Galician Language Planning and Implications for Regional Identity: Restoration or Elimination?

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Abstract  Lexical interference between Galician and Castilian has resulted in deep-seated convictions regarding traditional functions and domains. In 1982, standard Galician was introduced to replace Castilian as the official, institutionalised language. The roles of both languages are traced within the education system, the media and local government and an evaluation is made of current attitudes. Consideration is given to how far assimilation and interference have been halted. Conclusions indicate that younger respondents reassign values and tokens to both varieties due to institutionalisation. Notions of language loyalty are prevalent as the community aspires to preserve Galician as a symbol of regional identity.

Introduction

Lexical interference and borrowing between Galician and Castilian have been occurring for over 800 years; consequently, there are deep-seated convictions regarding the traditional functions and domains of the two language varieties and the sociolinguistic relationship between them, with Galician being negatively discriminated against. However, in 1982, steps were taken to standardise Galician in order to try and encourage its re-introduction as a viable replacement to Castilian as the official, institutionalised language.

This article traces the long-established societal and individual roles of both language varieties within the region. It examines two assertions:

1. That the Normas simply highlight the typological similarities between the two.1
2. That standardisation plays an important role in securing the survival of Galician due to an attendant shift towards its re-acceptance and re-employment in domains formerly reserved solely for Castilian.

To this end, language use within the education system is extensively analysed and its use in the media and local government is acknowledged. Evaluation of current attitudes towards the use of Galician, based upon fieldwork carried out in the late 1990s, indicates that its present distribution may be due to its widespread institutionalisation among the younger age groups. Consideration is also given to how far assimilation processes and linguistic interference from Castilian have been halted by the introduction of standard Galician.

Early conclusions indicate that the younger age groups are beginning to reassign values and tokens to both languages. Notions of language loyalty are becoming more prevalent as the community aspires to preserve Galician as a symbol of their cultural,
social and historical differentiation. However, despite attempts to integrate a standardised language variety within social and political organisations, a degree of caution needs to be expressed with respect to the very nature of such a form. A case in point is the example of native Castilian-speaking newscasters who must learn and employ Galician as a foreign language.

**Historical Background**

Although Galician shares its origins and early development with Portuguese, Portugal’s formal independence at the end of the twelfth century effectively shut off their contact and collaboration. As far back as 1095, the area now comprising Galicia and Portugal had been divided into two by Alfonso VI of Castile, who gave the land to the south of the River Miño to Henry of Burgundy as a dowry for his daughter. When his son, Afonso Henqueres, secured possession of this land and proclaimed himself the first King of Portugal in 1128, a turning point in the history of the western part of the Iberian Peninsula was marked. Henceforth, the history of Galicia would be inextricably bound up with that of the Kingdoms of Asturias, León and Castile. In 1143, Portugal secured its independence. However, Galicia remained part of the Kingdom of León until the death of its king, Alfonso IX, in 1230. The subsequent accession to the throne of his son, Fernando III, King of Castile, united Galicia definitively with his Kingdom. Henceforth, both the political and linguistic orientation of the region would be towards the east and Spain as it became integrated definitively with Castile and León.

The subsequent sociolinguistic and linguistic consequences for Galicia of this integration and unification were to prove to be considerable. The twelfth to the fifteenth centuries were the ‘golden age’ of Galician literature, and Galician became the language *par excellence* for lyrical troubadour poetry throughout the majority of the Iberian Peninsula. However, at the end of the medieval period, Galician literature entered a period of decline. The Galician nobility, defeated in battle after supporting the losers in the dynastic battles for the crown of Castile, were dispossessed of their lands by Castilian nobility newly empowered by the marriage between Ferdinand, heir to the crown of Aragón, and Isabel, sister of the King of Castile. Known as the *Reyes Católicos*, their political strategy was to centralise the Spanish State around Castile by means of monarchical absolutism, Catholicism and the imposition of an official Castilian culture and the Castilian language on regions such as Galicia. This unifying process succeeded in restoring the legitimacy of real power on the nobility and, by subjugation, went some way towards ending the internal disorder between the various kingdoms within the Peninsula, thus laying the foundations of the Spanish State.

Thus, the Castilian nobility’s indifference to the culture and language of Galicia meant that they were quick to establish Castilian as the official language of Galicia, and as the symbol of social status for the dominant classes. This imposition of a foreign language which shared a common source in Latin led to a high degree of contact, exchange and interference between the two which, in turn, greatly impacted upon the phonetic and lexical systems of the Galician variety. Consequently, it began to diversify away from its Portuguese counterpart, yet remained far less innovative than Castilian. The interventionist policy of Castile gave impetus to the process of decline of Galician in the upper classes of society and prevented the consolidation of Galician as a literary language. Indeed, over the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – the *Seúculos Escuros* – Galician lost its social status as the vehicle of the Hispanic lyric within Castile. Whereas Castilian became consolidated and codified, and although Galician
continued to be the normal means of communication for practically all the local population, it was rarely used for written purposes. Thus, the language became extremely dialectal and fragmented, appearing, by the end of the sixteenth century, old-fashioned, rustic and comical. Thus, with Castilian as the language of prestige and power, the lower classes and rural populations of the region began to equate their use of Galician with their low social status.

