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A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF LANGUAGE MIXTURE
BETWEEN ASTURIAN AND SPANISH

By

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A preliminary study of language mixture between Asturian and Spanish

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This thesis presents a preliminary analysis of language mixture between Asturian and Spanish produced by Asturian speakers. Asturian is an endangered non-official language, closely related to Spanish, spoken in northwestern Spain. Asturian and Spanish have been in contact since the 14th century (Barnes, 2013). According to Thomason (2001), language contact can lead to different outcomes, like language mixture, language change, or language death. This study offers an investigation of forms in the Asturian language as a result of language contact between Asturian and Spanish. Data used is from an episode of a non-scripted TV show broadcasted in Asturian, which was transcribed and analyzed specifically for this study. The results show that language mixture between Asturian and Spanish occurs at different linguistic levels (i.e., conversation, intonation unit, clause, phrase, and word). Mixtures at the word level and in possessive articles are further analyzed. This study also bares several theoretical implications such as superstratum and substratum interference (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988), the Matrix Language-Frame model (Myers-Scotton, 1993), structural borrowing (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988), and language mode (Grosjean, 2011). It discusses that Asturian speakers in the data source are speaking in bilingual language mode, and their production in Asturian exhibits structural borrowing from Spanish. Furthermore, certain Asturian features have been systematically replaced by Spanish features, implying that another consequence of contact with Spanish may be language change. Since Asturian and Spanish are typologically very similar, I suggest that these changes, although seemingly minor, may be a symptom of language shift. Since this study deals with typologically close languages, it raises questions that may advance our understanding of language contact.

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though I don't see them that much anymore, we are still there for each other; Adam's family for their hospitality (especially Laura for making sure I had my weekly dose of pancakes); and Adam, because he rocks.

Peace and love x

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1. Introduction

This thesis deals with the language contact situation in the province of Asturias, in northwestern Spain, between Asturian and Spanish. Specifically, I look at the Asturian spoken by some Asturian speakers. Since Asturian is in a subordinate position to Spanish, my goal is to determine if Asturian is shifting or borrowing from Spanish, and if so, to point out some of the changes it may be undergoing due to this contact situation. In this preliminary study, I analyze an episode from the game show *Faciendo'l mono*, broadcasted in Asturian, in order to find where language mixture occurs, focusing at the word level and possessive articles. This analysis has shown that speakers mix Asturian and Spanish when speaking Asturian at different linguistic levels, and that some features from Asturian are being replaced by the Spanish equivalents. I also apply several theoretical frameworks to the data to explain the language mixture between Asturian and Spanish that speakers produce when speaking Asturian. These frameworks include superstratum and substratum interference (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988), the Language Matrix-Frame Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993), structural borrowing (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988), and language mode (Grosjean, 2011). Since Asturian and Spanish are closely related languages, I claim that some of these models are more difficult to apply to language mixture from similar languages.

Language contact occurs when two languages come into contact and they interact. Several phenomena may arise depending on a series of factors, like the type of contact, the attitudes of the speaker communities, or even typology of the languages in contact (Thomason, 2001). Language contact is a global phenomenon and can occur between typologically distant or close languages, as well as genetically related or not (Thomason, 2001). Thomason and Kaufman (1988) explain the three outcomes that can occur if language contact occurs under intense

cultural pressure, i.e., when speakers of a subordinate language must learn the dominant language. These outcomes include sudden language death (in one generation), language shift (more than one generation), and language borrowing (subordinate language speakers are linguistically and culturally loyal).

To my knowledge, a study about language mixture between closely related languages is not as common as studies about mixture between very different languages. Asturian and Spanish are genetically related languages, as both descend from varieties of Latin spoken in the Iberian Peninsula. Asturian and Spanish are also relatively close typologically, as their structures are mostly similar, but not always.

This thesis is organized as follows. In section 2, I give background information on the notion of language contact and two of its outcomes, focusing on language contact in Asturias, and I explain linguistic differences between Asturian and Spanish that are relevant for this study. In section 3, I explain how I collected my data. In section 4, I provide an analysis of language mixture found in the data, focusing at the word level. In section 5, I discuss the implications of my analysis with respect to theories of language mixture and change. In section 6, I summarize my study and offer further research guidelines.

2. Background review

In this section, I describe the concept of language contact, explaining two of its outcomes (language mixture and language change), and introducing frameworks that explain why they occur. I also describe the languages of Spain, concentrating on the contact between Spanish and Asturian. I focus on speakers' attitudes towards Asturian, and the degree of endangerment of Asturian, as well as the linguistic differences between Spanish and Asturian.

2.1. Language contact

Thomason (2001) provides a general understanding of the concept of language contact and its characteristics. Language contact occurs when two or more languages interact, and bilingual or multilingual speakers, fluent or not, communicate using these languages. Language contact can have three different outcomes: i) language change, ii) extreme language mixture, or iii) language death. Language change occurs when languages borrow lexical, structural items, or both. Extreme language mixture occurs when speakers do not fully learn each other's languages, resulting in the emergence of a pidgin and sometimes a creole. Language death occurs due to language shift, when speakers of one of the languages eventually shift to the other language.

This study enhances our understanding of language contact because it examines contact between two typologically similar languages while most of research in the field looks at mixes between typologically distinct languages.

2.1.1. Language mixture

i) Superstratum and substratum interference

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) explain the difference between superstratum and substratum languages. Superstratum languages are those that are dominant to other language(s) in political, economic, and cultural ways. Substratum languages are those that are in a

sociopolitically subordinate position. In these situations, superstratum languages provide loanwords to the substratum languages, whereas substratum languages provide more grammatical structures. For instance, the case of French lexicon infiltrating the English lexicon following the Norman invasion is an example of superstratum interference (Filppula, 2013). On the other hand, Irish English, or the English spoken in Ireland, shows influence from Irish, the substratum language (Noonan, 2013).

ii) The Matrix Language-Frame Model

The Matrix Language-Frame Model was created in order to analyze intrasentential code-switching from a linguistic perspective (Myers-Scotton, 1993). This model states that when speakers code switch, one of the languages acts as the Matrix Language (ML), and the other one acts as the Embedded Language (EL). The Matrix Language provides a morphosyntactic frame and the Embedded Language provides other elements.

Myers-Scotton (1993) states that there are three types of code-switched data: i) ML + EL constituents (EL provides a lexical item and ML provides morphemes), ii) ML islands (only ML morphemes, following ML rules), and iii) EL islands (only EL morphemes, following EL rules). In (1) below, I provide examples of mixture between Swahili and English of the three types of code-switched data introduced by Myers-Scotton (1993); Swahili is underlined and English is in bold. In (1a) we see ML+EL constituents: Swahili provides morphemes (Matrix Language) and English provides two lexical items (Embedded Language). In (1b) we see both ML and EL islands: ML islands are from Swahili (underlined), and EL islands are from English (in bold).

- (1) a. ML+EL constituents
Leo siku**come na** **books** zangu.
'Today I didn't come with my books'

(Myers-Scotton, 1993: 80)

b. ML islands (underlined> and EL islands (bold)

Nimemaliza kutengeneza vitanda nikawash all the clothing na weve bado maliza na kitchen.

'I have finished making the beds and I washed all the clothing and you haven't yet finished the kitchen'

(Myers-Scotton, 1993: 80)

iii) Structural borrowing

According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), borrowing occurs when speakers of a language incorporate foreign features into their language. These authors provide a borrowing scale where the first elements to be borrowed into a language are content words, and speakers of the receiving language do not need to be bilinguals. Figure 1 below shows a simplified version of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale that can be found in Matras (2013). However, Thomason (2001) adds that this borrowing scale may not be closely followed when the two languages in contact are typologically very similar, as casual contact may already yield structural borrowing because borrowing occurs more easily between typologically similar structures.

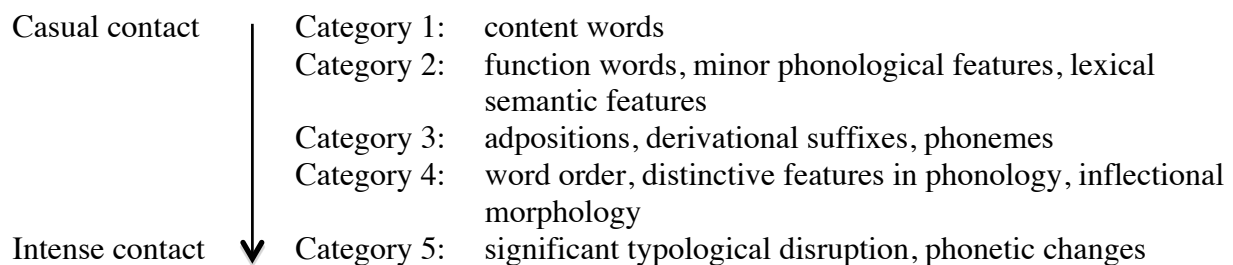


Figure 1: Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale, as found in Matras (2013)

According to this scale, if the receiving language's speakers are under long-term cultural pressure and become bilinguals, structural features (especially phonology, morphology, and syntax) may be borrowed as well. Thomason (2001) provides examples of structural borrowing in other language contact situations: several of Chukchi's conjunctions were borrowed by

Siberian Yupik (which later affected Yupik's subordinate constructions); or Asia Minor Greek borrowed agglutinative noun morphology from Turkish.

iv) Bilingual language mode

Grosjean (1994) explains that bilingual speakers are in a situational continuum, and depending on their interlocutors, they will be in different language modes. When their interlocutors are monolinguals, bilingual speakers try to speak in just one language so that communication is more efficient. When speaking to other bilinguals with whom they share languages, they are in 'bilingual language mode', meaning that they have more chances of mixing the languages they speak. In bilingual language mode, bilinguals adopt a base language, and may mix the guest language in different ways (borrowing form and meanings, or even code-switching). When bilinguals are in monolingual mode, they can produce transfers (linked to their competence in the language) or interferences (intrusions from the other language) (Grosjean, 2011). Figure 2 below summarizes the language mode proposed by Grosjean (2011).



Figure 2: Monolingual language mode vs bilingual language mode (based on Grosjean, 2011).

2.1.2. Language change

Contact-induced language change depends on a series of social and linguistic factors (Thomason, 2001, 2013). Social factors include intensity of contact (cultural pressure, time, number of speakers, and dominance vs. subordination between the language communities), speakers' attitudes, and the absence or presence of imperfect language learning. The only linguistic factor exclusive to externally motivated change is the typological distance between the languages in contact, but other factors like universal markedness and degree of integration into

the system also affect contact-induced language change. All these factors imply that there seems to be a continuum of possible outcomes in language contact. For example, in a case of intense contact conditions, speakers of the receiving language might start borrowing features and basic vocabulary from the source language (Thomason, 2013). Table 1 below outlines the social and linguistic factors involved in language contact.

| Factors involved in language contact | |
|---|--|
| Social | Linguistic |
| Intensity of contact Not intense ↔ Intense | Typology Different ↔ Similar |
| Speakers' attitudes Positive ↔ Negative | Universal markedness Unmarked ↔ Marked |
| Language learning Complete ↔ Incomplete | Degree of integration to the language Integrated ↔ Not integrated |

Table 1. Factors involved in language contact according based on Thomason (2001).

