



THE TWO SIDES OF COVERT PRESTIGE IN SPAIN: COGNITIVE VS AFFECTIVE COMPONENTS APPLIED IN LANGUAGE ATTITUDES' RESEARCH

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Abstract

This transversal study is framed within Sociolinguistics given the study's subject: Covert prestige in language attitudes, focused on Sociolinguistics' methodologies to improve our understanding of this phenomenon, providing a prospective nature. It's based on quantitative and qualitative data's analysis obtained from a large online anonymous survey in Murcia, a very stigmatized province from Spain (Muñoz Valero, 2019). This survey counts with 661 respondents and several sociodemographic variables were analysed: Sex, age, qualification, background, parents' background and social network.

Respondent's behaviour against their vernacular variety despite their maintenance corroborates covert prestige, a phenomenon detected before here (Boluda Nicolás, 2004; Bañón Hernández, 1993; Hernández Campoy & Jiménez Cano, 2004a, 2004b). According to Trafimov, Sheeran, Lombardo, Finaly, Brown & Armitage (2004), language attitudes are divided into two types depending on their nature: (1) Affective components, based on personal experiences, and (2) cognitive components, connected to models. This could be applied to language models which are related to sociolinguistic awareness (López Morales, 2004). When language models differ much from the vernacular variety, attitudes may work disharmoniously due to high levels of insecurity (Baker, 1992), causing covert prestige (Chambers, 1995).

This research's results provided three detected language-prestige's types depending on components' combination: (1) Both positive affective and cognitive component lead to positive open language prestige, consequently high language security levels, loyalty and maintenance; (2) Both negative affective component and cognitive component lead to high insecurity levels and a likely trend to standardization and dialectal/language death; (3) Positive affective components + negative cognitive components = covert prestige and, depending on the case, causing either language loyalty with high levels of insecurity, partial/moderate standardization or bidialectalism functioning as diglossia. Thus, my conclusions show how any language attitude research related to language insecurity must consider these components regarding methodology's design and analysis for a better understanding of each case and its implications.

Keywords

Sociolinguistics, Language Attitudes, Covert Prestige, Murcia, Spanish, Language Stigmatization, Language Insecurity, Affective Component, Cognitive Component

1. Introduction: The linguistic landscape of the Murcia Province: Historical roots and dialectal Features

1.1. Introduction: Geographical and demographic context

The Region of Murcia (*Región de Murcia*) is an autonomous community in southeastern Spain, bordered by Alicante (Valencian Community), Albacete (Castilla-La Mancha), and Almería/Granada (Andalucía). Its capital city, Murcia, anchors a territory of approximately 1, 518,486 inhabitants approx. (CREM, n.d.).



Figure 1.1. Political map of the Region of Murcia (The wall of maps, n. d.)

1.2. Historical identity: A crossroads of civilizations

Murcia's identity stems from millennia of multicultural influences. During the Iberian Peninsula's pre-modern era several peoples settled in different territories: Iberians, Carthaginians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans added the peninsula as part of the Roman Empire, later on Visigoths created their own kingdom and Arab-Muslims conquered most of the peninsula with the consequence foundation of the Muslim territory of Al-Andalus, where today's territories of Murcia were part of. Post-medieval migrations brought Castilians, Aragonese, Catalans, Jews, and Mudéjares (Muslims under Christian rule). Eight centuries later Christians from the North conquered the whole peninsula. This was the end of the Middle Age in Europe, when Columbus voyage towards American lands too place. In terms of language landscape, in Murcia the vulgar latin spoken during and after the Roman Empire was in close language contact with arab and another roman language: Catalan, spoken in Catalonia, Balearic Islands and Valencia. After Jaime of Aragon's 1296 annexation, Castilian coexisted with Catalan, later fusing with Aragonese, Valencian, Arabic, and Mozarabic substrates.

2. Murcian speech: dialectal classification and features

2.1. Southern dialect group

Murcian speech (*hablas murcianas*) belongs to Spain's southern dialect continuum, alongside Extremaduran, Andalusian, and Canarian varieties. These considered "transitional dialects" share blurred boundaries, extending beyond Murcia into Alicante's Segura Shire. Below are summarized some of the most characteristic features of the Murcian dialect/geolect (Muñoz Garrigós, 2008).