This deep-seated situation of bilingualism with diglossia was prevalent up until extremely recently in Galicia. Castilian was considered the dominant, High language variety used in formal contexts, and Galician the dominated, Low variety, reserved for use within the home and in informal contexts. In this way, a form of acculturation to the imposition of the Castilian lifestyle, values and language could be witnessed. Ashamed and contemptuous of their own identity, many would deny being ‘galego’ with its negative connotations and instead, adopt the national character, one of power and success, inherent in the term ‘español’. Thus, they began to consider the castilianisation of their region as a fait accompli, an inevitable outcome of conquest. As a result, although Galician continued to be employed as the vernacular, any loyalty to it was soon lost and, consequently, its use became a source of shame and contempt.

This ongoing castilianisation of the regional language was curtailed, albeit briefly, by the emergence of galeguismo: the most important social phenomenon to affect the region in the last three centuries. Originally a culture-based organised ideology, its roots were established in the mid-nineteenth century by the region’s small intelligentsia under the banner of the Rexurdimento – Galicia’s Renaissance. The Rexurdimento lent credence to the re-emergence of Galician as a literary language, although this re-emergence was also intended to be culturally, politically and historically relevant as well. Thus, the ‘reawakening’ of a political consciousness and cultural differentiation, and attempts to have Galician officially recognised as the regional language, led to the galeguista movement becoming synonymous with attempts to identify and demonstrate the idiosyncratic traits of the region. Finally, one of the last acts of the Rexurdimento in the twentieth century was the creation of the Real Academia Galega (RAG) in 1905. However, these attempts to have Galician recognised as the official language of the region occurred against a background of no formal schooling within the rural areas, so that few people knew how to read or write. Within the urban areas, texts written in Galician were subject to the strong influence of Castilian, as it provided the only official orthography. Linguistic unification was thus perceived as a way in which the identity of the region could be preserved and its autonomy objectives demonstrated as far as Castilian was concerned, and so the RAG began to initiate official attempts to codify the spelling of Galician.

In 1931, the Partido Galeguista was created. However, Franco’s rise to power in 1939 put paid to hopes for regional autonomy and linguistic unification, despite the ratification of the Estatuto de Autonomía in 1936, according to which the Galician language had achieved recognition as the ‘official language of Galicia’. The compulsory
use of Castilian in both education and the media was introduced, and the only area of traditional linguistic research still sanctioned by the authorities and allowed throughout the dictatorship was dialectal study. Yet the unintended, but important, effect of chronicling such linguistic variation was to reinforce the notion of linguistic fragmentation and to heighten the necessity for a unification process, such as a prescriptive standard form, in order to confirm the idiosyncratic identity of the Galician community as different from that of the imposed variety of Castilian. After Franco’s death in 1975, Galicia began to divest itself of this inferior identity as a backward, underdeveloped region: urbanisation and industrialisation expanded rapidly, and in 1978 the Constitution was ratified, with the Statute of Autonomy and the creation of the autonomous government, the Xunta, quickly following. Article Five of the Título Preliminar of the 1981 Estatuto de Autonomía clearly defines the linguistic aspirations of the region:

(a) A lingua propia de Galicia é o galego. (‘Galician is Galicia’s indigenous language.’)
(b) Os idiomas galego e castelán son oficiais en Galicia e todos teñen o dereito de os coñecer e de os usar. (‘Galician and Castilian are the official languages of Galician and everyone has the right to learn and use them.’)
(c) Os poderes públicos de Galicia garantirán o uso normal e oficial dos dous idiomas e potenciarán o emprego do galego en tódolos planos da vida pública, cultural e informativa, e disporán os medios necesarios para facilita-lo seu coñecemento. (‘The Galician public authorities will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages and will promote the use of Galician in all walks of public life, through culture and the arts and information systems, and will provide the necessary means to facilitate its learning.’)
(d) Ninguén poderá ser discriminado por causa da lingua. (‘Nobody can be discriminated against because of their language.’)

In 1982, the Normas Ortográficas were drafted by a joint committee of the RAG and the Instituto da Língua Galega (ILGA) and adopted by the Xunta.

Standardisation Processes

Standardisation processes produce a set of shared linguistic forms with which to facilitate communication between linguistically diverse internal groups. Lodge, amongst others, employs Haugen’s refined approach to language standardisation (1966) in his analysis of the emergence of standard French. Two processes and four aspects of language development are thus distinguished:

Social processes: changes to the status of the variety chosen as the standard. Selection of the norm. The creation of a model for imitation – that is, a body of discourse capable of attracting the interest and loyalty of the intended learners. Usually, a specific, normally dominant dialect or conglomeration of dialects is formally ascribed this status of cultural and official medium or norm defining ‘correct usage’. Ray maintains that in the absence of a dominant variety, a model for imitation may be artificially created. This occurred, for example, in Germany with the advent of Luther. Acceptance by the community. The state or government needs to be capable of promoting acceptance of the standard over rival ones. They must create and intensify incentives for learning the standard, so that the community actually wants to learn it. Thus, it becomes accepted as their language of identity, both
internally as a unifying force, and externally as a symbol of independence and prestige.