In order to consider that language change was externally caused, Thomason (2013) provided five different criteria that must be met. First, it is important to not consider just one structural feature that might have come from a source language into a receiving language; the whole receiving language must be considered. Second, a source language that was in contact with the receiving language must be identified. Third, we need to find shared features between the two languages in contact (these features do not need to be the same in the two languages). Fourth, these features need to be old in the source language, i.e., they must not be innovations. Fifth, these features need to be new in the receiving language, i.e., they did not exist until in contact with the source language. In any case, Thomason (2013) also defended that a combination of both internal and external causes might be a better explanation of language change than having to decide between the two.

Some examples of language change in other language contact situations found in Thomason (2001) include the loss of tones in Wutun, a Chinese language, due to influence from Amdo Tibetan and Monguor, both nontonal languages; the loss of Greek voiced and voiceless interdental fricative phonemes in Asia Minor due to influence from Turkish, which does not have interdental fricatives in its phonemic inventory; or the loss of vowel harmony rules in Uzbek due to influence from Tajik.

2.2. Languages of Spain

There are several languages spoken in Spain. The map below (Figure 2) shows where the languages are spoken in the country. Currently, Spanish (3 in the map) is the official language of the whole territory, and Aranese (number 5), Basque (number 7), Catalan (number 4), Galician (1), and Valencian (a distinct variant of Catalan – also number 4) are all co-official languages in specific regions (Ethnologue, 2017). There are also languages that are not official but are recognized: Asturian or Leonese (number 8), and Aragonese (number 6) (Ethnologue, 2017). Another language spoken in Spain is Extremaduran (number 2) (Ethnologue, 2017). The number 3 area is considered monolingual Spanish, whereas the other areas are bilingual in Spanish and another language. All the languages spoken in Spain are Romance languages, except for Basque, which is an isolate.

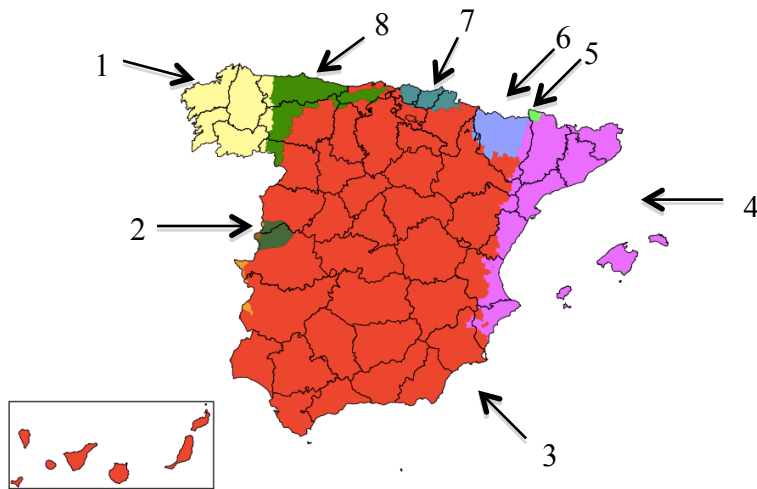


Figure 3. Map of languages spoken in Spain (from *Wikipedia*, accessed on 4/16/2017, numbers were added).

2.3. Language contact in Asturias

Asturias is a region located on the northern coast of Spain. The languages spoken in Asturias are Asturian and Spanish, and they are considered distinct Romance languages. Several differences that are relevant to this study will be discussed in section 2.4. Although the Spanish constitution recognizes languages like Galician, Basque, or Catalan as co-official in their respective territories, Asturian is not considered a co-official language in Asturias. Instead, Asturian is protected by Article 4 of the Estatuto de Autonomía, which just grants that the use of Asturian will be protected. Asturian is taught as an elective course in primary and secondary school in Asturias, but it is never the language of instruction, as the rest of the courses are taught in Spanish. The government of Asturias uses Spanish as its official language, as Asturian is not official.

González Quevedo (2001) explains that what is happening in Asturias is asymmetrical bilingualism: while most of the population knows and communicates in Spanish, only a small part of the population also knows and communicates in Asturian. Moreover, the use of Asturian

in public settings tends to be related to comedy, whereas Spanish is normally used to discuss serious issues (Teso Martín, 2015).

The Academia de la Llingua Asturiana (ALLA) was founded in 1980 with the objective of normalizing the language and contributing to its officialization (Barnes, 2013). ALLA published *Gramática de la Llingua Asturiana*, a prescriptive grammar of the language, in 1998, and *Diccionariu de la Llingua Asturiana*, a dictionary of the language, in 2000. ALLA based its prescriptive grammar in the central dialect of Asturian instead of the eastern or western dialects because most of the Asturian population concentrates in the center of the province.

Due to Spanish and Asturian being in contact for centuries, the dialect of Spanish spoken in the area shares features with Asturian (Barnes, 2013) and Asturian speakers show also interference from Spanish (D'Andrés, 2014). The mixture of the two languages is popularly referred to as Amestau (Barnes, 2013, D'Andrés, 2014). Amestau can also be considered a continuum in the sense that some speakers use an Asturian version of Spanish, and some other speakers use a Spanish version of Asturian (D'Andrés, 2014). Although the term Amestau may carry negative connotations for some speakers, my usage of the term in this study is neutral to refer to the mixture of Asturian and Spanish.

2.3.1. Asturian in the language endangerment scale

According to Ethnologue's Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale based on Fishman (1991), Asturian is in level 6b (Threatened) of the endangerment scale. Lewis and Simons (2009) explain that in level 6b languages are not in a stable diglossic situation, i.e., the high language is starting to overtake domains typically reserved for the low language; intergenerational transmission is not occurring fully as some parents are not transmitting the

language to their children; and few members of the community may be aware of the endangerment of their language.

Another aspect that may be also contributing to the endangerment of Asturian is the relationship between Spanish and Asturian, which involves cultural pressure from Spanish. Since Spanish is the official and prestigious language, is used by the media, and speakers must be able to speak it to find employment, Asturian is under cultural pressure from Spanish. Moreover, speakers' attitudes towards Asturian tend to be negative. In 2.3.2. I discuss and give specific examples of these attitudes.

2.3.2. Language attitudes in Asturias

Language attitudes in Asturias are strong: Barnes (2015), D'Andrés (2002), González-Quevedo (2001), and Viejo Fernández (2004) agree that Asturian is still considered an incorrect variation from Spanish by a lot of Asturian speakers for different reasons: the absence of Asturian in education up until the 1980s, the marginal representation of Asturian in education once it was introduced, and the absence of Asturian in the media and the government. This implies that many speakers of Asturian or Amestau consider the way they speak a negative deviation from Spanish, the norm.

These attitudes still persist today. González Quevedo (2001) includes a series of real life stories of Asturian speakers. The first one describes the life of a 50-year-old woman that grew up speaking Asturian and thinking that she did not know how to speak correctly. After realizing that Asturian was a different language from Spanish, she has contributed to Asturian literature. Her situation is clearly diglossic: she speaks Spanish to express sophisticated thinking because she associates Asturian with everyday life.

The second story in González Quevedo (2001) describes the life of a 40-year-old Asturian teacher who as a student already thought positively about Asturian revitalization efforts. He speaks normalized or prescriptive Asturian after attending language courses. Because of his experiences, he has made friends in these courses, and also now participates in a union for the defense of Asturian.

The third story in González Quevedo (2001) describes the life of an Asturian peasant farmer in his sixties, who has spoken Asturian since childhood and only learned Spanish in school. He has a hard time speaking Spanish. He is used to the media being in Spanish, and his speech shows interference from Spanish¹. At first he was against Asturian being taught as an elective course in schools, because he did not think it was a good investment. He believes that Asturians do not know how to speak correctly, as their Spanish is far from the standard. He wants his children to speak Spanish in order to go further in life. Interestingly, he also believes that “a good Asturian should speak [Asturian] well,” and he considers Asturian part of the Asturian identity (González Quevedo, 2001: 180).

The fourth and last story in González Quevedo (2001) describes the life of a young former student who has dropped from university and is unemployed. He is interested in Asturian, has attended courses, and now teaches the language. His Asturian is normalized and prescriptive. He does not have a favorable view of diglossia, and believes that Asturian is at the heart of Asturian identity, and if it is not respected, other problems that Asturians face are not going to be solved. He values multilingualism and multiculturalism.

¹ E.g. loss of some phonemes. See section 5 for specific examples from the current study.

² The symbols used by Academia de la Llingua Asturiana do not follow IPA. Instead, they are symbols traditionally used in Hispanic Linguistics. In this thesis, IPA is given in slashes // for

In summary, these four stories provide four different views of the Asturian language. The two older speakers seem to have conflicting views in the sense that even though they acquired Asturian as kids, they have also grown up thinking they did not know how to speak correctly and one of them now knows that Asturian is its own language. The two younger speakers show interest in Asturian and have learned it in class: their Asturian is based on the prescriptive grammar proposed by the Academia de la Llingua Asturiana.

More language attitudes about Asturian can be found in the comment section of newspaper articles that deal with the language. For example, Asturian is currently in a position where it may be introduced as one of the languages of schools (El Comercio, 2017). Newspaper articles that discuss this include comment sections where the majority of commentators do not believe this is a good idea, as they do not think it is a good investment. Comments against having Asturian as a language in schools include worries about children not learning English, which according to commentators “has more future”; worries about other problems that Asturians face that should be tackled instead of imposing a language “that is not spoken”; worries about money invested in “garbage”; worries about making children learn a language that is not official, etc. (El Comercio, 2017). Some comments are in favor, and published in Asturian as well. Newspaper articles that inform about progress in normalizing Asturian normally receive a similar backlash as shown above.

2.4. Linguistic differences between Asturian and Spanish

Asturian and Spanish are distinct Romance languages. This subsection provides the phoneme inventories of the two languages, as well as some morphosyntactic differences between the two that will be relevant to this study.

2.4.1. Phonological differences

Both Asturian and Spanish have the same five vowels. Two close vowels (one of them front, the other one back and rounded), two mid-open vowels (one of them front, the other one back and rounded), and an open mid vowel, as shown in Figure 3 below.

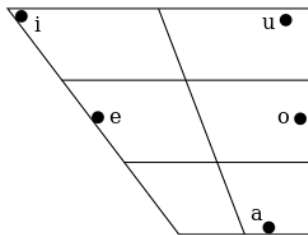


Figure 3. Spanish and Asturian vowel chart (from Ladefoged and Johnson, 2010: 227).

