasu de agua bien fría.” (26/7/97)
- Q108 unnamed person at Vaqueiro wedding, Aristébano (Valdés):**
 “Mocín, ten cuidao, que eso no resiste el primer envite.” (28/7/97)
- Q109 Natalia Estrada, TV presenter in Italy, born in Gijón, mid-20s:**
 “Un día me paró una señora y me dijo: “Ay, madre, pero si yes una neña’.” (3/8/97)
- Q110 José Muñiz Vega, 84, retired wagon driver, Albandi (Carreño):**
 “Qué crees, que ye cómo ahora? Antes tábamos trabayando con 10 años ... Acuérdomo cuando iba a Monteana y cargaba treinta carraes de madera pa llevar a la escuela dePoago. Teníamos cuatro parejas de gües, que ye como ahora tener una flota de camiones ... Pol invierno, el carro enterrábase hasta el eje y pasábamoslo muy mal. Nun ye como ahora que hay carreteres.... Tábamos todo el día cantano: ... voy encuadrar a Xixón/ y luego voy a neñes a Oviedo ... una playuca bien guapa.” (9/8/97)
- Q111 Fali Carrera, male 30s, San Antoniu Villahormes (Llanes), at hot chocolate festival:**
 “Esti añu no nos salió el santu mexón, eh, chatu? ... estoy como un osu, chatu.” (15/8/97)
- Q112 participants in fiesta with “suelta de ‘gochus’ [human not pigs]”, Posada, Llanes:**
 “¿Onde tan eses muyeres?”
- Q113 participants in fiesta with “suelta del gochu”, Molledo:**
 “Venga, ánimo, que quien coja al gochu lleválu pa casa!” (19/8/97)
- Q114 unnamed local person, Luarca (Valdés) commenting on the wife of Francisco Alvarez-Cascos:**
 “Gema, yes lo mejor, lo mejor.” (23/8/97)
- Q115 unnamed people in Castropol:**
 “Xa ves.”
 “Qué che vou decir que tú no sepas.” (23/9/97)
- Q116 Manuel Amieva Sobrino, 69, standholder at “Mercáu Astur medieval”, Porrúa, Llanes:**
 “Esti oficiu se pierde porque no deja un duru. Yo estoy a puntu de abandonar.” (24/8/97)
- Q117 Raquel Gión, uncle of person suspected of involvement in crime:**
 “Era el neno inocente de toda la vida y nunca se le vio nada malo.” (29/9/97)

Q118 “un habitual de la administración”, at the time of the “gordo”:

“Allá van, ¡pa engordar a Josemari y compañía!”

(6/1/98)

Q119 Encarna Riesco, 60, Lo Zorera, Somiedo:

“Lo malo ye que aquí nun para nadie, ¿quién va querer venir a vivir a un monte como esti? Desde que murió mi marido muchas veces me pregunto qué ye lo hago yo aquí sola, pues cuando una ye más joven todavía lo vas llevando,”

(7/1/98)

Q120 Angela Baragaño García, 85, from Conforcos (Cuturrasu), Langreo – mistaken for someone else who had died:

“.... Para criar a la mi fía”

(22/1/98)

Q121 Claudio Fernández Junquera, 67, first president of Alianza Popular in Asturias, former councillor of Gijón and president of Chamber of Commerce:

“A pesar de que ‘soy playu’, me gusta más el campo y el monte, pero echaría mucho de menos el mar si no lo tuviera cerca.”

(8/3/98)

Q122 Consuelo Fernández Iglesias, 102, Ayones (Valdés):

“Ye el huevo batido con café que desayuno por la mañana.” (recipe for longevity)

Appendix F

Encuentros en la Esterilla

Analysis of interviewees

Age was in most cases estimated from photographs included with interviews. Locale was sometimes stated, other times inferred from context of responses; where no locale is indicated, the space has been left blank; where the letter A appears the context of the interview suggested the person came from somewhere within Asturias itself.