**Linguistic processes**: changes to the language itself.

**Elaboration of function**. The language variety chosen must develop the linguistic tools needed for all its new functions: a written form, syntax used in written documents and an extended lexicon.

**Codification of form**. Legislation prescribes the grammatical and lexical standard forms considered ‘correct’, and these are implemented by the use of official publications, such as orthographies, grammar books and dictionaries within the education system, the media and political and social institutions.20

The *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma galego* are based on the galeguistas’ perception of language as a symbol of regional ideology and identity. The low level of literacy and the high level of linguistic diversity, above all due to the isolation of the rural areas, made it extremely difficult to establish a colloquial, supradialectal and modernised standard within Galicia based upon one dominant dialect. Hence, a compilation of varieties was established as the norm. The Castilian orthographic system formed the basis of the written form, but the *Normas* also prescribe morphological standards based upon the dialect of *galego iriense*, spoken in the Iria Flavia and Tui western regions, with phonological standards based upon the dialect of *galego lucense*, spoken in the areas of Lugo, Mondoñedo and Ourense.

Notwithstanding this, many eminent linguists claim that, in adopting such a written form, it will still be extremely difficult in the future for Galician to protect itself against the intrusion of Castilian, as it will remain the dominant language.21 This too, is the context of Green’s claim. Like Wardaugh,22 he believes that linguistic interference between the two languages will ultimately lead to the death of Galician and a consequent Castilian monolingual state. His pessimistic prognosis for the future of Galician avers that the *Xunta’s* intervention in Galician language planning is ‘well intentioned but misguided’ and in no way guarantees its survival. Rather, the *Normas* simply emphasise typological similarities between Galician and Castilian, instead of highlighting Galician’s distinctive linguistic traits.23

Let us consider further this issue of status. It must be remembered that the notion of linguistic equivalence applies not just to the relationship of Galician with Castilian but also to that with Portuguese. Both are its ‘sister’ languages, to varying degrees.24 From a sociolinguistic and sociopolitical perspective, Galician and Portuguese have different phonetic, morphological, morphosyntactic, semantic and lexical inventories and patterns, and both act as symbols of national identity in their respective territories.25 Yet Castilian and Galician can also be considered separate languages from such a perspective. So while it is true to say that Galician does suffer from maximum overlapping, this occurs with linguistic forms not only of Castilian but also of Portuguese, as all three are Romance languages with strong similarities.

Geerts claims that ‘each communicative act is essentially a contact event’, and Haugen states ‘whenever languages are in contact, they are in competition for users’.26 Such definitions allow for even indigenous language varieties of well-established monolingual societies to be subject to a certain amount of influence, especially lexical, even if contact with other language varieties is superficial and at a distance. However, it may be that lexical restrictions within their mother tongue oblige even monolingual speakers to utilise another variety for certain functions. Within bilingual societies such as Galicia, where diglossic distinctions appear to be maintained, the continuous cross-cultural and
social exchange between ethnic groups and communities tends to result in regular, prolonged and systematic contact between their speech varieties, which exert linguistic influence upon each other. Such inter-group contact means that even language use may eventually become variable.\textsuperscript{27}

Interference phenomena, such as borrowed lexical forms which over the last 800 years have already become totally integrated and established as part of the repertoire of the language are, by definition, Galician forms, and to replace them with more archaic forms or an artificial form would be chaotic, not only for the language planners but for the community as a whole.\textsuperscript{28} Moreover, it may be that native speakers are not actually aware that certain words they consider Castilian are in actual fact fully integrated into the Galician lexical system. One example I was offered by the respondents I interviewed was the use of ‘acera’ (‘pavement’), which mirrors the Castilian form, instead of the more archaic form ‘beiraria’.\textsuperscript{29} So although it could be considered regrettable that so many current orthographic forms closely resemble their Castilian counterparts, nonetheless, most have in fact been part of the Galician inventory for some time.

The morphological and phonological standards are not based upon Castilian cognates. So although lexical items may be modelled upon the Castilian form, these systems tend automatically to remodel the integrated Castilian element according to such Galician norms. Changes within such highly structured domains of language, such as the phonological, morphological and syntactic systems, are not as apparent as those in the lexical system. Indeed, many of the emblematic features of Galician have been retained, such as the gheada pronunciation of word-initial $g$, the velar pronunciation of syllable-final $n$, together with the various diphthongs. Such features function as symbols with which the community as a whole can identify.

**Fieldwork Methodology**

The creation of the *Normas Ortográficas* has required the compulsory teaching of Galician throughout the region and its use by local government and by the media, in accordance with Articles 12 and 18 of the *Lei de Normalización Lingüística*:

Article 12: *O galego, como lingua propia de Galicia, é tamén lingua oficial no ensino en tô dolos niveis educativos.* (‘Galician, as the mother tongue of Galicia, is also the official language of education at all levels.’)