Regarding consonants, Tables 2 and 3 below show that the consonant inventories of the two languages are mostly similar, although some sounds from Latin evolved differently in the two languages. The only sound that Asturian has that Spanish does not is the palatal fricative /ʃ/, and the only sound that Spanish has that Asturian does not is the velar fricative /x/. For example, the word *joven* /xoben/ ‘young’ in Spanish is *xoven* /ʃoben/ in Asturian. These two sounds are shaded in the tables. More differences arise in the way Latin evolved in the two languages, for example, *hacer* /aθer/ ‘to make’ in Spanish is *facer* /faθer/ in Asturian, because Spanish lost the phoneme /f/ in syllable initial position (Penny, 2006). Another example that shows the different way Latin evolved in Asturian and Spanish is laterals, as in *leche* /letʃe/ ‘milk’ in Spanish is *llechi* /ketʃi/ in Asturian.

| | Bilabial | Labiodental | Dental | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar |
|-------------|----------|-------------|--------|----------|---------|-------|
| Plosives | p b | | t d | | | k g |
| Fricatives | | f | θ | s | ʃ | |
| Affricates | | | | | tʃ dʒ | |
| Nasals | m | | | n | ɲ | |
| Taps/ flaps | | | | r | | |
| Trills | | | | r | | |
| Laterals | | | | l | ʎ | |

Table 2. Asturian consonant chart (based on Academia de la Llingua Asturiana, 1999: 36)²

| | Bilabial | Labiodental | Dental | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar |
|-------------|----------|-------------|--------|----------|----------------|-------|
| Plosives | p b | | t d | | | k g |
| Fricative | | f | θ | s | | x |
| Affricates | | | | | tʃ dʒ | |
| Nasals | m | | | n | ɲ | |
| Taps/ flaps | | | | r | | |
| Trills | | | | r | | |
| Laterals | | | | l | ʎ ³ | |

Table 3. Spanish consonant chart (based on Martínez Celdrán et al, 2003: 255)

2.4.2. Morphosyntactic differences

Regarding morphosyntactic differences between the two languages, I only include those that are relevant to this study. I explain differences between some verb morphology, some noun morphology, and clitic placement.

i) Verb morphology

² The symbols used by Academia de la Llingua Asturiana do not follow IPA. Instead, they are symbols traditionally used in Hispanic Linguistics. In this thesis, IPA is given for in slashes // for phonemes where necessary.

³ Many dialects of Spanish have lost the phoneme /ʎ/ in favor of the glide /j/ (Alvar, 2000). This phenomenon, called *yeísmo* in Spanish, is less prevalent in northern Spain, where Asturian is spoken, but it is starting to occur in younger generations (Frago García, 1996).

These languages express perfective aspect in different ways. Spanish normally expresses it through compound forms, which are formed by the finite verb *haber* followed by the main verb participle. On the other hand, Asturian has two different ways to express perfective aspect: in a compound formed by the finite verb *tener* followed by the main verb participle, or with a simple form that coincides with imperfect subjunctive. According to *Gramática de la Llingua Asturiana* (1999), the periphrastic combination of *tener* and participle would imply that the action has been repeated in the past. In the compound forms, both languages have the finite verb agree in person and number with the subject of the verb. Example (2) below includes an example in both languages: compound forms in both languages follow a similar structure, but Asturian's simple form is not found in Spanish. Both (2a) and (2b) are compound forms, and (2c) provides the Asturian simple form that would denote perfective aspect.

(2) 'They have sung'

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| a. Spanish: | Ellos PRO.SUJ.3.PL. | ha-n have-3.PL.PRES | cant-ado sleep-PART |
| b. Asturian: | Ellos PRO.SUJ.3.PL.MASC | tien-en have-3.PL.PRES | cant-ao sleep-PART |
| c. | Ellos PRO.SUJ.3.PL.MASC | cant-aran sing-3.PL.IMPF.SUBJ. | |

ii) Noun morphology

Regarding noun morphology, the languages differ in gender and ending forms. Spanish has masculine and feminine gender, whereas Asturian has masculine, feminine, and neuter. In both languages, there are no semantic properties that signal that a noun should be assigned masculine or feminine gender for inanimate nouns (Roca, 2005). Neuter morphology in Asturian, on the other hand, is assigned to abstract or collective entities, regardless of the root of the word being masculine or feminine (Viejo Fernández, 2002). Example (3) below shows an example of

Asturian where there is a difference in meaning between a noun expressed in masculine, and the same noun expressed in neuter.

(3) 'hair' (a specific hair) 'hair' (generally)

Asturian:

pel-u
hair-MASC.SG.

pel-o
hair-NEU.

Spanish:

pel-o
hair-MASC.SG.

pel-o
hair-MASC.SG.

Regarding ending forms, Asturian and Spanish differ in the endings of masculine singular and feminine plural nouns. The common Spanish ending for masculine singular nouns is *-o*, whereas in Asturian it is *-u*. The common Spanish ending for feminine plural nouns is *-as*, whereas in Asturian it is *-es*. It is important to point out that both languages have endings that do not follow these patterns (Roca, 2005); for example, the Spanish word *tema* (*theme* in English) is in fact masculine, or the Asturian word *mano* (*hand* in English) is feminine and its plural form is *manes*. It is also worth noting that the endings I offer for Asturian are the ones chosen by ALLA in their prescriptive grammar. These were chosen because they were the ones present in the central variety of Asturian, where most of Asturian speakers can be found. In this study, all the speakers are from central Asturias; thus I conclude that the endings proposed by ALLA are the ones that they ought to be using. Example (4) shows a case of a masculine singular noun in Spanish and Asturian, and example (5) a case of feminine plural noun in Spanish and Asturian.

(4) 'the book'

Asturian:

el llibr-u
ART.DEF.MASC.SG. book-MASC.SG.

Spanish:

el libr-o

ART.DEF.MASC.SG. book-MASC.SG.

(5) 'the houses'

Asturian:

les cas-es
ART.DEF.FEM.PL. house-FEM.PL.

Spanish:

las cas-as
ART.DEF.FEM.PL. house-FEM.PL.

Possessive articles in noun phrases also differ in the two languages. Spanish possessive articles consist of a form that expresses person and number of possessor and displays agreement with the number of the following noun. Asturian possessive articles consist of two forms: the first form agrees in gender and number with the head of the phrase, the second form expresses the person and number of the possessor and also agrees in number with the head of the phrase. Example (6) includes a case of a first person singular possessive article followed by a feminine plural noun, and example (7) a case of a third person singular possessive article followed by a masculine singular noun.

(6) 'my mugs'

Asturian:

les mio-s taz-es
ART.DEF.FEM.PL. POSS.1.SG.-PL mug-FEM.PL.

Spanish:

mi-s taz-as
ART.POSS.1.SG.-PL. mug-FEM.PL.

(7) 'her/his plate'

Asturian:

el so plat-u
ART.DEF.MASC.SG. POSS.3.SG. plate-MASC.SG.

Spanish:

su-Ø plat-o
ART.POSS.3.SG.-SG plate-MASC.SG.

iii) Clitic placement

Finally, regarding clitic placement, Spanish only allows enclisis with non-finite verb forms, whereas Asturian requires it in affirmative simple clauses with a finite verb (Lorenzo, 1994). Both languages require proclisis in questions and negative sentences, as well as complex clauses. In (8a) below, I exemplify how the clitic placement differs in affirmative simple clauses with a finite verb between the two languages, in contrast with (8b), where I give an example of a negative simple clause, and both languages require proclisis.

(8) a. Affirmative simple clause

“I called you yesterday”

Spanish:

Te llam-é ayer.
OBJ.PRO.2.SG. call-1.SG.PRET. yesterday

Asturian:

Llam-é=te ayeri.
call-1.SG.PRET.=OBJ.PRO.2.SG. yesterday

b. Negative simple clause

“I did not call you yesterday”

Spanish:

No te llam-é ayer.
NEG. OBJ.PRO.2.SG. call-1.SG.PRET. yesterday

Asturian:

Nun te llam-é ayeri.
NEG. OBJ.PRO.2.SG. call-1.SG.PRET. yesterday

2.5. Summary

This section has examined language contact in the northwestern Spanish region of Asturian, explaining language attitudes in this area, and the degree of endangerment of the Asturian language. I also explained some key grammatical differences between Asturian and Spanish that will be examined in this study. Next, I explain how I gathered and analyzed the data in this study.

3. Methods

3.1. Data source

The data used in this research was collected from the game show *Faciendo'l mono* (in English “doing stupid things”), broadcasted by RTPA (Radiotelevisión del Principáu d’Asturies, the Asturian TV channel) on December 17th 2015. *Faciendo'l mono* is broadcasted in Asturian, in contrast with other programs like news reports, which are broadcasted in Spanish by RTPA. This coincides with the idea expressed by Teso Martín (2015), who considers that Asturian and Spanish are in a diglossic situation: Asturian is used for comedy, whereas Spanish is used for serious matters. This TV show started to air in February 2015, and consisted of 138 episodes, ending in December 2015. Each episode lasts approximately 30 minutes.

The show is hosted by four presenters (Joaquín⁴, Pedro, Alberto, and Flora), and two participating contestants work together to gain points. The show is composed by four different sections: (i) El Monosabiu, presented by Pedro, which consists of questions about Asturias that the two contestants need to answer; (ii) Los Tres Monos, presented by Alberto, where the contestants need to complete three different activities (guessing a character, understanding a sentence while listening to loud music, and guessing a movie); (iii) El Pintamonas, presented by Joaquín, where the contestants need to draw and guess different objects; and (iv) Moni Moni, presented by Flora throughout the program: she appears between each section to tell an important episode in Asturian history. At the end of the show, each of the other three presenters give three different endings to Flora’s story, and the contestants guess who is telling the truth. The whole episode broadcasted on December 17th 2015 was used for this study. The reason this episode was

⁴ The rest of the presenters show a variation in the pronunciation of Joaquín’s name. Sometimes the Asturian version *Xuacu* is used, but he is introduced as *Joaquín* in the opening credits. I will use *Joaquín*, since it is the form preferred in the opening credits.

chosen is that it was the last 30-minute *Faciendo'l mono* episode broadcasted when I started the transcription process.