	Date	G	Age	Locale	Lang.
E001	9.7.95	F	20-30	Gijón	C
E002	12.7.95	M	20s	Gijón	C
E003	13.7.95	F	30-40	A	C
E004	14.7.95	F	20s	A	C
E005	20.7.95	M	30s	Gijón	C
E006	21.7.95	F	20-30	A	C
E007	22.7.95	F	30-40	A	I
E008	23.7.95	M	30-40	A	C
E009	24.7.95	F	20s	A	C
E010	26.7.95	M	20s	Oviedo	C
E011	27.7.95	2F	20s		C
E012	28.7.95	M	40-50	A	I
E013	29.7.95	F	20s		C
E014	30.7.95	M	Teens-20		C
E015	7.8.95	M	20s	A	C
E016	8.8.95	2F	20-30		C
E017	9.8.95	M	30s	E	C
E018	10.8.95	M	40-50	A	B
E019	?8.95	6F	Teens-20	El Entrego	I
E020	14.8.95	M	?	A	C
E021	17.8.95	2F	20s	Madrid	C
E022	18.8.95	M	40s	E	C
E023	19.8.95	2M	20s	A	B
E024	22.8.95	M F	20-30		C
E025	23.8.95	M	Teens	Degaña	C
E026	24.8.95	5M	20-30		C
E027	25.8.95	M 2 F	50-60	El Ferrol	C
E028	26.8.95	F	30s		C
E029	27.8.95	M	30-40	A	I
E030	28.8.95	F	20-30	A	I
E031	29.8.95	M	Teens-20	A	C
E032	30.8.95	M	40s	A	I
E033	2.9.95	M	30-40		C
E034	2.9.95?	F	20-30	A	C
E035	1.7.96	M	Teens-20	A	C
E036	2.7.96	F	20s	A	C
E037	3.7.96	M	40-50	A	C
E038	4.7.96	F	20-30	A	I
E039	5.7.96	M	30-40	A	I
E040	6.7.96	M	40-50	A	B
E041	7.7.96	M	20s		C
E042	8.7.96	M	Child	A	I
E043	9.7.96	2F	Teens		C
E044	10.7.96	M	60s+	A	B

E045	11.7.96	F	30s	A	I	
E046	13.7.96	M	20s		C	
E047	14.7.96	F	20s	A	I	
E048	15.7.96	2F	20s		C	
E049	16.7.96	M	30-40		C	
E050	17.7.96	F	30-40	A	C	
E051	18.7.96	M	30-40	A	B	
E052	19.7.96	F	30s	A	C	
E053	20.7.96	M	50s	Gijón	I	
E054	21.7.96	5F	20s	A	C	
E055	22.7.96	M	40-50	E	C	
E056	23.7.96	F	30s	A	C	
E057	24.7.96	M	20s	Germany	*	
E058	25.7.96	F	30-40	Gijón	C	
E059	26.7.96	M	20-30	A	I	
E060	27.7.96	F	30s	Gijón	C	
E061	28.7.96	M	20s		C	
E062	29.7.96	F	40s	A	I	
E063	30.7.96	F	20-30	A	C	
E064	31.7.96	M	40-50	A	I	
E065	1.8.96	M	20s	A	I	
E066	2.8.96	2F	20s	A	I	
E067	3.8.96	F	30s	E	C	
E068	4.8.96	M	20s	Gijón	C	
E069	5.8.96	F	20s		C	
E070	6.8.96	F	Teens-20		C	
E071	7.8.96	M	30s	A	I	
E072	8.8.96	M	30-40	Cádiz	C	
E073	9.8.96	M	40s	A	A	
E074	11.8.96	M	50-60	A	A	
E075	12.8.96	M	20-30	E	C	
E076	13.8.96	F	20s	A	C	
E077	14.8.96	M	20-30	A	I	
E078	15.8.96	M	20-30	(A)	C	
E079	16.8.96	M F	40-50	E	C	
E080	17.8.96	M	20-30	A	I	
E081	18.8.96	F	30-40	A	B	
E082	19.8.96	M	50-60	A	C	
E083	20.8.96	M F	30s	A	C	
E084	21.8.96	M	Child	El Entrego	B	
E085	22.8.96	M	50s	Gijón	B	
E086	23.8.96	M	40s	A	C	
E087	24.8.96	Mock interview with a couple of dogs				
E088	25.8.96	F	30-40	A	C	
E089	26.8.96	M	Child	Noruega	C	
E090	27.8.96	M	60-70	Gijón	I	
E091	28.8.96	2F	Teens-20	A	C	
E092	29.8.96	M F	50s 40s	A	C	
E093	30.8.96	M	20-30	A	A	
E094	31.8.96	5 M	20s	A	A	
E095	1.7.97	F	20s	A	C	
E096	2.7.97	M	40s	A	A	
E097	3.7.97	2F	20s	Llanera	C	
E098	4.7.97	M	20s	A	I	
E099	5.7.97	F	20s		C	

* It was not indicated whether this interview was conducted in Castilian or translated from German.