2.1.1. Phonological traits

Some of the key features include the following phonological traits:

- *Yeísmo*: Merging *ll* and *y* (e.g., *lluvia* → *yuvia*).
- S-Aspiration: Omitting syllable-final /s/ ("*comerse las eses*").
- L/R Neutralization: Interchanging /l/ and /r/ (*arma* for *alma*).
- Consonant Weakening: Dropping intervocalic /d/ (*dormío* for *dormido*).
- Nasal infixes (e.g., *muncho*).
- Vowel shifts (e.g., *vainte* for *veinte*).
- Velar /x/ aspiration.
- Contractions: Colloquial speech reduces phrases, e.g., *mu* (for *muy*), *pos* (for *pues*), *icir* (for *decir*), *p'al* (for *para el*).
- Unique Phonological Systems: Vowel Splitting; Western Murcia reportedly exhibits an eight-vowel system due to post-vocalic consonant loss. This consists in open vowels /æ, ε, ɔ/ emerging from final-consonant deletion (*cosa* ['kosa] vs. *cosas* ['kosæ]). This compensates for plural /s/ omission through vowel harmony.

2.1.2. Morphosyntactic and lexical characteristics

- Grammatical markers
- Gender/Number Shifts: Non-standard endings (*bajastes* for *bajaste*).
- Pleonastic Possessives: Redundant *su* (e.g., *su casa de Juan*).
- Pronoun Misuse: *Me se* instead of *se me*.
- Archaisms: *Asina* (for *así*), *ca* (for *porque*).
- Notably absent: *laísmo/leísmo* (object pronoun confusion common elsewhere).
- Lexical heritage based on lexicon blends:
- Arabisms: *aljibe* (well), *acequia* (canal).
- Aragonese/Catalan Loans: *cualo/cuala* (interrogatives).
- Mozarabic Retentions: Agricultural terms predating Reconquista.

In conclusion, Murcian speech embodies a historical palimpsest—Castilian foundations layered with Mediterranean linguistic strata. Its phonological innovations (e.g., vowel splitting) and resistance to standardization reflect a distinct regional consciousness, challenging monolithic perceptions of Spanish dialects.

2.2. Language models in Spain, stigmatization and language insecurity

Nevertheless, nowadays the Spanish spoken in the Province of Murcia is one of the most stigmatized language varieties in Spain with the language insecurity and covert prestige this type of circumstances usually imply, as some former research in the area already proved (Muñoz-Valero, 2019; Boluda-Nicolás, 2004; Hernández Campoy, J. M. & Jiménez Cano, J. M. 2004a; J. A. Cutillas-Espinosa, 2004). Generally speaking, the Spanish spoken in Spain has several language varieties regarding the geographic area (geolects), being some much more prestigious than others:

- Standard variety: Spanish spoken in Castilla-León's Province/Region and, secondly, Madrid, and thirdly, in several northern territories.
- Non-standard Spanish spoken in Spain: Stigmatized dialects from southern territories (such as "extremeño", "andaluz", "canario" and "murciano").

In terms of language prestige, Murcian dialect/gelect is non-homogeneous as part of the known as meridional dialects of the Spanish spoken in Spain (Southern dialects), highly stigmatized, slightly standardized although the vernacular variety is maintained (Hernández-Campoy & Jiménez-Cano, 2004; Cutillas-Espinosa, 2004). Moreover, most of northern varieties of Spanish from North peninsula seem to be more prestigious than southern varieties, including Andalusian and Murcian dialects/geolects. Interestingly, these geographical differences in language prestige somehow seem to mirror the economical power that these different territories traditionally have in the recent history the country and nowadays. On the map below the wealthiest areas are colored in green (see map on Figure 2.2.).