3.2. Data motivation

Although the use of a TV show may be rare in a linguistic study, there are different reasons why I considered it appropriate, ranging from accessibility to methodological implications. First, this TV show is broadcasted in Asturian and is accessible through the RTPA's website. *Faciendo'l mono* was a good place to gather data for this preliminary study since online databases, such as CHILDES, do not include Asturian, and collecting data in the field was not an option due to lack of time and funding⁵. Similarly to Zenner et al (2015), which studied English loanwords and phrases in a Dutch reality TV show, *Faciendo'l mono* provides high quality recordings in the language I want to study. This TV show is a game show, it is not scripted as opposed to sitcoms, dramas, or soap operas, and thus it provides spontaneous conversations. Only one of the hosts can have the opportunity to read questions, the rest of the speakers speak spontaneously. Second, code-mixing occurs in natural circumstances, and spontaneous conversations are among the most natural uses of language because participants concentrate on the content instead of on the form (Nortier, 2008). Third, the observer's paradox, a process in which the presence of the researcher may affect the way that observed speakers speak, is avoided by using a TV show, i.e., since the researcher was not present when the TV show was filmed, speakers were unaware that their language use was being observed for the purpose of research (Labov, 1972; Matsuoka, 2002, Hernández-Campoy, 2014). The presence of the researcher can make the conversation less spontaneous, and as a consequence, less natural (Nortier, 2008). For this reason, some researchers leave the room or ask speakers to record

⁵ It was not possible to travel across the world to Asturias while I was doing this study.

themselves on their own time to reduce the degree of observer's paradox. Even so, there seems to be a case that this paradox may occur in obtaining Asturian spoken data. Taking into account the language attitudes discussed in section 2, there is a risk that speakers will alter the way they normally speak when observed. González-Quevedo (2001) noted that Asturian informants tend to hide their linguistic roots when questioned by researchers or research assistants, implying that Asturian speakers would probably alter the way they speak if they knew they were being observed for a study. Since neither the presenters nor the contestants of *Faciendo'l mono* knew that their speech was going to be analyzed and the premise of the TV show was to speak Asturian, this show is a good resource for my study as it definitely avoids the observer's paradox. Finally, technological progress means that new methods can be developed to collect language data (Hernández-Campoy, 2014), i.e., technology allows linguists to devise new ways to gather data.

3.3. Data processing

The last episode was chosen to be analyzed for this study and was transcribed on the linguistic annotator ELAN (Wittenburg, 2006). Since the episode included six different speakers (four presenters and two contestants), each of them was assigned a parent tier. Intonation units were transcribed in these parent tiers. Each parent tier had five different dependent tiers: Asturian, Spanish, Asturian phonology and Spanish morphosyntax, Spanish phonology and Asturian morphosyntax, and morphology, as shown in Figure 4 below.

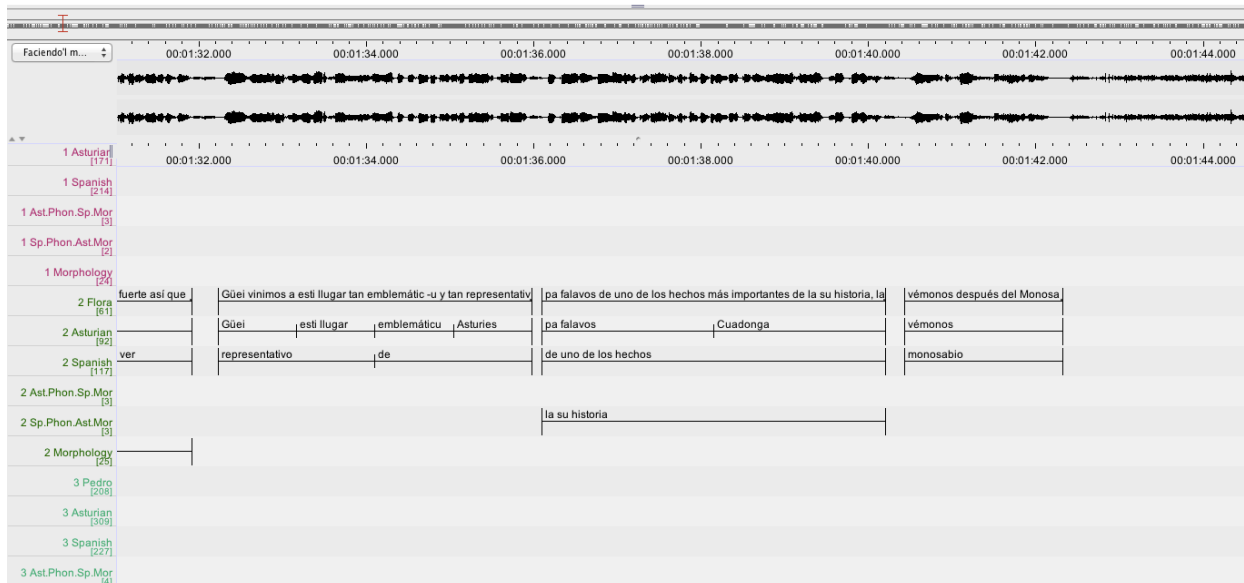


Figure 4. Screenshot of ELAN tiers used in the study.

Since some expressions in Asturian and Spanish are identical, these were not identified as any of the languages specifically; whenever speakers used an Asturian word (and clearly not a Spanish word) I transcribed it in the Asturian tier; and whenever speakers used a Spanish word (and clearly not an Asturian word), I transcribed it in the Spanish tier. Sometimes speakers would use words or phrases in Amestau⁶, i.e. a mix of Asturian and Spanish, and these were transcribed in the third and fourth tiers depending on the nature of the mixed word or phrase. The morphology tier was added to specify the language in which different verb tenses were used. Parent tiers to classify Amestau intonation units, clauses, phrases, and words, were later added, in order to identify different levels in which code-switching between Asturian and Spanish occurs. In table 4 below I define each level considered for this study. These definitions are based on Du Bois et al (1993) and Aarts (1997).

⁶ In this study, I use the term *Amestau* to refer to the mixture between Asturian and Spanish, regardless of how much of each language contributes to the mixture.

| Level | Definition |
|-----------------|--|
| Conversation | A dialogue between at least two people in the show. |
| Intonation Unit | An utterance delimited by the speaker making a pause to breathe. |
| Clause | A combination of phrases that includes a finite verb. |
| Phrase | A group of words. |
| Word | Orthographic word. |

Table 4. Levels analyzed in this study, and their definitions for this study.

In Figure 5 below, I provide another screenshot of the analysis on ELAN which include the level in which language mixture occurred.



Figure 5. Screenshot of ELAN tiers, showing the level tiers added later.

In order to find out how much Asturian and Spanish each speaker used, I marked the intonation units depending on whether speakers used words that could be considered Asturian, Spanish, or both. Intonation units that were unintelligible were also marked to exclude them from the analysis. I identified the number of intonation units that speakers uttered in Asturian, Spanish, a mix of both, or any of Asturian or Spanish when all the forms in a unit could be Asturian or Spanish and there was no way to distinguish between the two. Since Asturian and Spanish are similar languages, sometimes it is not possible to determine whether an utterance is in either of the languages; for example, “cinco puntos por pregunta acertada” (in English “five

points for question answered correctly”), may be considered Asturian or Spanish. In order to be accurate, I typed different capital letters on ELAN: Y on the Spanish tier to mark an intonation unit in Asturian, Z on the Asturian tier to mark an intonation unit in Spanish, and X on the Spanish and Asturian tiers to mark an intonation unit that could be both languages. This allowed me to gather exact numbers from ELAN, which could be classified by speakers, and could then be turned to percentages showing to what extent Asturian, Spanish, a mix of both (Amestau), or any of them were used in the show.

Although I classified the utterances into these categories based on my knowledge of Asturian, as I am a passive user of Asturian, when I was not entirely confident whether an utterance was Asturian or Spanish, I consulted online tools available at the Academia de la Llingua Asturiana’s website (*Gramática de la Llingua Asturiana* or *Diccionariu de la Llingua Asturiana*), and at the Real Academia Española’s website, in order to help with the transcription and the correct classification of words as Asturian, Spanish, or Amestau. Both sources use a prescriptive approach to language; i.e., they establish what is correct or incorrect in these languages. This implies that my study will also provide data on how the speakers in the TV show deviate from the established norms.

3.4. Data analysis

Once the show had been transcribed and utterances had been classified into different categories, I organized words that showed a mix of Asturian and Spanish on Excel, and created databases (Appendices 1 and 2). These words were phonologically transcribed as pronounced in the show. Phonemic transcriptions showing the equivalent of the words in Asturian and Spanish were also included. Finally, words were classified according to grammatical category, and according to what aspect from Asturian and Spanish they showed: phonology, morphology,

syntax, and lexicon. Since some of the words were problematic to classify, I included them in Appendix 4.

Amestau noun phrases formed by a possessive article and a noun head were also chosen for this analysis. In order to find them, I used the search function with a simple regular expression on ELAN. Once all of these noun phrases were found, I organized them into Excel, and I created a new database, Appendix 3, which includes all of them.

Finally, in order to analyze the levels in which Asturian and Spanish are mixed, I searched for examples in the tiers named as intonation units, clauses, phrases, and words.

3.5. Summary

After choosing a data source, transcribing the data, and organizing it into different databases or appendices, I proceeded to analyze the data from the game show. In the following section, I provide an analysis.

4. Analysis

As explained in previous sections, the purpose of this study is to examine language mixing patterns in the utterances of the speakers in the game show. This will provide suggestions on further studies with respect to the Asturian-Spanish language contact situation. As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis aims to address three analytical goals. First, it aims to find out where Amestau, the mix of Asturian and Spanish, can be found according to different levels (speech event, intonation unit, sentence, phrases, and words). Second, it attempts to analyze manners of language mixing patterns focusing at the word level utilizing the transcripts as data. The reason I am focusing at the word level is that it was reasonable to create an exhaustive list of Amestau words for the purpose of this study. Included in these words are those expressions that are contained within a word in Asturian, but expressed through more than one word in Spanish. Third, since all the cases of possessive articles followed by nouns showed obvious similarities among them, my study also offers an analysis of these forms.

4.1. Language mixture in Faciendo'l Mono

Language mixture is a phenomenon that can be found between many different languages. In (9) below I provide examples from language mixture in other languages, such as the mixture that can be found between English and Lwidakho in Western Kenya (Myers-Scotton, 2007) between Spanish and Portuguese in the border between Spanish-speaking countries and Brazil (Lipski, 2013), Spanish and English in the US (observed), and Russian and Belarusian (Grenoble, 2013). Each mix provided in (9) below is an example of mixture in different linguistic levels: (9a) is a case of a dialogue (English is underlined, Lwidakho in bold), 9b) a clause (Spanish underlined, Portuguese in bold), (9c) a phrase (Russian underlined, Belarusian in bold), and (9d) a word (Spanish underlined, English in bold).

(9) Instances of language mixing

- a. Dialogue mix of English and **Lwidahko**

A: Tell us about X place. How are the people treating you?

B: X is fine, the people are OK, but as you know, the people are very tribalistic.

Nuwatsa kwanalani navo ni miima jiavo.

‘But now I am used to their behavior.’ (Myers-Scotton, 2007: 105)

- b. Mix in clause between Spanish and **Portuguese**

vejo las novelas

‘I watch soap operas’ (Lipski, 2013: 571)

- c. Mix in phrase between Russian and **Belarusian**

iakie **sapožki**

‘what boots’ (Grenoble, 2013: 594)

- d. Mix in word between Spanish and **English**

esteras

‘stairs’ (observation)

In the episode of *Faciendo'l Mono*, Amestau was found across the same language levels: conversation, clause, phrase, word, and also in intonation units. Below, I provide an example of mixture for each of the levels. When an element of the example appears in bold it is Asturian, when it appears underlined it is Spanish. If no bold or underlined font, the element could be considered any of the two languages. I give an interlinear analysis for each example: the first line is the data as uttered in the show, the second line is the gloss, and the third line includes a free translation of the example.