Article 18: *O galego será a lingua usual nas emisoras de radio e televisión e nos demais medios de comunicación social sometidos a xestión ou competencia das institucións da Comunidade Autónoma.* (‘Galician will be the customary language used on radio and television and in other means of public communication liable to administration by or competition from business concerns of the Independent Community.’)\textsuperscript{30}

It was considered highly important in the context of this article to evaluate to what extent this implementation of Galician within the education system has started to affect its use, both within the confines of the school and within a larger social context. To this end, between July 1996 and July 1998, a total of 50 bilingual respondents living in Santiago de Compostela, Ourense and Lugo were interviewed. The principal selection factor was the following: even if the respondents expressed a preference for one language over the other, they were required to possess and acknowledge that they possessed a basic level of competence in both Galician and Castilian. Such competence
Galician Language Planning

A Table 1. Language use and language choice in the under thirties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Galician</th>
<th>Castilian</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Language used at home</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Language studied in at school</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Language used with siblings</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Language used with parents and grandparents</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Language used in parent’s replies</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Language used with friends</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Language used at work, with teachers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Language used in shops, bars, restaurants</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) Language used with strangers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>10) Language of choice</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) Reading and writing skills</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12) Language used in counting, talking out loud</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13) Language used to write notes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

was to be expressed in the form of a coherent, spontaneous conversation, even if adequate reading and writing skills in either language were not apparent. It was envisaged that such criteria would ensure that the older respondents had encountered both language varieties outside the confines of their homes and close communities, and that in this way, they would be more aware of prestige factors pertaining to languages.31

All respondents came from the same middle-class social, educational and professional category. Labov has suggested that it is this group of society that displays greatest fluctuation in stylistic variation, and that members are extremely sensitive to their own use of what they consider to be stigmatised features.32 They were asked a series of 13 questions about their use of both languages.33 For the purpose of expediency, we shall merely summarise the findings pertaining to the older respondents in order to employ them as a comparative point of reference, and focus instead upon the findings pertaining to the 36 younger respondents, who either entered the Galician state education system at the primary or secondary levels (EXB and Ensino Medio, respectively) just as the Normas were being implemented in the mid-1980s, or who are still within this education system.34

As far as the older respondents are concerned, almost all indicated that they were raised speaking Galician, but that they were taught in Castilian and subsequently raised their own families in either Castilian or both languages during the Franco years. Their general attitude to Galician as being a language somewhat inferior to Castilian appears to have mollified since the 1980s. However, the majority also believes that the forms of Galician they employ are non-standard or dialectal language varieties.35 Table 1 takes into account the reactions of the younger respondents.

It seems pertinent to consider first of all how far educational planning has impacted upon the use of Galician. Educational agendas and a programme of study entitled Lingua e Literatura Galegas were introduced in the early 1980s. It was also stipulated that there should be a substantial increase in the use of Galician as the medium of instruction, for at least 8 of the total 25 hours per week in primary schools and about 10 hours of the total 30 in secondary schools.36 As a result, teachers started, albeit hesitantly, to employ the language within the classroom. For example, in 1985, 13.9 per cent of EXB teachers interviewed claimed to use Galician exclusively in the
classroom – a substantial percentage at the time considering its prohibition during the dictatorship.\textsuperscript{37}

Our results indicate that over 50 per cent of the younger age group acquire their knowledge of Galician almost exclusively in the classroom. This may appear a somewhat pessimistic finding, as it indicates that these same respondents did not acquire any prior knowledge of the language within their home environments. Moreover, and despite the appearance of a more positive value assigned to the use of Galician by the teaching profession, it is nonetheless apparent that both languages are still employed with other staff and with the students in both informal and formal contexts. Yet it must be remembered that the period of acculturation between initial contact and the subsequent assimilation and total integration of a language variety involves much speaker adaptation, and may take three generations or more to become firmly established.\textsuperscript{38} Indeed, as the standard language variety in Galicia has only been formally introduced since the early 1980s, it is perhaps too soon to make explicit far-reaching predictions about whether it will be accepted and assimilated into the communities’ linguistic repertoire. However, more younger people have been learning both to read and to write in the language in the last 20 or so years, and as they acquire such fully literate proficiency skills at high school and university, a more positive attitude to the language and its use also seems to be promoted. Indeed, the overriding conclusion of our survey is that over 50 per cent of the respondents claim that it is as natural to them to use either variety. We will return to the issue of prestige below, but based solely upon this data, it would seem appropriate to contend that there has been a reconciliation of both language varieties, to the point where some of the younger respondents seem truly happy using either. What is remarkable is that nearly 30 per cent cite Galician as their sole preferred language of use despite little correlation with the language of childhood. Although standardisation and implementation of Galician within the education system does not necessarily bring about its preference by the younger respondents, it does appear that the educational policy created to introduce the teaching of the normalised language into schools is working to a certain extent.\textsuperscript{39}

The Use of Galician by the Media

According to Portas, standardisation has had a profound effect on the use of Galician by the media.\textsuperscript{40} However, as yet there is no daily newspaper written totally in Galician, although \textit{O Correo Galego} uses Galician to report on culture, local news, humour and the television channel guide. The weekly newspaper \textit{A Nosa Terra} is written totally in Galician, and there are various other publications of specific interest now available in Galician (e.g., the journal \textit{Verba}).

