

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

Faculty of Arts

**LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN GALICIA:
THE CURRENT ORTHOGRAPHIC DEBATE**

by

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Modern Languages

August 1996

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

SCHOOL OF MODERN LANGUAGES

Doctor of Philosophy

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Galicia is one of the seventeen Autonomous Communities which constitute the Spanish state. It consists of four provinces, Pontevedra, Corunna, Lugo and Orense, and is situated in the north-west of Spain. Two languages are recognised as co-official within Galicia: Galician and Castilian. The *Real Academia Galega* and the *Instituto da Lingua Galega* agreed an orthographic and morphological *norma* (standard) for Galician in July 1982, which was approved by the *Xunta*, the Galician local government. In spite of this, there are groups who contend that Galician should be written to a greater or lesser extent like Portuguese, rather than like these *normas*. This orthographic debate, between the tendencies known as *Reintegracionista* and *Independentista*, is the focus of this thesis, not in terms of which orthography may technically be the more appropriate way to write Galician, but in terms of what issues lie behind the debate.

Given that speech developed long before writing, that individuals learn to speak before they learn to write and that writing is absent from some societies, some commentators would argue that spoken language is much more important than written language. In the case of Galician, however, more than a decade after the *normas* were approved by the *Xunta*, there is still debate about how the language should be written. If spoken language is more important than written language, why do these different positions exist?

The process of prescribing *normas* is part of language corpus planning. Language planning is generally not carried out solely to improve communication, but rather in order to achieve non-linguistic ends, such as national integration, political control, economic development, and so on. The *Reintegracionista-Independentista* debate is ostensibly a debate about Galician orthography, that is, a debate rooted in the corpus of the language, but in reality it is a debate about non-linguistic issues.

The thesis explores theories of multilingualism, language and identity and the relationship between nations, states and (linguistic) minorities. Of particular interest is the way that language contributes to a feeling of 'groupness'. It is argued that not only is language, and in particular print language, important in building an 'imagined community', but that the way that a language is written, not just in terms of its script but in terms of its orthography, helps to create a particular 'imagined community'. In the Galician case, then, the different orthographies help to create different 'imagined communities'. This, it is argued, is the covert issue behind the Galician orthographic debate.

**For my mother and brother and in
memory of my father**

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would not have been able to undertake this research project without the studentship awarded to me by the University of Southampton. I have also had assistance from a number of people both within and outside the University whom I wish to thank.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Clare Mar-Molinero, for her guidance and support throughout my research, which has been indispensable and is much appreciated. Patrick Stevenson's advice and suggestions as my adviser are also appreciated.

In the School of Modern Languages I would like to thank Rita Silva for help with translation queries, Sara Nunes for help translating and transcribing Portuguese and Alan Freeland for advice on the Portuguese aspect of the thesis.

I would like to thank all those people in Galicia and Portugal who agreed to be interviewed during my research visits. Margarida Losa was most helpful during my research visit to Oporto.

I am grateful to my friends both here and in Galicia for their assistance and support, and in particular to Coral Rodríguez Barberá and Manuel Puente for their generous hospitality, both prior to and during my research.

I wish to thank Reza Noorizadeh for formatting and printing the thesis, and especially for his invaluable advice and support.

My most special thanks are reserved for my mother and brother to whom I will always be indebted for their continuous support and encouragement.

INTRODUCTION

Galicia is one of the seventeen Autonomous Communities which constitute the Spanish state. It consists of four provinces, Pontevedra, Corunna, Lugo and Orense, and is situated in the north-west of Spain. It is principally an agricultural and fishing region.

Two languages are recognised as co-official within Galicia: Galician and Castilian. The *Real Academia Galega* and the *Instituto da Lingua Galega* agreed an orthographic and morphological *norma* (standard) for Galician in July 1982, which was approved by the *Xunta*, the Galician local government. In spite of this, there are still groups who contend that Galician should be written to a greater or lesser extent like Portuguese, rather than like these *normas*. It is this orthographic debate, between the tendencies known as *Reintegracionista* and *Independentista*, which is my area of interest, not in terms of which orthography may technically be the more appropriate way to write Galician, but in terms of what issues lie behind the debate.

Given that in the history of humankind speech developed long before writing, that individuals learn to speak before they learn to write and that writing is absent from some societies, we could take the view that spoken language is much more important than written language. If this is the case, we could say that it should not matter how a language is written. In the case of Galician, however, more than a decade after the *normas* were sanctioned by the *Xunta*, there is still debate about how the language should be written. If spoken language is more important than written language, why do these different positions exist?