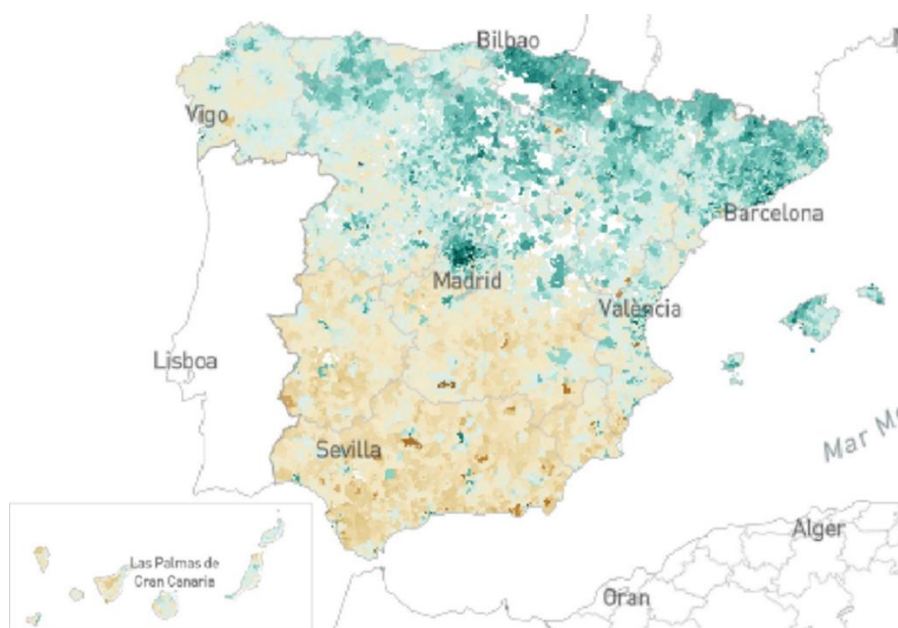


Figure 2.1. Edited picture showing levels of rent according to zones in Spain, from the interactive map by *El País*, based on official data from INE (Andrino, Grasso and Llaneras, 13/09/2019).

3. “Schizophrenia” in the language attitudes of Murcia’s Province

In his research done in Mula (Murcia), Boluda-Nicolás (2004) collected some valuable qualitative data from Murcian teenagers whose comments show not only their sociolinguistic consciousness, but also their language attitudes with what could be considered covert prestige. Here, he uses the word schizophrenia to highlight the contradictions these young speakers manifest towards their vernacular variety.

“This is a self-destructive, off-focused, manifestly schizophrenic structure, perhaps induced by the anxiety generated by the tension between “correct” and “incorrect”, “Good” and “wrong”, and as consequence, rationalization gets going as a defense mechanism. In this way, there will be attempts of using socially acceptable points and arguments, but the “apparently” illogical tie will do nothing but show that, ultimately, the fact of using a dialectal variable is seen as an obstacle. This attitudinal tension between willing and duty seems to continue as well all along teenagerhood.” [Translated by the author] from Boluda Nicolás (2004:148).

- a) “Los murcianos hablamos bien; pero hay otras personas que hablan mejor, y nos gustaría hablar como ellos, porque nosotros no hablamos bien”. Boluda-Nicolás (2004:115).

“Murcian we speak well; but there are other people who speak better, and we’d like to speak like them, because we don’t speak well.” [Translated by the author] from Boluda-Nicolás (2004:115).

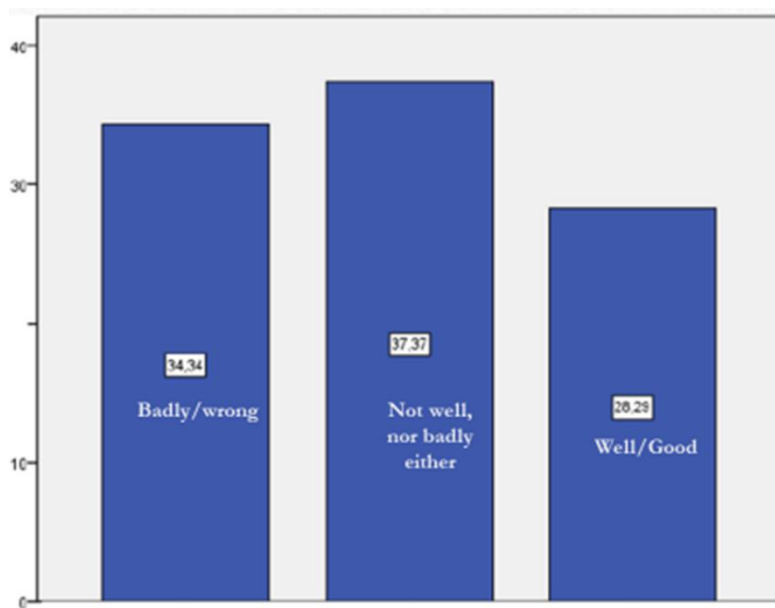
- b) “No pronunciamos la ‘s’, dejamos palabras incompletas, somos más bastos, y nos gustaría hablar mejor; pero no estamos de acuerdo en que en lugar de hablar murciano se hablara castellano”. (Boluda-Nicolás, 2004 :116).

“We don’t pronounce ‘s’ [implosive /s/], we leave words incomplete, we’re abrupt, and we’d like to speak better; but we disagree with speaking castillian [standard Spanish] instead of Murcian”. [Translated by the author] from Boluda- Nicolás (2004:116).