An instance of conversation where speakers code-switched Asturian and Spanish can be found in (10) below. Pedro, one of the hosts, asks a question in Asturian to Rubén, and Rubén replies in a mix of Spanish and Asturian. If Rubén had replied only in Asturian he would have said *tipu* and *d’Asturies*.

(12) Mixture at the clause level

Pedro: Rubén, ¿qué grup-o asturian-o represent-ó
Rubén what band-MASC.SG. Asturian-MASC.SG. represent-PAST.3.SG.

a España n'el festival de Eurovisión
Spain in.'ART.DEF.MASC.SG. festival of Eurovision

de-l añ-u 2013?
of-ART.MASC.SG. year-MASC.SG 2013?

‘Rubén, what Asturian band represented Spain in the 2013 Eurovision festival?’

The next level where I looked for Amestau mix was the phrase level. Example (13) below is such a case, where the head of the phrase is in Asturian, and the numeral is in Spanish. If this phrase were only in Asturian, it would express the numeral as *venti*.

(13) Mixture at the phrase level

Pedro: Veinte **entrugu-in-es.**
Twenty question-DIM-FEM.PL.

‘Twenty little questions.’

Amestau can also be found at the word level, i.e., Asturian and Spanish are in some cases mixed within a word. Example (14) is a case of Amestau at the word level. The pronunciation of the word *drawing* in Asturian is /dibufu/, *dibuxu* in orthography; whereas the pronunciation in Spanish is /dibuxo/, orthographically *dibujo*.

(14) Mixture at the word level

Joaquín: Dibuj-**u.** /dibufu/
Drawing-MASC.SG.

‘Drawing.’

In summary, this subsection has explained and provided examples of language mixing between Asturian and Spanish according to different discourse levels: conversation, intonation

unit, sentence, phrase, and word. In the next subsection, I provide an analysis of the language mixture focusing on the word level.

4.2. Amestau words

The second goal of my study involves the analysis of the Amestau words uttered in the show, including those that are considered more than one word in Spanish. There are 12 words that show a clear mix of Spanish and Asturian. Some words that were originally considered as Amestau examples were not included in the final analysis because they were too ambiguous to analyze. A form was considered ambiguous when there were two possible ways to analyze it: as a mix between Asturian and Spanish, or as a Spanish form if shared with other dialects of Spanish. Since the latter analysis implies that a similar language change has happened in other dialects of Spanish, and I had no way to prove Asturian played a role in the forms in the data, these ambiguous forms were not taken into account in this study because they could be Spanish cases. In (15) below, one of these ambiguous cases is provided. The compound verb form *habían ganao* in (15a) below was found in the data, and it can be analyzed as a mix between Asturian and Spanish, but it can be found in other dialects of Spanish. Viejo Fernández (1998) explains that a compound verb form in Asturian can be made using the verb *tener*, ‘to have’ and a participle taking the shape of the Asturian neuter adjective; however, the meaning of this compound would be slightly different to the Spanish compound. In Asturian, *tenían ganao* means that the action was repeated in the past; the same grammatical meaning as the Spanish compound would be expressed *ganaran* in Asturian. In (15b) I provide the compound Asturian form similar to the form found in the data, taking into account Viejo Fernández (1998)’s explanation. In (15c), I provide the Standard Spanish version of the example.

(15)

- | | | | |
|----|---|----------------------------|----------------|
| a. | <u>hab-ían</u> have-PAST.3.PL. 'they had won' | <u>ganao</u> win-PART. | /abian ganao/ |
| b. | ten-ían have-PAST.3.PL. 'they had won' | ganao win-PART. | /tenian ganao/ |
| c. | <u>hab-ían</u> have-PAST.3.PL. 'they had won' | <u>ganado</u> win-PART. | /abian ganado/ |

Summarizing, although the example in (15a) could be interpreted as the result of contact between Spanish and Asturian, it is important to notice that participles in many different dialects of Spanish have undergone a change whereby the intervocalic [ð] of the participle suffix was deleted through a process of lenition (Penny, 2002). Thus, I am not analyzing similar examples in this study. A list of ambiguous forms found in the transcription are compiled in Appendix 4.

In my analysis, I classified the words that showed a clear mix between Asturian and Spanish into two main groups, depending on the type of language mixture involved. The first group includes those words that combine elements from Asturian morphosyntax and elements from Spanish phonology. The second group includes those words that combine elements from Spanish morphosyntax and elements from Asturian phonology and/or Asturian lexicon.

4.2.1. Amestau words: Asturian morphosyntax and Spanish phonology

There were 7 words, including expressions contained within a word in Asturian, classified into this group. The full list can be found in Appendix 2. These words include 3 nouns, 1 adjective, and 1 adverb and 2 verbs followed by clitic pronouns.

Example (16a) below offers an interlinear analysis of word 1 in Appendix 2 and its phonemic transcription. (16b) provides the Spanish equivalent, and (16c) the Asturian equivalent. As shown below, the Amestau form is composed of a root that incorporates the sound

/x/, found in the Spanish phoneme inventory, but not in the Asturian phoneme inventory, whereas the masculine singular suffix *-u* is characteristic of Asturian. The English translation for this example is ‘game’.

(16) ‘game’

| | | |
|-------------|---------------------------------|----------|
| a. Amestau | jueg- u game-MASC.SG. | /xweg-u/ |
| b. Spanish | jueg-o game-MASC.SG. | /xweg-o/ |
| c. Asturian | xueg-u game-MASC.SG. | /fweg-u/ |

Example (17a) below includes another Amestau form. It is a verb that can be classified as having morphosyntactic Asturian structure because it is followed by clitic pronouns, =*vos=lo*, but the Asturian phoneme /f/ has been replaced with the Spanish phoneme /x/. This is word 7 in Appendix 2. In (17b) I provide the Spanish equivalent, and in (17c) the Asturian equivalent. I give phonemic transcriptions for all cases.

(17) ‘you (pl) risk it’

| | | | | |
|-------------|--|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| a. Amestau | jug-áis= vos=lo risk-PRES.2.PL.=REFL.OBJ.PRON.2.PL.=OBJ.PRON.NEU.3.SG. | /xugajs= bos=lo / | | |
| b. Spanish | os REFL.OBJ.PRON.2.PL. | lo OBJ.PRON.MASC.3.SG. | jug-áis risk-PRES.2.PL. | /os lo xugajs/ |
| c. Asturian | xug-áis= <i>vos=lo</i> risk-PRES.2.PL.=REFL.OBJ.PRON.2.PL.=OBJ.PRON.NEU.3.SG. | /fugajs= <i>bos=lo</i> / | | |

As shown above, a similar pattern to example (16) emerges, in which the root of the word contains the sound /x/, found in the Spanish inventory, and not in the Asturian inventory, but the order of the complements of the verb is strictly Asturian. It appears that the Asturian phoneme /f/ has been replaced by the Spanish phoneme /x/.

In example (18) below, I include another Amestau form that follows the Asturian morphosyntactic structure, but that contains a phoneme that is found in the Spanish version of the word, /l/, instead of the Asturian /ʎ/. This form was pronounced this way by two different speakers. Example (18a) provides the Amestau form as used in the show, (18b) the Spanish form, and (18c) the Asturian form. Phonemic transcriptions are included.

(18) ‘words’

| | | |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. Amestau | palabr- <u>es</u> word-FEM.PL. | /pa <u>l</u> ab <u>r</u> es/ |
| b. Spanish | palabr-as word-FEM.PL. | /pa <u>l</u> ab <u>r</u> as/ |
| c. Asturian | pallabr-es word-FEM.PL. | /pa <u>ʎ</u> ab <u>r</u> es/ |

In (19) below, an example similar to (18) is provided. Here, the Asturian phoneme /ʎ/ has been replaced by the Spanish equivalent /l/, but the structure of the expression is Asturian. This example includes an infinitive verb followed by a clitic pronoun. In Asturian, when an infinitive is followed by a clitic pronoun, the final *-r* is omitted. This example is also problematic because of its clitic pronoun. The form used in the show could be interpreted as the Asturian neuter, or as the Spanish masculine singular. Since the speaker is talking about a *película* ‘movie’, which is a feminine singular noun, he probably just made an error when pronouncing the word. I include both interpretations in the interlinear analysis below. In (19a) I include the Amestau word used in the show, in (19b) the Spanish equivalent, and (19c) the Asturian form.

(19) ‘to read it’

| | | |
|------------|--|----------|
| a. Amestau | lee=lo read.INF=OBJ.PRO.NEU. // read.INF=OBJ.PRO.MASC.SG. | /leelo/ |
| b. Spanish | leer=lo read.INF=OBJ.PRO.MASC.SG. | /leerlo/ |

c. Asturian llee=lo /keelo/
 read.INF=OBJ.PRO.NEU.

Summing up, the data analyzed here shows the loss of the Asturian phonemes /ʃ/ and /k/ in favor of the Spanish phonemes /x/ and /l/ respectively, the preservation of Asturian masculine singular *-u* and feminine plural noun endings *-es*.

4.2.2. Amestau words: Spanish morphosyntax and Asturian phonology

In this subsection, I provide an analysis of those words where I found the opposite pattern as in the examples previously analyzed: words that contain Asturian sounds but follow Spanish morphosyntactic conventions. There are 5 words that follow this pattern. They can be accessed in Appendix 1. Four of them are verbs (1 periphrastic verb, 1 verb preceded by pronouns, and 2 compound forms), and one is an adjective derived from a verb.

Example (20a) below includes an analysis of an Amestau form found in the data, number 2 in Appendix 1. In (20b) I include the Spanish equivalent, and in (20c) the Asturian equivalent. The Amestau form in this case follows the Spanish syntactic convention because the pronouns are expressed before the finite verb, instead of the Asturian syntactic convention, where pronouns become clitic in declarative sentences. The form of the object pronoun 2nd person plural, *vos*, is of Asturian origin.

(20) ‘I summarize it for you (pl)’

- | | | | |
|----|--|--------------------|----------------------|
| a. | <u>vos</u> | <u>lo</u> | <u>resum-o</u> |
| | OBJ.PRO.2.PL | OBJ.PRO.NEU.3.SG. | summarize-PRES.1.SG. |
| b. | os | lo | resum-o |
| | OBJ.PRO.2.PL | OBJ.PRO.MASC.3.SG. | summarize-PRES.1.SG. |
| | ‘I summarize it for you (pl)’ | | |
| c. | resúm-o=vos=lo | | |
| | summarize-PRES.1.SG-IND.=OBJ.PRO.2.PL.=OBJ.PRO.NEU.3.SG. | | |

Example (21a) below corresponds to number 3 in Appendix 1, (21b) is the Spanish equivalent, and (21c) the possible Asturian equivalents (the first form is the verb periphrasis introduced earlier in 4.2., and the second form is a simple form). Phonemic transcriptions are given to all cases. The Amestau form in (21a) contains the phoneme /j/ in its root, characteristic of the Asturian, in contrast with Spanish /x/. The form it takes in terms of morphology, using the verb *haber* instead of *tener*, follows the Spanish convention.