E100	6.7.97	M	50-60	Gijón	C
E101	7.7.97	2F	20s	Corredovia	C
E102	8.7.97	M F	60s	Navarra	C
E103	9.7.97	4MF	20s	A	C
E104	10.7.97	M	60-70	A	C
E105	11.7.97	F	20-30	E	C
E106	12.7.97	M	50s	Mieres	A
E107	13.7.97	M	40s	Gijón	C
E108	14.7.97	4F	Teens	Bilbo	C
E109	15.7.97	F	60s	Tapia	C
E110	16.7.97	M F	30s	Tapia	C
E111	17.7.97	F	20s	Tapia	C
E112	18.7.97	M	20s	A	I
E113	19.7.97	F	20-30	E	C
E114	20.7.97	F	20-30	E	C
E115	21.7.97	M	70s	A	C
E116	22.7.97	2F	30s50s	A	I
E117	23.7.97	M	50-60	A	C
E118	24.7.97	F	20-30	?	C
E119	25.7.97	M	Child	Candas	C
E120	26.7.97	F	20-30		C
E121	27.7.97	M	40s	El Entrego	A
E122	28.7.97	M	40-50	A	A
E123	29.7.97	M	70s	Tapia	C
E124	30.7.97	M	20s	A	C
E125	31.7.97	M	20-30	A	A
E126	1.8.97	F	40s	Aragón	C
E127	2.8.97	M	30-40	?	I
E128	3.8.97	M	30s	A	C
E129	5.8.97	F	20s	E	C
E130	6.8.97	F	74	A	C
E131	7.8.97	2 M	20s	A	I
E132	8.8.97	F	20s	E	C
E133	9.8.97	M	30s	Gijón	C
E134	10.8.97	M	30s	A	C
E135	11.8.97	F	30s	Murcia	C
E136	12.8.97	F	40s	E	C
E137	13.8.97	M	30s	A	A
E138	14.8.97	F	40-50	A	C
E139	15.8.97	M	50-60	A	I
E140	16.8.97	5M	20s-40s	A	A
E141	17.8.97	M	20-30	Gijón	C
E142	18.8.97	F	20s	A	C
E143	20.8.97	2 F	Children	A	C
E144	21.8.97	M	20s	A	C
E145	22.8.97	M	50s	A	A
E146	23.8.97	M	20s	A	B
E147	24.8.97	F	20s	A	C
E148	26.8.97	M	20-30		C

APPENDIX G

**Responses to the question: “¿Qué es Bable?”
In the *Patio de Luces* series of mini-interviews in
The *Oviedo Semanal* supplement of
*LA NUEVA ESPAÑA***

Name	Quote	Date
<u>P001</u> Julio Alvarez, "Mendo" DG of <i>Vuelta Ciclista a Asturias</i>	<i>Otra lengua con la que entenderse.</i>	24.8.96
<u>P002</u> Oliverio Alvarez, "Oli", Soccer player with <i>Real Oviedo</i>	<i>Uséase lengua asturiana.</i>	25.1.97
<u>P003</u> Severino Alvarez Zaragoza Pres. Asturian Federation of Commerce	<i>Lo que hablamos los asturianos aprendido de oído, sin que nos lo enseñe nadie.</i>	3/8/96
<u>P004</u> Ernesto Canton, Hostelero	<i>Un dialecto a conservar en la región</i>	14.9.96
<u>P005</u> Elias Carrocera, Professor of Prehistory	<i>Para unos, una quimera; para otros, un dolor de cabeza y para el resto, la lengua maternal.</i>	12.10.96
<u>P006</u> Luis Estrada Fernández, Gaita player with <i>Cuarteto Torner</i>	<i>Era, ahora cada vez menos, nuestro segundo idioma, si así se puede considerar. Me gusta hablar, hacer poesías y monólogos en bable, tiene palabras y frases realmente preciosas. Ejemplo: "Yes nidia como la mantega".</i>	1.2.97
<u>P007</u> José Antonio Fidalgo, Gastronome, Chemist and Diarist	<i>Un patrimonio de nuestra Asturias que hay que revitalizar "en su ser natural", no con mistificanciones adulteradas.</i>	19.10.96
<u>P008</u> Manuel Herrero Montoto, Surgeon, Pres. of <i>Tribuna Ciudadana</i> .	<i>Una alternativa válida.</i>	15.2.97
<u>P009</u> Luis Legaspi, Diocesan delegate of missions	<i>Eu falo el galego del occidente astur. ¿El bable o los? El romance hispano "recocado en los valles de Asturias".</i>	8.2.97
<u>P010</u> Jorge Martínez, Leader of the group " <i>Ilegales</i> "	<i>Un síntoma más del resurgimiento de los nacionalismos. Una mecha más en el polvorín europeo.</i>	22.2.97