- c) «Se habla mal, pero hay que tener en cuenta que es nuestro dialecto» (T.183). (Boluda-Nicolás, 2004:63)

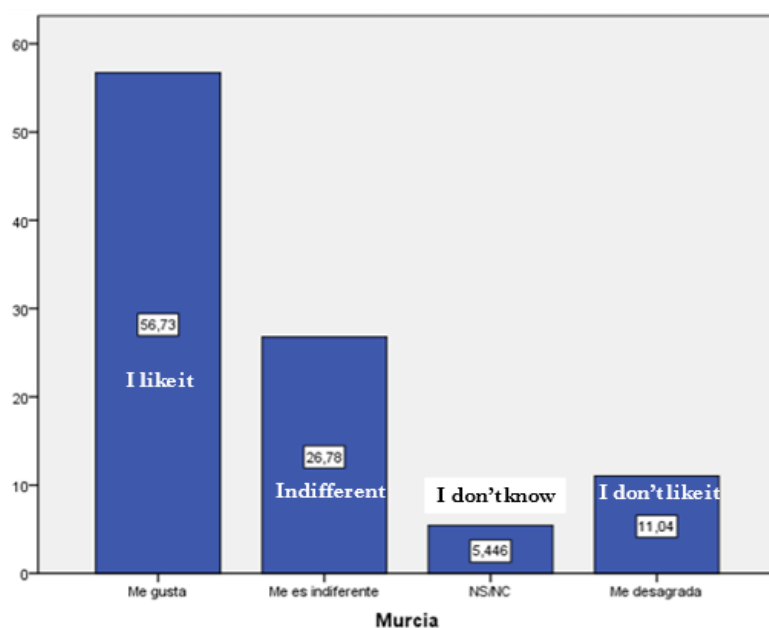
“It is spoken wrong/badly, but it must be taken into account that it is our dialect.” (T.183). [Translated by the author] from Boluda- Nicolás (2004:63).

On the other hand, prior research done all over the Province of Murcia (Muñoz-Valero, 2019) also collected a significant amount of qualitative data from 661 respondents from 18-80 years old. Varieties observed in this survey were age, sex, parents background, social network, social ambition, and qualification. The questionnaire contains open and closed questions, including matrix questions and agree questions. This survey was spread though



24. Generally speaking, in my town/city they speak...

Figure 3.1. Graphic from question 24, about how Murcian speakers value their own dialect/geolect in terms of good/bad (translated and adapted from Muñoz-Valero, 2019).



36. Please, make an opinion, according to your personal tastes, about how people speak [Spanish language] in several areas of Spain.

Figure 3.2. Graphic from question 36, about how Murcian speakers value their own dialect/geolect in terms of likeness and stem (translated and adapted from Muñoz-Valero, 2019).

variety but also an agreeable one.

Clearly, the Southern language varieties of Spanish spoken in Spain are seen as highly incorrect and, therefore, probably unsuitable in social and formal settings that normally require certain level of correctness. Nevertheless, when they are asked which ones are the most agreeable ones, respondents actually prefer those they see as incorrect, this is, the Southern varieties. This applies in a quite logical and homogeneous way in both qualitative and quantitative data not only towards Murcian variety but also towards another well-known stigmatized dialect/geolect: Andalusian variety (see Andalucía on both maps).

the social media to collect both quantitative and qualitative data about Murcian speakers' language attitudes towards their vernacular variety and other varieties of the Spanish language spoken in Spain.

Regarding quantitative data, one of the questions showing signs of language insecurity in Murcian respondents was question 24, asking how they consider that their local vernacular variety is spoken in terms of good/wrong. Table 3.1. shows that in this question 34% answered that in their city/town Spanish is spoken badly/wrong, 26% stated that it is spoken well/good, while 37% answered not well/not badly. Therefore, only a quarter of those surveyed shows loyalty and stem openly towards their vernacular variety.

It may seem that clearly, Murcian speakers tend to value poorly their vernacular variety, but next graphic with quantitative data from question 36 proves the opposite. This question asks how much they value Murcian variety in terms of likeness and stem. So, this is not about whether the dialect/geolect is good or wrong, but how much they "like" it, in other words, how agreeable they find it. In this case, more than half respondents answered that they like Murcian variety (56%) while only 11% pointed out that they dislike it. Thus, the way Murcian speakers from all over the province tend to value quite differently their vernacular variety depending on the approach of the question.