(21) ‘they had worked’

| | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| a. | <u>ha-yan</u> have-PAST.SUBJ.3.PL. | trabay-ao work-PART. | /ajan trabajao/ |
| b. | hayán have-PAST.SUBJ.3.PL. | trabajado work-part. | /ajan trabaxado/ |
| c. | tuvieren have-PAST.SUBJ.3.PL. | trabayao work-PART. | /tubjeren trabajao/ |
| | OR | | |
| | trabayaren work-PAST.SUBJ.3.PL. | /trabajaren/ | |

In sum, this section analyzed two different kinds of language mixture that I found in the data from the game show. The first type includes cases where Spanish phonology is combined with Asturian morphosyntax, and the second type includes cases where Asturian phonology is combined with Spanish morphosyntax. This will be further discussed with respect to outcomes of language contact in section 5.

4.3. Possessive articles and nouns

The third goal of my study is to analyze nouns preceded by possessive articles. There are twenty cases of this type of noun phrase. Of these twenty cases, six follow Spanish conventions, one follows Asturian conventions, and thirteen follow the Asturian morphological paradigm but with the Spanish form of the possessive article. An exhaustive list is provided in Appendix 3.

In (22a) below, I provide an Amestau form used in the TV show, number 4 in the appendix. In (22b) I provide the Spanish equivalent, in (22c) the Asturian equivalent. The form used in the TV show combines the morphology of Asturian (it includes an article and a possessive, as well as an Asturian ending in the noun) with Spanish phonology (the possessive form is Spanish).

(22) Mix in possessive article
'your (sg) glass'

| | | | |
|-------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a. Amestau | el ART.MASC.SG. | <u>tu</u> POSS.2.SG. | vas- u glass-MASC.SG. |
| b. Spanish | tu POSS.2.SG | vas-o glass-MASC.SG. | |
| c. Asturian | el ART.MASC.SG. | to POSS.2.SG. | vas-u glass-MASC.SG. |

(22a) may be interpreted as a case of metaphony or vowel harmony, since the ending of the noun in the high back vowel /u/ could have potentially been extended to the Asturian possessive article, originally ending in the mid back vowel /o/; i.e. the mid back vowel /o/ of the possessive could have been raised to /u/ because of the influence of the masculine singular noun ending. According to this analysis, Asturian and Spanish bilinguals could have associated the possessive element of the Asturian possessive article with the Spanish possessive article, and applied this rule to the rest of the Asturian possessive articles. However, it must be noted that the vowel in the first syllable of *vasu* has not been raised, which may indicate that metaphony is not the cause of the use of the form *tu* instead of *to*.

The pattern in (22a) was followed in thirteen more cases in the show. Example (23a) below includes a case with the first person singular possessive. In (23b) the Spanish equivalent is given, and (23c) includes the Asturian equivalent.

(23) ‘my career’

| | | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Amestau | la ART.FEM.SG. | <u>mi</u> POSS.1.SG. | carrer-a career-FEM.SG. |
| b. Spanish | mi POSS.1.SG. | carrer-a career-FEM.SG. | |
| c. Asturian | la ART.FEM.SG. | mio POSS.1.SG. | carrer-a career-FEM.SG. |

In (24a) below I show example number 13 in Appendix 3, which is the only one that follows Asturian conventions. However, it is worth noting that this case is still technically following the patterns showed in (22) and (23), because the form of the first person plural feminine possessive article is identical in both Spanish and Asturian. This implies that (24a) could be considered Asturian (shown in 24c), but taking into account that the element that has been changed for the Spanish equivalent in the other examples, i.e., the possessive, is identical in Spanish and Asturian, there is no way to know for certain if it is Asturian or just following the Amestau paradigm, which I offer in (24c), based on the paradigm observed in previous examples.

(24) ‘our generation’

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. Form in show | la ART.FEM.SG. | nuestr-a POSS.1.PL-FEM.SG | quint-a generation-FEM.SG. |
| b. Asturian | la ART.FEM.SG. | nuestr-a POSS.1.PL-FEM.SG | quint-a generation-FEM.SG. |
| c. Amestau | *la ART.FEM.SG. | nuestr-a POSS.1.PL-FEM.SG | quint-a generation-FEM.SG. |
| d. Spanish | nuestr-a POSS.1.PL-FEM.SG | quinta generation-FEM.SG. | |

4.4. Summary

In this section I have provided information on when the mix of Asturian and Spanish appears according to different levels (conversation, intonation unit, clause, phrase, and word), I have analyzed the words where Amestau occurs, and I have also analyzed the mix in a specific noun phrase (possessive article + noun). In the next section, I discuss the implications of the results of this analysis.

5. Discussion

The previous section showed an analysis of the different levels in which Amestau was used in the data, as well as the morphosyntactic and phonological mixture observed at the word level, and in the case of nouns preceded by possessive articles. This section discusses the implications of the previous analysis. I discuss language contact and how this applies to the findings of this study, examining language mixture between Asturian and Spanish, and a series of elements that evidence that Asturian is undergoing language change. In order to analyze language mixture, I apply the frameworks already described in section 2 (superstratum and substratum interference, the Matrix Language-Frame model, structural borrowing, and language mode).

5.1. Language contact

Two of the three outcomes of language contact introduced by Thomason (2001) are observed in this study: language mixture and language change. Next, I discuss the implications of this study regarding language mixture and language change.

5.1.1. Language mixture

i) Superstratum and substratum interference

As explained in section 2, superstratum interference occurs when a superstratum language provides loanwords to the substratum language, whereas substratum interference occurs when a substratum language provides grammatical structures to the superstratum language.

In the case of Asturian and Spanish, taking into consideration that Asturian has never been an official language in the territory where it is spoken, whereas Spanish enjoys that status and is considered prestigious, it makes sense to consider that Spanish is the superstratum language and Asturian is the substratum language.

A problem derived from Asturian and Spanish being very closely related languages is that it is not always possible to distinguish when the lexicon used by the speakers of the show belonged to Asturian or Spanish. However, following the theoretical background exposed previously, it would be logical to assume that the lexicon used by the speakers came from Spanish, whereas the structures were Asturian. This does not always apply to the data found in this study. In the data, some of the lexicon has Asturian origin and would only be intelligible to a speaker of Asturian. Example (25) below is a case of an Asturian root, *topar*, which means ‘to find’. Regarding structures, the data shows structures that appear to come from both Asturian and Spanish. Examples (26) and (27) below exemplify how the structures found in the data have origins in the two languages. Example (26) is a case where the syntactic structure is Spanish, and example (27) is a case where the syntactic structure is Asturian.

(25) Lexicon from Asturian

| | |
|----------------|------------|
| hab-ía | topao |
| have-3.SG.IMP. | find-PART. |
| ‘he had found’ | |

(26) Structure from Spanish

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| vos | lo | resum-o |
| OBJ.PRO.2.PL | OBJ.PRO.NEU. | summarize-PRES.1.SG. |
| ‘I summarize it for you’ | | |

(27) Structure from Asturian

| |
|---|
| jug-áis=vos=lo |
| gamble-PRES.2.PL.=REFL.OBJ.PRON.2.PL.=OBJ.PRON.NEU. |
| ‘You (pl.) gamble it’ |

It seems that language mixture between Spanish and Asturian, possibly because of the lexical similarities between the two languages, is more difficult to classify. The use of superstratum and substratum to analyze two closely related languages can be challenging because of the difficulty of finding the origin of the lexical items that speakers use. Even though

some Spanish lexical items have completely different forms in Asturian, most of them resemble each other, as Spanish and Asturian are both Romance languages.

ii) The Matrix Language-Frame Model

As explained in Section 2, the Matrix Language-Frame Model provides a model to analyze intrasentential code-switching (i.e. code-switching that occurs within a sentence), in which a Matrix Language provides a frame and an Embedded Language contributes some elements. According to Myers-Scotton, there are three types of code-switched data: i) ML+EL constituents (ML provides morphosyntax, EL provides lexical items), ii) ML islands (chunks that only follow ML grammar), and iii) EL islands (chunks that only follow EL grammar). It is difficult to apply this model to the language mixture found in the data, since the languages that are being mixed are very similar and in some instances the data could be considered any of the languages. In (28) below, I provide an example that can be analyzed using the Matrix Language-Frame Model in two ways. Asturian elements are in bold, Spanish elements are underlined.

(28) “Sabemos que les neñes van a ir a la final pola puntuación”

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----|-----------------|-----------------|--------|---------------------|---------------|----------|
| Sab-emos | | que | les | | neñ-es | <u>van</u> | <u>a</u> |
| know-PRES.1.PL. | | that | ART.DEF.FEM.PL. | | girl-FEM.PL. | go.PRES.3.PL. | to |
| <u>ir</u> | a | la | | final | po-la | | |
| go.INF. | to | ART.DEF.FEM.SG. | | finale | for-ART.DEF.FEM.SG. | | |
| puntuación | | | | | | | |
| score | | | | | | | |

Asturian: “Sabemos que les neñes van dir a la final pola puntuación”

Spanish: “Sabemos que las niñas van a ir a la final por la puntuación”

Gloss: “We know that the girls are going to go to the finale because of their score”

As shown above, most of the sentence could be considered any of the two languages. It is only when grammatical features differ between the two languages that we can tell speakers are using one or the other. In (28) above, the noun phrase *les neñes* (‘the girls’ in English) appears in

Asturian, but it is immediately followed by *van a ir* ('are going to go' in English), which is Spanish. Later in the sentence the speaker switches back to Asturian in *pola* ('because of the' in English). We could consider that the speaker is speaking Asturian during the whole sentence except for a Spanish island; in this case, the Matrix Language would be Asturian and the Embedded Language would be Spanish. On the other hand, we could consider that the speaker's Matrix Language is Spanish and inserts Asturian islands. In any case, those parts that are the same in both languages are difficult to analyze, since they are not possible to classify as belonging to just one language. In (29) below, I provide an example that is more difficult to analyze:

(29) "palabres"

palabr-es /palabres/
 word-fem.pl.