P011 Juan Méjica, Sculptor	<i>Para us poucos, la memoria desde la madre que nos parió; y para muitos, ahora, una jerga caco-fónica que me invita irremediabilmente a ir al excusado. [rest of interview in Castilian]</i>	30.11.96
P012 José Manuel Nebot, Pres ASYCO and photographer	<i>Un dialecto con tres o más variantes que hablamos y comprendemos los asturianos y que apenas tiene que ver con lo que han inventado y fabricado ciertas personas y que la inmensa mayoría de los asturianos no entendemos.</i>	9.11.96
P013 Rosario Neira, Poet	<i>Un conjunto de variedades lingüísticas que se hablan en Asturias.</i>	18.1.97
P014 Juan Luis Rodríguez-Vigil, Lawyer (and former President of the regional government)	<i>Los bables de Teverga y Lena me resultan un conjunto de expresiones familiares, muy queridas, que procuro utilizar siempre que puedo. Los bables de otros de otros valles, un conjunto de expresiones que me interesan, y el bable artificialmente unificado me carece una nadería carente de lógica que, en razón de los intereses creados, sin duda, va a prosperar.</i>	21.12.96
P015 Miguel Rojo, Writer	<i>Una lengua con muy mala suerte.</i>	28.12.96
P016 María Josefa Sanz, Professor of Paleography	<i>¿Cuál de ellos? Porque yo conozco el de Villaviciosa, que hablaba mi abuela; el de Salcedo de Grado, que escuché en Restiello ... y más todos ellos hermosísimos.</i>	14.12.96
P017 David Serna, Journalist	<i>Una de las denominaciones que recibe la lengua asturiana, o así.</i>	4.1.97
P018 Ramón Sobrino Prof. of Musicology & doctor	<i>Tres diversidades que no conozco lo suficiente.</i>	17.8.96
P019 Gonzalo Suárez Film Director	<i>Nel y Flor</i>	6.7.96
P020 Sara Suárez Solís, Prof (ret) of Language & Literature, and a writer	<i>Un habla que se ha perdido, sustituida por un producto artificial</i>	7.12.96
P021 Etelvino Vázquez, Actor and Director of <i>Teatro del Norte</i>	<i>Le remito a Borges</i>	5.10.96

APPENDIX H
**Letters written to the *Oreja Verde* supplement of
*La Nueva España***

Note: The number after 'M' or 'F' in the 'Comments' column (where given) indicates the age of a particular child. Where a number appears before an 'M' or 'F' it indicates the number of children of that gender and of the age indicated by the number after the letter.

#	Series	Letters	Letters in Asturian	Comments
204				
9/1	Cartas a los Reyes	5	-	
13/2	Carnaval ... Me disfrazare de..	14 25	- 25	[All from one school] All from one school in Lugo de Llanera: M7, 7M8, 3F8, 2M10, 3F10, 2M11, 3F11, 1F13
20/2	Paz Por qué me llamo ...	7 11	4 -	Four letters written by 6M, 2F3M, 4M, 5F6M
13/3	Por qué me llamo ...	14	-	
27/3	Por qué me llamo ...	15	-	
3/4	La Lámpara Bruja Pumaruja	49 2	- -	
10/4	La Lámpara Por qué me llamo ...	32 15	- -	
17/4	La Lámpara	33	-	
8/5	Por qué me llamo ...	12	+	One letter refers to name being in Bable, father having been part of Academia de la Llingua Asturiana
22/5	Por qué me llamo ...	14	12	F10 Salava (Tapia); M? Mántaras(Tapia); M13 Tapia; M9 Salave(Tapia); F9 Tol(Castropol); M11 Mántaras(Tapia); F10 Tapia; M10 A Rosa (Tapia); F8 Tapia; F8 Tapia; F8 Tapia; F9 Campos (Tapia)