It is in radio and television that we can see the major impact of the introduction of the standard. Galician is the only language used on the two most listened-to official public radio stations throughout the region – that is, the Xunta-run \textit{Radio Galega}, which broadcasts in Galician 24 hours a day, and the State-run Galician version of \textit{Radio Nacional de España}, entitled \textit{Radio 4}. Similarly, the private radio station, \textit{Radio Popular de Vigo}, broadcasts solely in Galician.\textsuperscript{41} In television, \textit{RTVG} broadcasts 60 hours a week in Galician. The influence of such communicative mediums on the community as a whole cannot be discounted, both with respect to language use and language attitude, yet there is likely to be less of an influence on written rather than spoken forms.

In this respect a note of caution should be proffered. In a recent investigative trip to Galicia, data was gathered from both radio and television programmes which appears to
indicate that many of the presenters speak a Galician upon which, due to their Castilian native speaker status, is superimposed a phonetic system full of Castilian traits, such as the lack of a velar nasal, a different intonation pattern, etc. The result is a speech form which, although grammatically accurate for the most part, sounds as if it is being pronounced by a foreigner. It is to be wondered whether this will impact extremely heavily on the pronunciation of those members of the younger generation who receive little other Galician input in their everyday lives.\textsuperscript{42}

A positive symbolic value is attached to the use of Galician by the local government, the Xunta and the Galician Parliament, as, when asked, the respondents recognised the importance and significance of its use in such a framework. Galician is employed in most written official documents and publications that appear in the Diario Oficial de Galicia, in public announcements, political campaigns, institutional propaganda, etc. Moreover, it is the language of the Diario de Sesións and the Boletín Oficial that report upon the proceedings of Parliament. However, the provincial authorities are very slow on the uptake of Galician as their official language. Except in the most formal of public contexts, Castilian is used within the Xunta for all oral discourse, in speeches and in presentations made by officials of the Government. Finally, and by necessity, Castilian is the language of international communication, and so within a political context Galician can only expect at this stage to assume local and regional functions.

**Bilingualism and Diglossia**

Let us now examine the functional distinctions of Galician and Castilian. According to our research, these do seem still to exist, but they appear to be somewhat blurred. Even though certain respondents attempt to differentiate particular domains, there seems to be no general consensus as to which variety constitutes the H language; indeed if anything, Castilian still predominates. The most surprising finding is that Galician has been assigned such values by any of the respondents, as we would otherwise have been tempted to conclude that, due to the predominance of Castilian in the many influential areas of everyday life, the young respondents regard it somewhat as a lingua franca, to be used with people from outside their neighbourhood until they are made aware that this person is able to communicate in Galician. Moreover, it may also be that it is too soon to witness complete formal contextual acceptance and use of Galician with other speakers. However, many of the respondents who were taught Castilian at home admitted to regularly incorporating Galician into their family conversations since they have begun to learn it at school. This broader application of a variety which would normally only be employed by these respondents within the confines of the school gates may indicate a certain acknowledgement on their part that it can re-assume functions within the home life as well. However, Rodriguez Neira warns that if parents do not use Galician with their children, then it may be that the ongoing process of regalicianisation (i.e., the reintroduction of Galician as the vernacular) will be offset by previous degalicianisation processes (i.e., the substitution of Galician as the vernacular by Castilian).\textsuperscript{43}

**Attitude and Prestige**

Fishman agrees with Geerts’ earlier assertion that linguistic stability within a diglossic/bilingual community has to endure for more than three generations for a true diglossic state to be attained, so that intra-group societal bilingualism prevails and each language
variety safeguards its rightful functions, domains and contexts. Yet he adds that when the revitalisation or revival of a minority language variety is anticipated, the community must also display positive feelings of language loyalty. Within Western Europe, the survival of such varieties became a focal point of interest in the 1960s. Hence, in regions and countries such as Catalonia and Malta, language came to be viewed as a potent symbol of social identity for the individual speaker and of political aspiration for the community, and loyalty to a particular variety became associated with national identity. Struggles for independence from autocratic dictators and for the right to self-determination are thus reflected in a community’s resolve to secure the survival of its language variety. So, within a society where two or more language varieties are in conflict, if the minority language does indeed enjoy the loyalty of its speakers the population will endeavour to secure the right to use it within their daily lives and to maintain it in its ‘purest’ form (i.e., as a standard form). In this way, language becomes a symbolic issue. If, however, the population as a whole feels little or no loyalty to the minority language, then they will use it less and less. Ultimately, it will either be forgotten or relegated to idiosyncratic or eccentric use by a handful of its defenders. Therefore, it was considered extremely important to evaluate the attitudes of our respondents towards the status of Galician and Castilian.

The results highlight a strong correlation between positive attitudes to Galician regarding its survival, its role as a prestige regional identity marker and its use as the preferred language for most of the respondents, who reinforce such an outlook by their acceptance of the language as their primary means of communication. Indeed, only 10 per cent of respondents doubt that Galician will survive; the overriding conviction is that the general population, especially the younger members, either accept Galician as their own language or feel the need to preserve it, and so are learning or employing it more and more. The general opinion as to the community’s attitude to the language is that people should or do accept it as a regional identity marker and are actively trying to learn it.