This paradoxical language attitude seems to be common in covert prestige and language solidarity attitudes as well, as the two maps below show. When asking respondents about other dialects/geolects from Spain including Murcian variety, prestigious varieties and other stigmatized varieties, respondents tend to value more positively the prestigious ones in terms of correctness (see map from Figure 3.3.), but results are the opposite when they are asked in terms of pleasantness, this is, agreeable/disagreeable (see map from Figure 3.4.). The only exception here is the Spanish spoken in the Province of Castilla León, where the language itself was born in the Middle Age. This one, perhaps thanks to sociohistorical factors still receive a positive valuation from respondents not only as a very correct Spanish

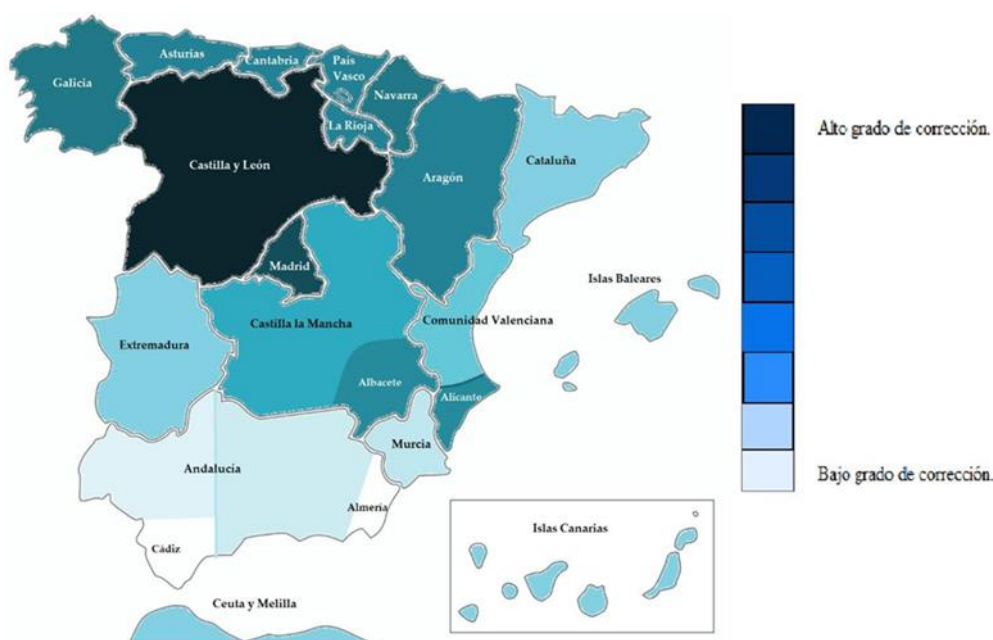


Figure 3.3. Map showing Murcian respondents' values about the Spanish spoken in Spain in terms of correctness. The darker the color is, the more positive the value is. (Adapted from Muñoz-Valero, 2019).



Figure 3.4. Map showing Murcian respondents' values about the Spanish spoken in Spain in terms of pleasantness. The darker the color is, the more positive the value is. (Muñoz-Valero, 2019:301).

Preston (2005) showed how language solidarity may make speakers from a stigmatized language variety show stem and a positive attitude towards other stigmatized varieties, which is what we see here in Spain, too. Interestingly, many Murcian respondents actually point out Andalucía's dialect/geolect as even more incorrect than the Murcian variety, but in the ranking of the varieties Murcian like the most, Andalucía's variety also gets the first place. This means there is logical correlation between the level of positive and negative values regarding both correctness and pleasantness not only in Murcia but also in other territories.

4. Covert prestige from a cognitive-affective perspective

Now that it is clear that two aspects are very differentiated by these speakers and change completely the values (positive-negative) they show towards varieties based on them, at least when language insecurity and covert prestige are involved, let's deep in these two aspects or components of their language attitudes. Covert prestige refers to the social value that non-standard linguistic varieties acquire within specific communities, despite being stigmatized by dominant institutions. First theorized by Trudgill (1972), it describes how speakers may consciously

or subversively embrace stigmatized features (e.g., regional accents, vernacular grammar) to signal in-group solidarity, cultural authenticity, or resistance to mainstream norms. Unlike overt prestige (linked to institutional power), covert prestige operates through local identity reinforcement, often among marginalized groups. This phenomenon highlights the complex interplay between language, social power, and resistance, revealing how linguistic "subordination" can coexist with community-driven prestige.