12/6	La familia	11	-	
269	La familia Puente de amistad	12 21	3 -	F9 Avilés; M11 Uvieu; F9 Avilés
270	Cosas que me hacen Autoretrato	27 3	- -	
271	La familia Cosas que me hacen Autoretrato	8 33 4	2 - -	M10 Avilés; F9 Avilés
273	Autoretrato La familia	30 12	- -	
274	Autoretrato La familia Deseos, opiniones...	19 12 17	8 - -	F6 Tapia; F6 Tapia; F5 Tapia; M6 Tapia; M6 Tapia; F5 Tapia; F6 Tapia; F5 Tapia
275	Autoretrato La familia	18 8	5 -	M6 Grandela (Tapia); M7 A Ventanova (Tapia); M6 El Viso (Tapia); M7 Tapia; M6 Tapia
276	La familia Autoretrato Cosas que me hacen	10 19 8	- 2 -	M7 Tapia; M7 Tapia
277	Autoretrato	19	9	F7 Tapia; F7 Tapia; F7 Tapia; F7 Tapia; M7 Tapia; F7 Tapia; F7 Tapia; M8 Tapia; F6 Tapia
278	Autoretrato	35	4	F12 Llanco; M8 Orxales- A Roda (Tapia); M8 Candosa (Castropol); F11 Llanco
279	Autoretrato La familia	14 9	5 -	F12 Llanco; F8 Tapia; M8 Bustello-A Roda (Tapia); M10 Sama de Langreo; M12 Bañugues
280	La familia Autoretrato	10 13	- 7	F14 Llanco; M7 Tapia; F9 Tapia; F8 Salave (Tapia); F6 Tapia; F8 Tapia; F13 Llanco

281	Mensajes La familia Autoretrato	3 12 17	2 3 6	5F Lieres; M11 Lieres M9 Lugo de Llanera; F9 Lugo de Llanera; F12 Lugo de Llanera F9 Tapia; M8 A Búavista (Tapia); M15 Tapia; F11 El Cascayal (Tapia); M10 A Casanova-Serantes (Tapia); M12 A Volta (Tapia)
282	Autoretrato Demonios .Estás contento/a... .Qué me pongo? Genio	15 2 6 5 6	7 - - - -	F8 El Cascayal (Tapia); M11 Pedralba-Serantes(Tapia); M9 Salave (Tapia); F12 Cardo-Gozón; M? El Cascayal (Tapia); F9 Tapia; M13 Tapia
283	Deseos Mi pueblo Osita Sueño feo Autoretrato .Estás contento/a...	5 3 1 1 14 9	- - - - 7 -	M12 Penala-Serantes (Tapia); M12 Luanco; M8 Santelos-A Roda (Tapia); F11 Tapia; F10 Campos (Tapia); F8 Tapia; M12 Cardo (Gozón)
284	Genio Demonios .Estás contento/a... .Qué me pongo? Paz	6 5 7 4 6	- - - - 3	2F&3M Tapia; 4F Tapia; 3F&2M Tapia [Students of Colegio Principe de Asturias de Tapia de Casariego]
289	Autoretrato Genio .Estás contento/a... .Qué me pongo? Demonios	15 7 6 7 7	6 1 3 4 1	M11 A Paloma,Mántaras (Tapia);M10 Tapia;M10 Tapia; F12 Verdicio; M12 Casariego;F10 El Viso(Tapia) F9 Tapia F9 Tapia; M11 Tapia; M10 Tapia F10 Tapia; F11 Tapia; M10 Tapia; M10 Tapia M9 Tapia
300				