As far as the use of both languages in different contexts is concerned, the responses were varied. Over half the respondents stated that the situation and setting dictate the choice of language variety, whereas some 10 per cent asserted that bilingual speakers should use both varieties indiscriminately, and another 30 per cent added that the non-use of Galician may indicate an ignorance of the standard and a reluctance to use a dialectal form. The remaining respondents declared that everyone has the right to use whichever variety they choose. All respondents agreed that the standard, and not any dialectal form, should be taught throughout Galicia.

**Conclusions**

It would appear therefore, that what we are witnessing in the context of this study is neither the assimilation nor the acculturation of Galician by or to Castilian, but rather, the beginnings of a reassertion of aspirations for linguistic preservation by the majority of the respondents as a symbol of their idiosyncratic identity and, consequently, the start of a reassignment of values and tokens to both varieties. So within the context of a bilingual society, this increase in language loyalty and subsequent reassignment of domains may simply create another form of diglossia, one where Galician would enjoy a more prestigious role.

Language loyalty is an invaluable prerequisite to the avoidance of interference and its subsequent shift of values and domains to the dominant variety. So the overriding
optimism displayed with respect to the survival of Galician may potentially be ascribed to the Xunta's efforts to instil a sense of loyalty into the population in the last 20 or so years. Even those respondents who claim to dislike using Galician or who attach stigma to their use of non-standard or dialectal forms seem aware that to lose their language would mean a loss of their collective identity.

Yet such a hypothesis is not without its limitations. If Galician, spurred on by the swift societal change that has occurred in the region in the last 20 years, were indeed to assume both H and L functions, then a situation of bilingualism without diglossia would be the result. In this respect, consider Portas' thesis. He cites Cáccamo's contention that the diglossic situation in Galician has changed very little; Galician is still used in informal situations and Castilian in formal situations. However, he asserts that although many of the traditional uses of both languages continue to thrive, the middle classes are beginning to break down these norms regarding the use of Galician for informal use. Consequently, the linguistic-use division is moving from a case of accepted diglossia to that of a contested diglossia (i.e., a diglossia in conflict) where the idiomatic employment of both languages breaks the traditional linguistic barriers of utilisation. So although the older respondents favour one or other variety for the majority of their discourse, even though they are aware of the prescriptive notions of H and L varietal usage, some of the younger respondents claim little functional demarcation as the majority are happy using either variety in many contexts. Others favour one variety for all functions and others use either variety.

However, the research not only indicates intra-language conflict. There also appears to be inter-generational inter-language conflict, creating a secondary diglossia between the High, standard form, learnt and employed by the younger respondents, and other Low, non-standard forms utilised by older respondents, who have had no formal study of the standard. This then, would concur to a certain degree with Green's findings, even though it is generally claimed that his definition of such bidialectalism can only apply to rural communities.

Moreover, at least within certain intellectual, urban circles, the use of Galician is now starting to be considered as an indication of progress and a strong indicator of a collective identity, mainly owing to positive changes in attitude. It seems likely that some form of shift towards re-acceptance and re-use of Galician in domains formerly reserved solely for Castilian is occurring and that the younger generation at least is starting to recognise Galician as a symbol of their regional identity. Such change appears to have been generated by the introduction and integration of the standard, above all within the education system but also in public life, in officialdom and within the media.

Appendix 1. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

1. ¿Què lingua usabas habitualmente na casa antes de ires à escola? ('Which language did you normally use at home before you started school?')

2. ¿Què lingua estudiaches ou estás estudiando na escola? ¿Aprendiches ou aprendes galego, mesmo un pouco? ('Which language did you or do you study in at school? Did you learn any Galician at school?')

3. ¿Cal é a lingua que empregas polo xeral cos teus irmáns e irmás? ('Which language do you normally use with your brothers and sisters?')

4. ¿Que lingua usabas/usas habitualmente cos teus pais? ¿E cos teus avós? ('Which
language do/did you now normally use with your parents and which with your grandparents?"
(5) ¿En que língua che contestan os teus pais normalmente? (‘Which language do/did your parents normally reply in?’)
(6) ¿Que língua empregas habitualmente cos teus amigos? (‘Which language do you normally use with friends?’)
(7) ¿Qué língua empregas habitualmente cos colegas do traballo, cos profesores ou alumnos? (‘Which language do you normally use with work colleagues, teachers or other pupils?’)
(8) ¿Qué língua empregas habitualmente cando entras nunha tenda? ¿E cando entras nun bar ou restaurante? (‘Which language do you normally use when you enter a shop, a bar or a restaurant?’)
(9) ¿Qué língua empregas cando coñeces a alguén? (‘Which language do you normally use when you meet someone for the first time?’)
(10) ¿En que língua prefieres falar? (‘Which language do you prefer to speak in?’)
(11) ¿Sabes ler e escribir en galego? ¿E en castelán? (‘Can you read and write in Galician? And in Castilian?’)
(12) ¿Qué língua empregas habitualmente se contas ou falas en voz alta contigo mesmo? (‘Which language do you normally use if you are counting or talking out loud to yourself?’)
(13) ¿Qué língua empregas habitualmente para escribir unha nota para ti mesmo? (‘Which language do you normally use to write yourself a note?’)