In few words, covert Prestige phenomenon happens when speakers' behavior keeps their vernacular variety despite showing a negative attitude towards such variety. Thus, when language models differ much from the vernacular variety, attitudes may work disharmoniously due to high levels of insecurity (Baker, 1992), causing covert prestige (Chambers, 1995).

| AFFECTIVE COMPONENT | | COGNITIVE COMPONENT | |
|--|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| Identity, background, affinity, closeness & stereotypes that emphasize affection | | Language models, standard variety, the norm, correctness, formal settings, qualification | |
| ✓ <i>Bonito</i> | <i>Nice</i> | ✓ <i>Bueno / Bien</i> | <i>Good / Well</i> |
| ✓ <i>Agradable</i> | <i>Agreeable</i> | ✓ <i>Correcto / Normativo</i> | <i>Correct / Normative</i> |
| ✓ <i>Salao'</i> | <i>Salty [nice and cheerful]</i> | ✓ <i>Adecuado / apropiado</i> | <i>Suitable / Appropriate</i> |
| ✓ <i>Con encanto</i> | <i>Charming</i> | ✓ <i>Estándar</i> | <i>Standard</i> |

Table 4.1. Affective vs Cognitive components [elaborated by the author].

When identifying the affective components with pleasantness and personal tastes, while applying the cognitive components with correctness and prestige, the results observed before match logically with this perspective. Therefore, it might be advisable to keep in mind these two aspects or components every time language attitudes are related to stigmatization and/or language insecurity or any time covert prestige might be present, since positive and negative value towards the stigmatized language variety could show this type of paradoxical behavior.

Thus, from the perspective of affective-cognitive components' several combinations are theoretically possible, leading to different language prestige and language attitudes respectively. As correctness adds prestige and is usually related to standard varieties it is also linked to suitability in formal settings. On the other hand, pleasantness has more to do with personal experiences and regional or local identity. Furthermore, language phenomenon such as overt and covert prestige as well as language death could be also explained from this perspective; Overt prestige would have both positive cognitive and affective components in language attitudes. Nevertheless, covert prestige, given the consequent language insecurity implied, has a negative value regarding prestige and correctness, but a positive value in terms of pleasantness and stem, thanks to which the language variety survives. When the stigmatized language variety does not survive it can be assumed that both affective and cognitive components in speakers' language attitudes were negative and, therefore, they found no reason to maintain their language loyalty (see Figure 4.1.).

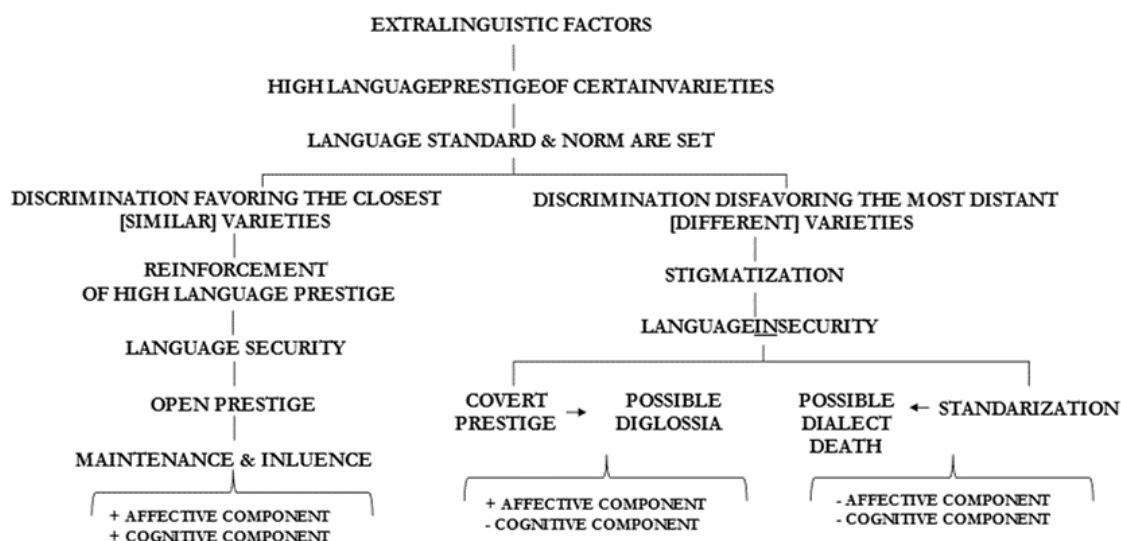


Figure 4.1. Standardization and non-standardization processes from the perspective of affective-cognitive components' combinations. Adapted from Muñoz-Valero (2019:187).

Curiously, there is a theoretical fourth combination that was not found in the data observed:

Positive cognitive component + negative affective component = ?

This is possible in theory, but not very likely to happen in reality, since it does not seem to correlate to any usual language attitude observed. In case this fourth combination is really not found or extremely unusual, it might mean and/or prove cognitive component to be more powerful than the affective component. This idea is not surprising, since despite the relevance of affective component to keep a language variety despite being stigmatized, standard language varieties tend to have more influence and chances to be kept.