301	Autoretrato Surf Estás contento/a... Demonios	14 2 9 18	4 2 1 2	M10 Tapia; M10 Tapia; M10 Tapia; M9 Tapia F9 Tapia; M11 Tapia F6 Tapia F9 Tapia; M9 Tapia
302				
303	Osos	10	-	
304	Autoretrato Astures	14 8	5 -	F9 Tapia; M9 Tapia; F9 Tapia; M10 Tapia; F10 Tapia [All from one school in Pola de Laviana]
305	Qué me pongo? Estás contento/a... Demonios Mascotas	14 21 6 6	1 3 - 1	F12 Tapia M8 Tapia; M7 Tapia; M7 Tapia M11 Tapia
306				
309	Demonios Mascotas	12 12	3 6	M11 Tapia; M11 Tapia; M12 Tapia F11 Tapia; M9 Tapia; M7 Tapia; F? Tapia; F8 Tapia; F8 Tapia
310				
311	Escríbeme Qué me pongo? Bruja Pumaruja	6 14 3	- - -	
341	Que es para ti Así es mi habitación Album de recuerdos Mascotas	7 10 4 7	- - 1 3	F10 Tapia F14&M13 Cangas de Onís; F9 San Martín de Parres; F11 Lago (Parres)
350	Amistad Cartas a Paca y Tola Veo, Veo	7 14 10	2 14 -	F7 Tapia; F12 Tapia M8; F9; F9; F9; F10; F10; F10; F10; M10; F9; F9; M8; M9; M10 [all from Pola de Siero]

352	Mascotas	13	9	F12 Tineo; F7 Tapia; M11 Tineo; F8 Tapia; M9 Tineo; F9 Tineo; M10 Tapia; F13 El Pedregal (Tineo); M11 Santa Eulalia (Tineo)
353				
356	Kekos	9	9	M9; F8; M8; F7; M7; M6; F10; F10; F10[all from Tapia]
357	Kekos	9	5+	M6 Tapia; F7 Tapia; F8 Tapia; M11 Tapia; F8 Tapia [+ = one <i>keko</i> named <i>Nena</i>]
358				
359	Erase una vez Kekos	5 13	- 4	F7 Tapia; M12 Tapia; F7 Tapia; F9 Tapia
360	Aventura peligrosa Erase una vez	21 7	* -	
361	Cinco vocales Kekos Erase una vez	11 11 7	* 2 -	F10 Tapia; M7 Tapia
362	Kekos Erase un vez ... Cebolla rellena	11 5 7	1 1 -	M11 Tapia M11 Tapia
363	Desde mi ventana Kekos	3 12	- -	
364	Erase una vez Kekos Desde mi ventana	7 10 5	1+ - -	F11 Tapia [nicknames in another all end in <i>-ín</i>]
366	Erase una vez Kekos Adivina que cosas...	6 13 20	1 - -	M13 Tapia

367	Desde mi ventana Bruja Pumaruja	5 27	1 -	F11 Tapia
368	Kekos Desde mi ventana	13 6	1 1	M6 Oviedo F7 Tapia
371	Desde mi ventana Un viaje al país ... Monstruos	7 15 6	3 - -	F7 Tapia; M7 El Cascayal (Tapia); F9 Tapia [All from one school in Gijón]
371	La Paz Kekos Monstruos	2 15 7	- - -	
373	Monstruos Desde mi ventana Kekos	16 7 16	3 1 +	M6 El Viso (Tapia); M6 Tapia; M6 Tapia F13 Tapia [+] one <i>keko</i> called <i>Nuberín</i> and another <i>Kangurín</i>
374	Monstruos Kekos	23 9	4 -	F11 Gijón; M6 Tapia; M8 Tapia; M6 El Viso (Tapia)
378	De la mina Monstruos	7 12	- 2	[From Colegio Rural Laviana-Sobrescobio - 2 stories partly in Asturian related by adults] M7 Tapia; M7 Tapia
380	Monstruos	12	3	M10 Gijón; M7 Tapia; F10 Gijón
382	Monstruos Kekos	28 13	3 +	M7 Tapia; F11 Xixón; M7 Tapia [+] one <i>keko</i> called <i>Nena</i>
383	Si fuera un animal Monstruos Kekos De boca a oreja	4 14 15 *	- 1 - -	F6 El Viso (Tapia)
384	Si fuera un animal Monstruos Drácula De boca a oreja	10 13 15 *	- 2 - -	F11 Xixón; M10 A Roda (Tapia)