Appendix 2. Other Questions

(1) Na túa opinión, ¿cal é a actitude xeral cara á língua galega? (‘In your opinion, what is the general attitude to the Galician language?’)
(2) ¿Pensas que sobrexvirá? (‘Do you think it will survive?’)
(3) ¿Qué pensas das persoas que empregan sempre indistintamente galego ou castelán, sen ter en conta a situación? (‘What do you think of people who always use either Galician or Castilian, irrespective of the situation?’)

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Notes

5. The Cantigas de Santa María, composed in praise of the Virgin Mary, reveal both the religious facet of Galician-Portuguese lyrical poetry and the literary prestige enjoyed by the language at the end of the thirteenth century.
6. They conquered Granada in 1492 and, in the same year, with the collaboration of the Pope and the Inquisición, began a period of religious intolerance.
7. See Teyssier, p. 49.
8. Galician literature did not really participate in the Renaissance and the Baroque periods. However,
popular lyricism survived in the form of cradle songs, blind ballads, carnival songs, riddles, legends, romances, stories, etc., which have been passed down through the generations by word of mouth.

9. Bearing in mind Gumperz’s expansion of the term in order to encompass the interaction between two totally unrelated languages (J. Gumperz, ‘On the Ethnology of Linguistic Change’, in W. Bright (ed.), Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistic Conference 1964 (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), pp. 27–49), we will adapt Ferguson’s definition of a diglossia (C. A. Ferguson, ‘Diglossia’, Word, 15, 1989, pp. 325–340) for the purpose of this study and establish it as a situation where two or more languages, dialects or styles exist side by side within the community but each with having a specific role to play in intragroup communications. Thus, the bilingual/diglossic setting of Galician and Castilian may make it easier for interference to occur. L speakers are likely to learn the H language because of the prestige associated with its use. However, the H variety may be employed in informal settings between H speakers. In Galicia, then, the implication is that Galician speakers will learn Castilian and apply it in formal circumstances, but Castilian speakers will not learn Galician and will apply Castilian in all settings.

10. If a dialect or variety belongs to a community which is stigmatised by means of its indigent state or its lack of education or of culture, then its use may be seen as representative of a lower social status (J. Fishman, Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1989, p. 22).

11. J. P. Vilarauñío, ‘Rasgos característicos de la identidad nacional gallega,’ in Comportamiento Electoral y Nacionalismo en Cataluña, Galicia y País Vasco, (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Servicio de Publicacións, 1987), p. 268. (All translations in this article are the author’s own.)

12. The publication in 1863 of the Cantares Gallegos, written in Galician by Rosalía de Castro, marked the official beginning of the Rexurdimento. Other compositions appeared: Follas Novas by Rosalía de Castro, Aires d’a miña terra by Curros Enríquez, Saudades Gallegas by Lamas de Carvajal. These authors had no formalised language rules to follow and had to base their writing on oral usage. However, the restrictions placed upon such literature slowly began to stretch beyond lyrical poetry to narrative, essays and didactic prose.

13. At this time, issues of regionalism and identity became linked to the language, first expressed through the Irmandades da Fala. Founded in A Coruña in 1916, these brotherhoods were created to defend, dignify and cultivate the language. They created the newspaper A Nosa Terra, promoted the production of dictionaries and grammars and demanded the presence of Galician in public administration and in education.

14. Fernández Rei offers a succinct compendium of some of the more prominent dialectal surveys carried out before 1975 (F. Fernández Rei, Dialectoloxia da lingua galega, Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia, 1990, pp. 31–32). Most were primarily based upon a detailed study of one particular dialect, rather than a comparative analysis of linguistic diversity in Galicia as a whole. More recently, this tradition of dialectal study has been maintained by the Instituto da Lingua Galega (ILGA) based at the University of Santiago de Compostela. Their comprehensive fieldwork data later published in the Atlas Lingüístico Galego Vol. 1: Morfoloxía verbal (A Coruña: Fundación Barrié de la Maza, 1990); Vol 2: Morfoloxía non verbal (A Coruña: Fundación Barrié de la Maza, 1995) is quite possibly the most detailed linguistic map of the dialects of a language ever published. See also M. Mauro Fernández & M. Rodriguez Neira, Lingua inicial e competencia lingüística en Galicia (A Coruña, RAG, 1994); Usos lingüísticos en Galicia (A Coruña, RAG, 1995); Actitudes lingüísticas en Galicia (A Coruña, RAG, 1996).