Asturian: "pallabres"
 Spanish: "palabras"
 Gloss: "words"

The root of the word in (29) could be considered both Asturian and Spanish. The ending is clearly Asturian, but the sound /l/ in the root denotes that the phonology of the word follows the Spanish form. The Matrix Language-Frame Model is not easily applied here, and in the following section I analyze the data using another framework: structural borrowing.

iii) Structural borrowing

As explained in section 2, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) consider that when speakers of a language incorporate foreign features into their language, this is structural borrowing. It is appropriate to evaluate if structural features from Spanish have been introduced into the Asturian found in the data for various reasons. As Thomason (2001) explains, borrowing can occur between typologically similar languages even in casual contact, and as mentioned in section 2,

Therefore, structural borrowing is a framework that accounts for the mixture of Asturian and Spanish, even though they are typologically similar.

iv) Bilingual language mode

As explained in Section 2, Grosjean (1994, 2011) proposes that bilingual or multilingual speakers have different language modes depending on whom they are talking to. If speaking to a monolingual speaker, bilingual speakers will try to only speak in one language, occasionally showing transfers or interferences from the other language. If on the other hand they are speaking to another bilingual, they know that they can borrow elements from both languages and code-switch because this will not hinder communication.

The Asturian speakers in the show are likely to be bilinguals and assumed to be in a bilingual mode for the following reasons: (i) the hosts and participants speak Spanish because they must have had education in Spanish as it is expected in Asturias (Asturian is not an official language, so citizens must speak Spanish in order to communicate in official contexts, like schools, hospitals, government, etc.), (ii) they are speaking Asturian in the game show as the program was developed to promote the use of Asturian, and (iii) the viewers are probably bilinguals as the show is broadcasted in Asturias where citizens are also bilinguals. This implies that the speakers in the show feel free to borrow from Spanish or code-switch between Asturian and Spanish, because they know that everybody they are talking to is bilingual of Asturian and Spanish. This coincides with my analysis, since superstratum and substratum interferences do not explain the mixture found in the data. The Language Matrix-Frame model does work with some examples but leaves room for ambiguity when the data could be considered any of the two languages. Structural borrowing, on the other hand, can be applied to all the data.

5.1.1.1. Summary of theoretical frameworks and Amestau

Given that the Asturian speakers must be bilinguals of Asturian and Spanish, they must be in bilingual language mode through the episode. This means that they cannot show transfers or interferences from Spanish when speaking Asturian, and therefore must be borrowing from Spanish or code-switching. Since Asturian and Spanish are very similar and share many lexical items, sometimes it is impossible to classify parts of an utterance as either of the languages. For this reason, the Language Matrix-Frame Model may prove difficult to apply to the data gathered in this study. However, this does not imply that the speakers are not code-switching, but that this model is difficult to apply to data from similar languages. Taking into account that Asturian speakers have been under long-term cultural pressure from Spanish and are bilingual, and Asturian and Spanish are typologically similar, it makes sense to consider that structural borrowing is the reason behind the language mixture displayed by the speakers in the show. This implies that structural borrowing seems to be a more appropriate way to analyze these data.

5.1.2. Language change

As explained in section 2, Thomason (2013) provides five different criteria that need to be met in order to consider that language change has been externally caused. These five conditions are: (i) consider the receiving language as a whole, not just one feature; (ii) identify a source language; (iii) find shared features between the two languages; (iv) features must not be innovations in the source language; and (v) features need to be new in the receiving language. In my study, the five conditions proposed by Thomason (2013) are met: (i) I consider not just one feature of Asturian, but several (noun endings, clitic placement, and possessive articles); (ii) I identify Spanish as the source language of those changes; (iii) there are shared features between the two languages (even though the features may be expressed differently in the two languages –

like the possessive articles); (iv) the features I consider are old in Spanish (i.e., any feature that can be considered new in Spanish was discarded as ambiguous), and (v) the features must be new in Asturian (I did not find evidence of them being used previously in Asturian). In the data analyzed in section 4, I observed that the Asturian spoken by the speakers of the show presented several features that have Spanish origin, i.e. they have been externally caused. I consider that what may have started as simply structural borrowing may be a case of language change. Here I consider four features from Asturian that are being replaced by Spanish features: two phonemes (/ʃ/ and /x/), clitic placement, and possessive articles.

i) Loss of /ʃ/

The Asturian phoneme /ʃ/ seems to be lost in favor of the Spanish phoneme /x/ in the words analyzed in this study. /ʃ/ is not a phoneme in Spanish and /x/ is not a phoneme in Asturian. In the show, words containing /ʃ/ in Asturian are produced with the characteristic Spanish /x/. Example (33) below shows the four words in Appendix 2 that have undergone this change. All of these words follow Asturian morphosyntactic conventions. (33a) and (33b) are nouns that have a masculine singular ending *-u*, (33c) is a participle that has a masculine singular ending *-au*, and (33d) is a finite verb with two clitic pronouns attached at the end of the verb. All these are characteristic of Asturian morphosyntax. The first column lists the original Asturian pronunciation of the words, the second column lists the pronunciation of the words according to the data, and the third column lists English glosses. I have marked the sound that has changed in bold font.

(33) Examples of loss of /ʃ/

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------|---|----------------------|----------------------|
| a. | /ʃwegu/ | → | /xwegu/ | ‘game’ |
| b. | /dibuʃu/ | → | /dibuxu/ | ‘drawing’ |
| c. | /areʃuntau/ | → | /arexuntau/ | ‘cohabitated’ |
| d. | /ʃugaisboslo/ | → | /xugaisboslo/ | ‘you (pl) gamble it’ |

ii) Loss of /ʎ/

Even though the phoneme /ʎ/ exists in both Asturian and Spanish⁷, its distribution is different. In many occasions, lexical items that are similar between Asturian and Spanish, Asturian uses the phoneme /ʎ/ and Spanish uses the phoneme /l/. For example, the word *llibru* ‘book’ in Asturian is pronounced /ʎibru/, whereas the word *libro* in Spanish is pronounced /libro/. Examples found in the data that have lost /ʎ/ are included in (34) below. (34a) is a noun with a feminine plural ending *-es*, and (34b) is an infinite verb with a neuter clitic pronoun attached to it. These are characteristic of Asturian. Their pronunciation, however, shows a clear interference from Spanish, as the characteristic Asturian sound /ʎ/ is now replaced by the characteristic Spanish sound /l/. The first column lists the original Asturian pronunciation of the words, the second column lists the pronunciation of the words according to the data, and the third column lists English glosses. It is worth noting that (34a) was produced by more than one speaker.

(34) Examples of loss of /ʎ/

- | | | | | |
|----|------------|---|------------|--------------|
| a. | /paʎabres/ | → | /palabres/ | ‘words’ |
| b. | /ʎee=lo/ | → | /lee=lo/ | ‘to read it’ |

iii) Clitic placement instability

In the data analyzed in section 4, word order was involved in examples that included clitic pronouns attached at the end of finite verbs. This is characteristic of Asturian. Spanish does not attach clitic pronouns at the end of finite verbs (enclisis), but has them appear before the finite verbs (proclisis). There are two cases where the morphology, phonology and the syntax of both languages are mixed. In (35) below, the examples are given and contrasted. (35a) shows a

⁷ Most dialects of Spanish do not have /ʎ/ as a phoneme. Traditionally, /ʎ/ is a phoneme found in Spanish dialects of northern Spain, where the data was recorded, although it is common to find that /ʎ/ is being substituted by /j/ in younger generations (Frago Garcia, 1996).

case that mixes Asturian morphosyntax, because the clitic pronouns are attached to a finite verb, and Spanish phonology, because the phoneme /x/ is not a phoneme in Asturian, but a Spanish phoneme. The form in (35b) shows a case that mixes Spanish syntax, because the clitic pronouns are no longer attached to the finite verb, and Asturian morphology, because the form of the first object pronoun *vos* is Asturian, not Spanish. The first column lists the way these expressions would have been if said in Asturian, the second column lists them as expressed in the data, and the third column lists English glosses.

(35) Examples of clitic placement instability

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|---|--|-------------------------------|
| a. | xugais=vos=lo /ʃugaisboslo/ | → | jugais= vos =lo /xugais=bos=lo/ FIN.VERB=PRO=PRO | ‘you (pl) risk it’ |
| b. | resumo=vos=lo /resumoboslo/ | → | vos lo <u>resumo</u> /bos lo resumo/ PRO PRO FIN.VERB | ‘I summarize it for you (pl)’ |

The examples shown in (35) above are not entirely similar, as they differ in the agreement or disagreement between the person and number of the personal object pronoun and the person and number of the verb. In (35a), the verb agrees with the object pronoun (both are second person plural), whereas in (35b) the verb is conjugated in first person singular, and the object pronoun is second person plural.

iv) Possessive articles

In section 4.3., I analyzed the structure of possessive articles as found in the TV show. Out of twenty cases of possessive articles, six were pronounced with the Spanish form, thirteen were pronounced in Amestau, and only one form out of twenty could be considered Asturian. A typical possessive article following the Amestau paradigm is shown in (36) below. The form in

the show (36a) mixes Asturian and Spanish, as it follows the Asturian structure of definite article followed by a possessive (shown in 36b), but the form of this possessive is Spanish (in 36c).

(36) ‘my beauty’

| | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| a. Form in the show | la ART.FEM.SG. | mi POSS.1.SG. | belleza beauty |
| b. Asturian | la ART.FEM.SG. | mio POSS.1.SG. | belleza beauty |
| c. Spanish | | mi POSS.1.SG. | belleza beauty |

The only form that follows the Asturian paradigm technically also follows the Amestau paradigm. This form is in (37) below. Both the Asturian form in (37b) and the Amestau form in (37c) coincide with the form used in the show.

(37) ‘our generation’

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. Form in show | la ART.FEM.SG. | nuestr-a POSS.1.PL-FEM.SG | quint-a generation-FEM.SG. |
| b. Asturian | la ART.FEM.SG. | nuestr-a POSS.1.PL-FEM.SG | quint-a generation-FEM.SG. |
| c. Amestau | la ART.FEM.SG. | nuestr-a POSS.1.PL-FEM.SG | quint-a generation-FEM.SG. |
| d. Spanish | | nuestr-a POSS.1.PL-FEM.SG | quinta generation-FEM.SG. |

If example (37) was understood as an Amestau form, it is important to point out that no forms found in the show follow the Asturian paradigm anymore. Fourteen out of twenty cases would be a mixture between Asturian and Spanish. This may be understood as another language change occurring because of contact with Spanish.

5.1.2.1. Summary of language change

Since the data shows that some Asturian phonemes are being replaced by Spanish phonemes, clitics seem to be unstable as they follow both Asturian and Spanish word order rules, and the possessive articles do not follow Asturian conventions, it is worth considering that Asturian might be actually undergoing language shift. This is also supported by the fact that Asturian is, sociopolitically, in a vulnerable position compared to Spanish.