385	Premio de poesía Monstruos Si fuera un animal Dracula Kekos	6 14 14 7 8	3 1 - 1 -	M7 CP Los Campos; F9 CP Lugo de Llanera; F11 CP Benavente F7 Tapia F7 Tapia
386	De boca a oreja Si fuera un animal Monstruos	 36 14	 3 2+	[Very important series of interviews with older people - 3 all in Asturian] F9 Xixón; F8 Caborana (Ayer); F9 Caborana (Ayer) F6 Tapia; F9 Oviedo; [+]= use of <i>pequeñín</i> by F5 Limes (Cangas del Narcea)
387	Mis dedos son ... Monstruos	32 16	- 3	F6 Tapia; F11 Xixón; M8 El Peñón
388	Monstruos Si fuera un animal Kekos	14 19 17	3 3 -	M10, Xixón; F11 Xixón; M8 A Grandela (Tapia) F11 Tapia; F8 El Viso (Tapia); F9 Caborana (Ayer)
389	Monstruos Si fuera un animal Dracula	13 15 7	5 1 4	M10 Xixón; F11 Gijón; M9 El Viso (Tapia); F11 Tapia; M14 Serantes (Tapia) F10, Xixón F11 Tapia; F12 Tapia; F6 Tapia; M14 Tapia
390	Si fuera un animal Monstruos	18 12	1 12	M, 9, Xixón F8 Tapia; F10 Tapia; M9 Caborana (Ayer); F11 Tapia; F10 Xixón; F8 Tapia; F8 El Viso (Tapia); F9 Carborana; M6 Grado; M10 Xixón; F9 Carborana; M8 Carborana
392	Kekos Monstruos Si fuera un animal	14 15 15	- 8 7	M 6 Figueras; F10 Xixón; M7 Tapia; F8 Caborana; F8 Caborana; F10 Xixón; F9 Caborana; F 8 Tapia F8 El Cascayal(Tapia); F9 Tapia; F8 Caborana(Ayer); F6 Tapia; M13 San Blas(Tapia); F7 Tapia; F6Tapia
400				[note contains brief description of various series]
403	Monstruos Maestros a la ...	16 8	3 8	F9 Oviedo; M9 Caborana (Ayer), M7 Oviedo F11 Tabladiello (Villabona); F11 apia; F6 Tapia; F11 Alba; F8Tapia; F11 Rica(Pravia); F7Tapia; M6 Tapia
404				
405				

407	Rico, Rico! Monstruos Maestros a la ... Si fuera un animal	4 15 9 13	- 3 7 2	M10 Xixón; F8 Lugones; F11 Xixón F9 San Martín; F10 El Cascayal (Tapia); F6 Tapia; F8 Silvia Tapia; M7 As Casinas (Tapia); F11 Tapia; F8 A Ventosa (Tapia) M7 Lugo de Llanera; F7 Lugo de Llanera
408	Si fuera un animal Qué prefieres? Rico, Rico!	18 20 6	- 8 -	M8 La Fresneda; M8 Llugo de Llanera; M8 Llugo de Llanera; M7 Llugo de Llanera; M6 Tapia; M8 San Martín; F? ?
409	Si fuera un animal Maestros a la ... Rico, Rico!	12 10 8	- 8 1	F7 Tapia; F8 Tapia; F7 Represas (Tapia); F10 Casanova-Serantes (Tapia); M8 El Cascayal (Tapia); F11 Lugo de Llanera; F9 Casarego (Tapia); F11 Lugo de Llanera M10 A Penala-Serantes (Tapia)
410	Rico, Rico! Maestros a la ...	9 10	3 3	F10 Tapia; M10 A Corredoira (Tapia); M10 Tapia M8 Tapia; F7 Tapia; M10 El Valle (Tapia)
412	Maestros a la ... Rico, Rico Si fuera un animal Me gustaría ser	12 12 17 11	3 10 1 -	M9 Grao; M7 Candamo; F7 Candamo M9 Grao; M9 Grao; F6 Xixón; M6 Tapia; M9 Grao; F12 Tapia; F9 Grao; F6 Tapia; F8 Tapia F6 Llugo de Llanera
414	Si fuera un animal Me gustaría ser	18 10	- 2+	M7 Tapia; M10 Tapia[+= use of Xixón by F6 who wrote in Castilian]
415	Guía de Pola de... Rico, Rico! Me gustaría ser	10 12 15	- 3 2	F7 San Blas (Tapia); F6 Campos (Tapia); M11 Tapia M9 A Grandela (Tapia); M9 Grao
417	Me gustaría ser	14	3	M11 L'Acebal (Llaviana); M10 Tapia; M8 El Cascayal (Tapia)
418	Yo juego Rico, Rico Si fuera un animal Me gustaría ser	3 18 13 14	- - 1 3	One contains word <i>puñaos</i> (male, 7) F12 Tapia; M11 Villoria (Laviana); M10 Les Quintanes de Villoria; F7 Tapia.