The process of prescribing *normas* is part of language corpus planning. In *Language Planning and Social Change*, Cooper (1989) points out that language planning is generally not carried out solely to improve communication, but rather in order to achieve non-linguistic ends, such as national integration, political control, economic development, and

so on. In other words, one should distinguish between overt and covert goals in language planning. The *Reintegracionista-Independentista* debate, then, is ostensibly a debate about Galician orthography, that is, a debate rooted in the corpus of the language. However, in this thesis I will argue that the issues behind the orthographic debate are concerned with the role that language plays as an identity marker and in creating a sense of belonging or ‘groupness’.

Language is one of the most important features of identity. Of course, it is not the only one, but it is perhaps the most salient, and immediately differentiates ‘us’ from ‘them’. It marks speakers as members of an in-group or an out-group. In this thesis I explore theories of language and identity and the relationship between nations, states and (linguistic) minorities, and the way that language contributes to a feeling of ‘groupness’. Anderson (1983) argues that language, and in particular print language, is important in building the ‘imagined community’. I extend this argument to propose that it is not just print language but the way that a language is written, not only in terms of its script but also in terms of its orthography, which helps to create a particular ‘imagined community’. In the Galician case, then, the different orthographies would help to create different ‘imagined communities’. This, I believe, is the covert issue behind the Galician orthographic debate.

Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided into two parts. In Part I, I discuss the theoretical issues necessary to study the Galician *Reintegracionista-Independentista* orthographic debate, and in Part II, I discuss the orthographic debate and put forward the issues which I believe lie behind the debate. Issues which arose during interviews and comments made by interviewees are reported where appropriate in the thesis. A list of interviewees is given in Appendix B.

In Chapter 1, I present the linguistic configuration of Spain together with the general legal framework relating to the languages of the Spanish state. Part I consists of three chapters. Chapter 2 deals with the phenomena which arise when there are two or more languages in contact in a given society. In Chapter 3, I explore theories of identity and the relationship

between nations, states and (linguistic) minorities, and Chapter 4 deals with language planning and bilingual education. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 each consist of two halves: in the first half I discuss the respective theories, whilst in the second half I attempt to relate the situation in Galicia to the theory.

Part II consists of two chapters. In Chapter 5, I discuss the Galician movement for *Reintegración*, its proponents, advantages and disadvantages. In Chapter 6, I discuss writing reforms, the Lusophone community and the Galician orthographic debate from both the Portuguese and Galician perspective, and put forward the issues which lie behind the Galician orthographic debate.

I conclude that both language and orthography have an important role to play in the creation of the ‘imagined community’ and that the debate over Galician orthography can therefore be seen as a debate over the creation of different ‘imagined communities’. In addition, since there is a close relationship between language and identity, the use of different orthographies for Galician raises questions about the identity of the Galicians, and about the relationship between Galicia and Spain and the Portuguese-speaking world. I also propose that the orthographic debate can be seen within the centre-periphery model, and as part of a process in which the centre is attempting to prevent Galicia from breaking away to the Lusophone community.

CHAPTER 1

THE LINGUISTIC CONFIGURATION OF SPAIN

The aim of this chapter is to give an overview of the linguistic configuration of Spain. This will include a brief history of the linguistic origins of Spain as a whole, and of Castilian, Catalan, Basque and Galician in particular. I will also take a brief look at the aspects of the post-Franco legal framework which relate to the languages of Spain. Maps illustrating the origins of the languages of the Iberian Peninsula, the Autonomous Communities with their own language, and a map of Galicia can be found in Appendix A.

1.1 THE LINGUISTIC CONFIGURATION OF SPAIN

1.1.1 Origins and History of Castilian¹

In this section I will give a brief account of the linguistic origins and history of the Iberian Peninsula in general, and of Castilian in particular. For a full account of the linguistic history of the Iberian Peninsula see Díez, Morales and Sabín (1980), Penny (1991) and Siguan (1992).

When the Romans began their occupation of the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the third century BC, the Iberians (in the east and south) and the Celts (in the north-west and centre)

¹ The terms Castilian and Spanish are used synonymously in English to refer to the official language of the Spanish state and of nineteen American republics. In Spanish, *castellano* (Castilian) is sometimes used in preference to *español* (Spanish) to avoid the implication that this is the only language of the Spanish state and that the Spanish state has cultural hegemony over those people in other states who speak this language (see Penny 1991:25-26).

had already been in the Peninsula for several centuries. The Romans brought Latin with them, and as they conquered and settled the Peninsula there was a process of Latinisation. The use of Latin spread rapidly in some areas (the east and the south), and more slowly in others (the centre, west and the north), and was adopted by the indigenous people due to a desire to incorporate themselves into the more prestigious civilisation represented by Latin, rather than pressure from the colonisers. Latin became the usual language of the inhabitants of the Peninsula, although it did vary from region to region due to influences from the indigenous languages, and in contrast to these languages, Latin was written and used in administration and literature.