5. Qualitative data

Regarding the qualitative data of this research done in Murcia's Province, below is a selection of comments shared by respondents. Since the following comments answer an optional open question in the end of the survey, not all respondents made a comment, but 103 respondents did wish to share their views. This was an open, optional questions allowing respondents to share and comment openly and freely anything regarding the Spanish language varieties and the survey itself. Many of these 103 respondents out of 661 from the survey took advantage to defended Murcian dialect/geolect to a lesser or greater extent, and some actually seem to share frustration about stigmatization either by condemn it or by using arguments (e.g., by highlighting the relevance of cultural variety, respect towards regional folklore, including language varieties) to refuse stigmatization (e.g., by arguing that Murcian dialect is not so incorrect as it thought or that in some prestigious provinces Spanish is not so well spoken).

A significant number of Speakers criticized some prestigious dialects as not-nice but correct from a national's language models perspective (sociolinguistic awareness).

5.1. Selection of qualitative data with translation (Muñoz-Valero, 2019:593-596):

Anonymous comment 2. "Pienso que asociamos el hecho de que un habla nos guste más o menos a factores extralingüísticos; aunque en mi caso, el habla de Madrid me disgusta por fenómenos lingüísticos como el leísmo o la pronunciación de la -d- final como si fuera una -z-."

Translation: "I believe our preference for certain dialects is influenced by extralinguistic factors. However, in my case, I dislike Madrid Spanish due to specific linguistic features such as leísmo or the pronunciation of final -d- as a -z-."

Anonymous comment 3. "No es que me guste el acento murciano especialmente. De hecho, según quién hable puede ser hasta desagradable. Mi opinión dependerá de la gramática y de cómo construye su discurso quien hable, no de su acento. Pero después de conocer mucha gente de fuera de la región que trata de paletos sin encanto (porque de Madrid hacia arriba sí tienen el encanto de lo rural) a todos los que son de Madrid hacia abajo, la reacción es enorgullecerse de nuestra forma de hablar, acento incluido... Hasta el moño de los que vienen de veraneo a enseñarnos cómo hablar, cómo ser más finos y cómo parecer más interesantes... No soy muy objetiva, quizá... Sí me gustan los acentos que dan carácter, que se distinguen, pero las exageraciones me abruman. Por eso me cansan acentos como el gallego, el catalán o el valenciano. Si son ligeros, perceptibles pero no agotadores, me son indiferentes."

Translation: "I do not particularly favor the Murcian accent. Depending on the speaker, it can even sound unpleasant. My judgment hinges on grammatical competence and discourse construction, not accent. Yet after encountering outsiders who dismiss southern Spaniards as "charmless provincials" (while romanticizing rural northern dialects), I take pride in our speech—accent included. I am weary of visitors lecturing us on "refined" expression. While I appreciate distinctive accents, exaggerated ones (e.g., Galician, Catalan) fatigue me; subtle variations are neutral."

Anonymous comment 4. "Cada acento tiene su cultura y riqueza particular y ninguno es mejor que otro. Me siento muy orgullosa de mi acento, en ningún momento lo intento disimular."

Translation: "Every accent has its own special culture and richness, and none is better than another. I'm really proud of my accent – I never try to hide it."

Anonymous comment 7. "En general me suelen gustar los acentos que se desmarcan más del castellano estándar, especialmente si tienen una entonación característica. Los que menos me gustan son los que tienen una pronunciación menos característica y, según mi percepción, intentan hablar un español especialmente correcto. Aunque suene a prejuicio y tópico, prefiero escuchar a un jerezano, un riojano o un catalán cerrado que a un madrileño que exagera las eses."

Translation: "I generally like accents that stand out from standard Spanish, especially if they have a distinctive lilt. The ones I like least are those with less character that try too hard to speak 'extra-correct' Spanish. Even if it sounds

prejudiced or cliché, I'd rather hear someone from Jerez, La Rioja, or a thick Catalan accent than a Madrid speaker overdoing their S's."

Anonymous comment 16. “Muchas veces me he sentido dolida porque por el hecho de ser murciana ya que me han tratado como si fuera tonta, gente que incluso no tenía estudios me ha humillado y se ha reído de mí por mi forma de hablar. Yo respeto y acepto como habla cada persona en España, ya que considero que estas diferencias nos enriquecen más que nos separan. También en ciertos programas de televisión se dirigen a los murcianos como seres tontos, incultos y siempre en forma de mofa o burla. Lo bueno es que tenemos sentido el humor.”