5.2. Summary

In this section I have discussed the implications of the analysis in section 4. Contact between Spanish and Asturian has produced language mixture and possibly language change in the Asturian spoken by the speakers in the show used for this study. Language mixture is a product of structural borrowing or code-switching, as the speakers must be in bilingual language mode during the episode. The fact that some Asturian phonemes (/f/ and /k/) are being replaced by Spanish phonemes may indicate that language change is happening. If so, this may be a symptom of language shift. It is important to note that because Asturian and Spanish are similar, this shift may not be evident and may be hard to identify as such.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has dealt with the language contact situation in Asturias, northwestern Spain, between two Romance languages: Asturian and Spanish. This situation is interesting because it deals with two closely related languages in contact; one of them in a position of prestige and the other one an endangered language. Data was obtained from a game show broadcasted in the Asturian TV channel and accessible online. An episode was transcribed using the linguistic annotator ELAN.

Speakers showed a great amount of mixture between the two languages when trying to speak Asturian. This mixture was found in different discourse levels (conversation, intonation unit, clause, phrase, and word). Mixture at the word level was further analyzed in order to find patterns of mixture. Some words mixed morphosyntactic structures from Asturian and phonemic features from Spanish, and vice versa. Noun phrases formed by a possessive article and a head noun were also analyzed, as most of them presented a similar mixture: the morphosyntactic structure from Asturian, with possessive forms from Spanish. I have argued that language contact between Asturian and Spanish has created language mixture and language change.

I have considered the data in terms of theoretical frameworks often utilized in language contact or language mixture: superstratum and substratum interference, the Matrix Language-Frame Model, structural borrowing, and language mode. Grosjean (2011) explains that bilinguals speak in bilingual language mode when they communicate with other bilinguals. This implies that they may code-switch or borrow structural features and lexical items from the languages they speak. Since most Asturian speakers are bilingual, it follows that the speakers in the TV show are in bilingual language mode. Language mixture between Asturian and Spanish must be, therefore, due to structural borrowing or code switching. Since the Matrix Language-Frame

Model poses some difficulties when analyzing the data in this study, I conclude that structural borrowing is the most adequate tool to analyze data of language mixture between closely related languages when speakers are speaking in bilingual language mode. However, it is important to note that even though the Matrix Language-Frame Model is difficult to apply to the data, speakers could still be code-switching.

Another consequence of language contact between Asturian and Spanish is language change. I argue that in the data language change is occurring because some Asturian features are being replaced by Spanish features. I also maintain that this may be a sign of possible language shift. This language shift may not be very noticeable because the two languages are similar.

The nature of the data in this study is naturalistic and not a designed experiment. This is particularly important in a case like Asturian, since speakers have strong language attitudes that may affect the way they speak if they know they are being studied (González-Quevedo, 2011). However, it is difficult to observe specific phenomena in detail because of the limited times they occur. Further research may include a combination of naturalistic data and elicitation experiments that draw specific kinds of data. Data elicitation has another advantage, as researchers are allowed to gather demographic information about the speakers, such as age, geographical origin, languages spoken, attitudes about Asturian, etc. Such method also allows researchers to include speakers with relatively balanced demography.

These data elicitation can target the language mixture and the language change observed in this study, like the pronunciation of words that include the sound /f/ in Asturian and /x/ in Spanish, clauses that include clitic pronouns, or possessive articles, in order to test the data gathered in this study. Another element to consider is Asturian lexicon: it would be helpful to know to what extent Asturian speakers know specific Asturian lexicon, in order to know the

extent of superstratum influence in Asturian. Although these elicitation must be designed carefully in order to ensure speakers do not modify their speech because they are being observed. Use of both elicitation and naturalistic data is likely to provide us with wide range of access to the ways in which speakers control their speech and enhance the study of language mixing.

It would also be helpful to study linguistic behavior based on different age groups so as to compare the speech of younger and older participants, and evaluate whether Asturian is shifting. In order to do this, participants in a future study may be classified into age groups to analyze features that characterize each of them, and the amount of mixing that each age group incurs on. The use of Asturian or Spanish can then be compared according to age groups to find out whether younger speakers, when speaking Asturian, borrow more elements from Spanish than older speakers.

Finally, although this is a preliminary study, it sheds light on language mixture in general and contributes especially to the field of language mix between two closely related languages. Analyzing language mixture between typologically similar languages is challenging as shown in this thesis, yet seems to highlight crucial issues that need to be discussed but may not be noticed if only analyzing mixture between very different languages. For this very reason, and because of the nature of a preliminary study, this thesis offers a range of possible topics to be considered in future research.

Abbreviations

1 – first person
2 – second person
3 – third person
ART – article
DEF – definite
DIM - diminutive
FEM – feminine
FIN - finite
FUT – future
IMPF- imperfect
MASC – masculine
NEU - neuter
OBJ – object
PART - participle
PAST - past
PL - plural
POSS - possessive
PRES – present
PRET - preterite
PRO - pronoun
SG - singular
SUBJ – subjunctive
SUJ - subject
VERB - verb

Appendix 1. Forms with Spanish morphosyntax and Asturian phonology.

| # | Form in data | Asturian | Spanish | English Gloss | Syntactic Category |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | vais a falar /bais a falar/ | vais falar /bais falar/ | vais a hablar /vais a ablar/ | you (pl) are going to talk | Periphrastic Verb |
| 2 | vos lo resumo /bos lo resumo/ | resúmovoslo /resumoboslo/ | os lo resumo /os lo resumo/ | I summarize it for you | Verb + pronoun + pronoun |
| 3 | hayán trabayao /ajan trabajao/ | tuvierén trabayao /tubjeren trabajao/ OR trabayaren /trabajaren/ | hayán trabajao /ajan trabaxado/ | they had worked | Verb |
| 4 | había topao /abia topao/ | tenía topao /tenia topao/ OR topara /topara/ | había encontrado /abia enkontrado/ | s/he had found | Verb |
| 5 | paecío /paeθio/ | paecíu /paeθiu/ | parecido /pareθido/ | similar | Adjective |

Appendix 2. Forms with Asturian morphosyntax and Spanish phonology.

| # | Form in data | Asturian | Spanish | English Gloss | Syntactic Category |
|---|------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | juegu /xwegu/ | xuegu /fwegu/ | juego /xwego/ | game | Noun |
| 2 | palabres /palabres/ | pallabres /paʎabres/ | palabras /palabras/ | words | Noun |
| 3 | dibujju /dibuxu/ | dibuxu /dibuʃu/ | dibujo /dibuxo/ | drawing | Noun |
| 4 | arrexuntau /arexuntau/ | arrexuntau /areʃuntau/ | arrexuntado /arexuntado/ | cohabitated | Adjective |
| 5 | ahora-y /aorai/ | agora-y /agorai/ | ahora le /aora le/ | now ... him | Adverb + Pronoun |
| 6 | leelo /leelo/ | lleelo /leelo/ | leerlo /leerlo/ | to read it | Finite Verb + Pronoun |
| 7 | jugáisvoslo /xugaisboslo/ | xugáisvoslo /ʃugaisboslo/ | os lo jugáis /os lo xugais/ | you gamble it | Verb + Pronoun + Pronoun |

Appendix 3. Possessive article followed by a noun.

| # | Form in data | Asturian | Spanish | Phon. | Morph. | Lex. | English gloss |
|----|---|--|--|-------|--------|------|---------------------------|
| 1 | los mis collacios /los mis ko'laθios/ | los mios collacios /los mjos ko'laθios/ | mis compañeros /mis kompañeros/ | S | A | A | my partners |
| 2 | la su historia /la su istorja/ | la so historia /la so istorja/ | su historia /su istorja/ | S | A | A | her/his history |
| 3 | el tu vasitín /el tu basitin/ | el to vasitín /el to basitin/ | tu vasito /tu basito/ | S | A | A | your (sg) little glass |
| 4 | el tu vaso /el tu basu | el to vasu /el to basu/ | tu vaso /tu baso/ | S | A | A | your (sg) glass |
| 5 | la tu ración /la tu raθjon/ | la to ración /la to raθjon/ | tu ración /tu raθjon/ | S | A | A | your (sg) portion |
| 6 | la tu porción /la tu porθjon/ | la to porción /la to porθjon/ | tu porción /tu porθjon/ | S | A | A | your (sg) portion |
| 7 | el nuestro caricaturista /el nwestro karikaturista/ | el nuesu/ nwestru caricaturista /el nwestro karikaturista/ | nuestro caricaturista /nwestro karikaturista/ | S | A | A | our caricaturist |
| 8 | los sus fuertes /los sus fwertes/ | los sos fuertes /los sos fwertes/ | sus fuertes /sus fwertes/ | S | A | A | her/his strengths |
| 9 | al su marcador /al su markador/ | al so marcador /al so markador/ | su marcador /su markador/ | S | A | A | their score |
| 10 | el mi papel /el mi papel/ | el mio papel /el mjo papel/ | mi papel /mi papel/ | S | A | A | my role |

| # | Form in data | Asturian | Spanish | Phon. | Morph. | English Gloss |
|----|---|---|---|-------|--------|-----------------------|
| 11 | la mi belleza /la mi bejeθa/ | la mio belleza /la mjo bejeθa/ | mi belleza /mi bejeθa/ | S | A | my beauty |
| 12 | del su ejército /del su exerθito/ | del so exércitu /del su ejerθito/ | de su ejército /de su exerθito/ | S | A | of his army |
| 13 | la nuestra quinta /la nwestra kinta/ | la nuestra quinta /la nwestra kinta/ | nuestra quinta /nwestra kinta/ | S/A | A | our generation |
| 14 | la mi carrera /la mi karera/ | la mio carrera /la mjo karera/ | mi carrera /mi karera/ | S | A | my career |
| 15 | mi gimnasio /mi ximnasio/ | el mio ximnasiu /el mjo jimnasiu/ | mi gimnasio /mi ximnasio/ | S | S | my gym |
| 16 | mi madre /mi madre/ | la mio madre /la mjo madre/ | mi madre /mi madre/ | S | S | my mother |
| 17 | mi vida /mi vida/ | la mio vida /la mjo vida/ | mi vida /mi vida/ | S | S | my life |
| 18 | mi carrera artística /mi karera artistika/ | la mio carrera artística /la mjo karera artistika/ | mi carrera artística /mi karera artistika/ | S | S | my artistic career |
| 19 | tu padre /tu padre/ | el to padre /el to padre/ | tu padre /tu padre/ | S | S | your (sg) father |
| 20 | vuestro puesto /bwestro pwesto/ | el vuestru puestu /el bwestru pwestu/ | vuestro puesto /bwestro pwesto/ | S | S | your (pl) ranking |

Appendix 4: Ambiguous words (they can be found in dialects of Spanish)

| # | Form in data | Transcription | Category | Gloss |
|---|-----------------|------------------|------------|-----------------|
| 1 | hubieses pintao | /ubjeses pintaο/ | Verb | you had painted |
| 2 | hayan estao | /ajan estao/ | Verb | they had been |
| 3 | habían ganao | /abian ganaο/ | Verb | they had won |
| 4 | relajao | /relaxao/ | Participle | relaxed |
| 5 | aseguraο | /aseguraο/ | Participle | guaranteed |

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