APPENDIX I

Nomatus [nicknames] observed in obituaries in La Nueva España

Angel el Churrascu	Felix el chispa	delfin	polesu
José el rubio	Tino bar Guillen	Chús de la	Vicente plantin
María la Uca	Manuel el andaluz	corrapietra	Juacu el panadero
Luis el Pintu	Manuel el gaitero	Pachu la huertona	Carmina la
Joaquina la Tata	Tano el de sueros	Jesús el moreno	carnicera
Pepe el Garbadin	Pepe el mineru	Tino el de ruba	Asunción la de
Generosa el topu	Manuel el pibe	Manuel relojero	cueto
Pacita el juez	Chata la del carteru	Manuel el cabriteru	Justino el roxu
Rafael el cuitu	Hermino el bescon	Paquito el	Oliva la charca
Rosario la del	Benigno carroceta	municipal	Constante el coxu
chigre	Tonín el zapato	Gersan el de la	Ramón el de la
Manolo el roxu	Teo el mellizo	venta	venta
Silvino el sillero	Pepe el manco	Maximino el chato	Josepin el del
Eduardo el roxu	Valentin el pastorin	Avelino el mozu	corralon
Laura la panera	Tito el pitanu	Jaime el gallego	Ricardo el alguacil
Tino de camping	Fonso-motor	Maxi el relojero	de Grandas de
Pepe el Frances	Gina la pumariega	Manolo el alleranu	Salime
José Manuel el	Maruja el cantu	Victor el morreno	Nina la del polleo
borle	Jose el chato	Carmen la huelpe	Pedro el coxu
Gerardo el parrau	Sara el rubin	Antonio el maestro	Leonor la
María la frutera	Enrique el posiegü	Josefa la perucha	Madrileña
Fermo el quilosu	Luisa la panadera	Maruja la voz	Manolín el mineru
Manolo el trincu	Manolo el roxiu	Manuel el chato de	Sigfredo mandin
Constante el juez	Manuel porritas	castañera	Angel el
Manuel el roxin	Manuel barril	Pilarina la de las	tamboriteru
Juan el truchu	Luisa el truchu	monas	Pepín el practicante
Ramón el pintu	Manolo el alleran	Pepe el petrulo	Manolín el cuxu
Adolfo el quintu	Antonio perosente	Luis Langreo	Luis el madamu
Pepe el vasco	María Jesús la nena	Areceli la morena	Fredin el pitu
Paco el andaluz	de la cuesta	Joaquin el panadero	Avelino quirosin
Aurelio el cuquiellu	María el peludu	Kiko el de la	Dositeo el gallegu
José Fernández el	Gerardo el roxu	culquera	Manolo palanquin
nene	José Ramón caldin	Carlos de la veiga	Jesús borin
Manolo el lechero	Gelín el de lelo	Enrique el	
Josefina la nena	Eusebio toledo	practicante	
Manuel el nene	Francisco el nene	Canto la llera	
Tino el ropiu	Tonín madreries	Luis el cojo	
Jose pin el	Luis el roxu	Isaac el parrau	
carbonero	Antonio el gaitero	Pepín el cartero	
Manuel el nene	José el piquinu	Telva el sol	
Luisa el molin	Concha la chuta	Pepín el de la conda	
Lola de la central	Chatorreria	Faustino el negus	
Jose el poja	chonchita	Maruja la de trubia	
Elvira la ramonina	Manuel el curiosu	Adela la 'lina'	
Pepe el tratante	Avelino el teyeru	José A el quintu	
Tila de carbayin	Manolín el llargu	Luis de la parte	
Vicente el terrible	Pin el ferreru	Pacita el nozal	
Chús el del café	Enrique el madreñu	José María el rubio	
Pacita la de chella	Santiago el	de la torre	
José el nene	zapatero	José el molin	
Manuel cajetu	Rosario la de praon	Amador fontanero	
Luisa la cubana	Chano de casa	Luis Rufino el	