Translation: "I've often felt hurt because just for being from Murcia, people treated me like I was stupid – even those without degrees mocked my way of speaking. I respect how everyone in Spain talks because these differences actually bring us together instead of driving us apart. TV shows also portray Murcians as dumb, uncultured figures of fun. But hey, we do have a sense of humor after all."

Anonymous comment 19. “CREO QUE HAY QUE RESPETAR LA DIVERSIDAD DE LA LENGUA CASTELLANA, Y NO ESTIGMATIZAR. SALUDOS.”

Translation: "I believe we must respect the diversity of the Spanish language and stop stigmatizing accents. Best regards."

Anonymous comment 21. “En Murcia se habla muy parecido pero sin gracia y además no sabemos expresarnos, no alcanzo a comprender qué nos falta, si es vocabulario o cultura.”

Translation: "In Murcia, we speak pretty similarly [to others], but without much flair – and honestly, we don't really know how to express ourselves well. I can't quite figure out what we're missing: whether it's vocabulary or cultural depth."

Anonymous comment 23. “No hay que avergonzarse de hablar la lengua o dialecto nativo que hemos aprendido de nuestros padres. No hay uno mejor que otro, todos sirven para comunicarse y cada uno tiene sus características, al igual que cada persona es de una forma determinada. Personalmente, detesto el acento de ciertas hablas andaluzas pero entiendo que estén orgullosos de su forma de hablar y la usen con orgullo. Sin embargo, los murcianos tenemos complejo de inferioridad y pensamos que hablamos mal.”

Translation: "We shouldn't be ashamed of speaking the native language or dialect we learned from our parents. No variety is better than another – they all serve their purpose in communication, each with its own character, just like every person is unique. Personally, I can't stand certain Andalusian accents, but I get why people take pride in their way of speaking. Yet we Murcians struggle with an inferiority complex, convinced we speak poorly."

Anonymous comment 25. “Creo que depende del entorno familiar y no tanto del nivel de estudios o de ingresos económicos. Todos los acentos son atractivos porque reflejan la historia de ese dialecto o habla.”

Translation: "I believe it depends more on family environment than on education level or income. Every accent has its charm because it captures the history behind that dialect or way of speaking."

Anonymous comment 34. “Pues, que a parte de los castellanos, en España no se habla muy bien, Extremadura como Andalucía, y Catalanes, Valencianos y Baleares pecan de lo mismo, pienso que van a acabar sin saber ni hablar.”

Translation: "Well, Beyond Castilian Spanish, most regional varieties in Spain aren't spoken 'properly' – Extremadura and Andalusia, Catalans, Valencians, and Balearic speakers all fall into the same traps. Sometimes I worry we'll end up forgetting how to speak at all."

6. Conclusions

Speakers from the Province of Murcia belong to a linguistically stigmatized area of South Spain where research proved not only high language insecurity levels but also covert prestige and some moderated standardization. A significant number of Speakers criticized some prestigious dialects as not-nice but correct from a national's language models perspective (sociolinguistic awareness). Covert Prestige may lead to some level of dissident attitudes towards language models, perhaps as a mechanism of defense. Some even discussed whether these dialects were worth it to be so prestigious. Furthermore, evidence of language solidarity towards the stigmatized language variety of Andalucía was also found.

Quantitative and qualitative data from prior research show that pleasantness and personal tastes are related to affective components, but correctness and prestige are related to cognitive components. Hence, these two components have proven to be relevant and provide different language attitudes regarding language cases of stigmatization and/or language insecurity, such as covert prestige, given that a combination of positive and negative value seem to explain this paradoxical behavior. This is not new, indeed, but this paper aims to explain and

highlight the importance of always take this perspective into account when doing research in language attitudes, especially when there might be language insecurity or language stigmatization.

When may it be advisable to apply an affective-cognitive approach?

- Territories or speakers' communities well known to ...
 - be linguistically stigmatized.
 - suffer language stigmatization.
 - have high levels of language insecurity.
 - having shown covert Prestige before.
- When observing language perception.
- Meet several factors that usually make a territory or language community vulnerable to stigmatization.
- When stigmatized speakers value non-vernacular varieties (possible language solidarity).

In surveys and interviews' designing, one needs to be aware of what type of component they are referring to on each question either directly or indirectly when referring to aspects that consciously or unconsciously are easily linked to correctness or pleasantness. Additionally, it is advisable to avoid agree-questions, since speakers with low language security or high language insecurity tend to be very easy to manipulate in certain cases, such as when referring to formal settings, when speakers are asked about correctness, including words such as 'good' or 'well', and when referring to prestigious language varieties.

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