15. Xunta de Galicia, Lexislación actualizada sobre a lingua galega (Santiago de Compostela, 1989).


20. This classic matrix was subsequently modified by Haugen to include a function implementing formal use of the classic within the society; see E. Haugen, Blessings of Babel (Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987) and Ž. Muljačić, ‘The Relationship between the Dialects and the Standard Language,’ in M. M. Parry & M. Maiden (eds), The Dialects of Italy (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 387–393.

was a strong advocate of the adoption of the Portuguese orthographic system as a model for the Galician standard. To this end, the Asociación Galega da Língua (AGAL – The Galician Language Association), the mainstay of the Reintegracionista ‘reintegrationist’ movement, who believe that the standard should be completely decontaminated from Castilian influence, compiled such a set of norms based upon medieval Galician (and hence, upon similarities with Portuguese), which were ultimately rejected (see Carballo Calero, p. 19).


24. However, synchronic delimitations with respect to territorial boundaries are not easy to establish on linguistic grounds. Where mutual intelligibility ends is often defined as the boundary between two languages, yet the villages on the opposite banks of the River Miño lie within the same spatial dialect continuum, as northern Portuguese is, in many senses, a continuation of southern Galician (Lodge, p. 17).


28. In the late Middle Ages, written Galician ignored both Medieval and Portuguese spelling conventions, making use instead of Castilian orthographies which were familiar to Galician writers. This led to the adaptation of Castilian spelling conventions to represent Galician phonemes, for instance, dephonemisation of /z/ which became an allophone of /s/ (Portuguese has both as phonemes) and of /β/ to an allophone of /b/ (Portuguese retains /b/ and /v/ as phonemes) (see Montegudo & Santamarina, pp. 152–153).

29. Montegudo & Santamarina (pp. 149–150) offer lexical examples such as escoba, sartén (‘brush’, ‘frying pan’) instead of the more archaic vasoira and tixela.


31. Participants under the age of ten were excluded as deviations in their linguistic patterns are more likely to be developmental differences – that is, examples of true age-grading. Indeed, until the age of four (when the child goes to school), paternal speech models dominate the child’s pattern (W. Labov, Sociolinguistic Patterns, Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 1972). Similarly, no one over the age of 70 was used, based upon Labov’s argument that good samples of spontaneous speech are difficult to obtain, given factors such as deterioration of mental abilities, lack of interest or attention span and, here, a staunch refusal on the part of the older people to use Galician with non-native speakers.


33. See Appendix 1.


35. Whether they are aware of what actually constitutes these forms, and whether this admission is simply a way of displaying preconceived prejudices about a language which has tolerated negative connotations for the majority of their lives, is not totally clear, however.
38. See Geerts, p. 600.
39. Compare the findings of the large-scale survey carried out in the early 1990s by Mauro Fernández and Rodríguez Neira on a total of 38,890 people. It was established that almost 75 per cent of respondents who could read Galician were less than 25 years old, and 90 per cent of those able to write it were less than 30 years old (*Lingua inicial*, p. 82). A further finding offers an interesting comparison: of the 25.6 per cent of respondents whose maternal language was Castilian, 14.9 per cent claimed that Galician had taken over in their day-to-day communications (*Lingua inicial*, pp. 49–50).
40. See Portas, pp. 155–163.
41. See Monteagudo & Santamarina, p. 143.
42. Paper forthcoming.
43. M. A. Rodríguez Neira, ‘Sobre o proceso de sustitución lingüística en Galicia’, in D. Kremer (ed), *Actes du XVIII Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes* (Trier: Université de Trèves, 1988), pp. 253–265. Fuentes and Vilariño (in Portas, p. 150) assert that, of the parents who prefer their children to speak Castilian, one-quarter do so because they consider that it is a more universal language than Galician. A total of 25 per cent of those parents who want their children to speak Castilian do so because they consider that it is a more universal language. Some 18 per cent use it because it is the national language, 13 per cent because it is more refined and cultured, 11 per cent because of habit, 11 per cent simply because they prefer it as a medium of communication, and nowadays only 2 per cent because they are ashamed of using Galician. Williamson and Williamson (p. 409) add that even if they wanted to, middle-class parents could not isolate their children from Galician outside the home. However, they also concede that upwardly mobile adolescents and adults need to be able to converse in Castilian, whatever their class background.
44. See Fishman, *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective*, p. 181.
45. See, e.g., Green, p. 163. Catalonia offers an excellent example of how language loyalty can achieve many of its political and social aspirations. However, the bilingualism witnessed does not conform to the general tenet that high-prestige, national languages displace minority languages (Fishman, ‘Language Maintenance and Language Shift as a Field of Inquiry’, *Linguistics*, 9, 1964, pp. 32–70). For although Castilian is associated with political dominance, it is Catalan which is associated with economic dominance. Thus, Castilian has not displaced Catalan; the Catalans have maintained a tenacious loyalty to their indigenous language. Malta also affords a good example of how self-pride can rejuvenate a language in crisis. The majority of Maltese are bilingual Maltese/English, with Maltese experiencing a high degree of interference from English. Code-switching too, is an everyday occurrence (S. Ellul, *A Case Study in Bilingualism: Code-Switching between Parents and their Pre-School Children in Malta*, Cambridge: Huntington, 1978). Since independence was secured in the 1970s, there has been a shift in language loyalty in favour of Maltese in sectors of the society other than the lower working class who tended to employ it before, with a consequent reassertion of national pride and identity.
47. See Appendix 2.
49. See Portas, pp. 155–156.
50. See Green, pp. 164–165.