When the Roman Empire collapsed, the Visigoths, although a minority, became the dominant group in the Iberian Peninsula. The Visigoths were partly romanised before they entered the Peninsula, and they probably spoke Latin as well as their East Germanic vernacular for a while before adopting the language of their subjects, that is, Latin. Written Latin was still used in the church and for administration, but regional variation in spoken forms increased. During the rule of the Visigoths Toledo was established as the centre of government and this would have linguistic significance later. After the collapse of Visigothic Spain and the Moorish conquest, Toledo assumed great symbolic importance to the northern Christians, who partly saw their mission as the re-establishment of Christian Visigothic Spain.

The Moors invaded the Iberian Peninsula in 711. The Moors failed to conquer the whole of the Peninsula, and new linguistic varieties crystallised where the Christians took refuge in the north and north-west. The main linguistic nuclei were Galician, Asturian-Leonese, Castilian, Aragonese, and Catalan, all from Latin, and also Basque, the only pre-Latin language surviving in the Peninsula. During the Christian Reconquest, the Latin-based linguistic varieties extended southwards, but it was Castilian which would make the greatest gains. Castilian originated in the area of Burgos and La Rioja and moved south, south-east and south-west as Castilians settled in reconquered territory. The Kingdom of Castile was created in 1035, and in 1085 Toledo was captured, undoubtedly conferring prestige on Castile and the Castilian language. At the end of the thirteenth century, Castilian was spoken in Castile and what is today Asturias, Santander, Castilla la Vieja and

La Rioja, and the majority of Navarre and Aragon. Galician occupied the area of what today is Galicia and northern Portugal; Catalan was spoken in Catalonia and had advanced into the Kingdom of Valencia and Baleares. The three Romance languages (Castilian, Catalan and Galician) began to be used in administration and written uses, substituting Latin, and this period also saw the beginnings of literature in these languages. Between the mid-thirteenth century and the end of the fifteenth, Islamic Spain consisted only of the Kingdom of Granada. In 1469 Isabel, Queen of Castile, married Ferdinand, King of Aragon. Aragon included the Catalan-speaking territory and was effectively the 'other half' of Spain. In 1492 the Catholic Monarchs conquered the last territory of the Arabs, Granada, and a few months later Christopher Columbus arrived in America, and Castilian was taken to the Americas by the *Conquistadores*. By the end of the fifteenth century, then, Castile was dominant in Spain and so was the Castilian language.

Writing in the vernacular in the Kingdom of Castile became more and more frequent in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but the language used showed features which were characteristic of the region of the particular writer. In the later thirteenth century these regional characteristics disappeared due to the activities of Alfonso X, King of Castile and León (1252-1284) and his collaborators, the creation of standard Spanish being arguably the result of Alfonso X's work. Castilian would also have gained prestige through its use for literary and non-literary work. During Alfonso's reign, Castilian was used as the language of administration. The written standard was based upon the speech of the upper classes of Toledo, but we should not assume that it provided the only spoken standard. Other cities were cultural rivals to Toledo, particularly Seville, which for centuries after its reconquest 'was the largest and economically the most flourishing city of the kingdom' (Penny 1991:16). As such, the speech of its educated classes must have had great prestige in the region. The speech of Seville rivalled the speech of Toledo (which was superseded in the 1560s by Madrid as capital) at the time of the overseas expansion of Spanish. Outside the Peninsula, these two norms 'continued in much more equal contention' (Penny 1991:17). In Spain, the Madrid norm established a firm priority during the Golden Age of Spanish literature. During this period Castilian also became the main language of literature and the educated in the Galician- and Catalan-speaking areas.

With the succession to the throne of Felipe V of Bourbon came a policy of unification and centralisation. Only Navarre and the Basque Country kept their traditional laws. In areas where it was not already in place, a uniform administration was imposed. Castilian was increasingly used in the Church, and in 1768 Carlos III passed a resolution that teaching should be carried out in Castilian in the whole of Spain. Throughout the nineteenth century Castilian expanded in the popular classes through the generalisation of education. In the twentieth century during the Franco regime, the non-Castilian languages were proscribed in all domains except the family. However, the Spanish government ratified the agreements of the Convention of UNESCO against discrimination in the area of education, and this was borne in mind in the writing of the General Education Law of 1970. This allowed for ‘the incorporation of the regional varieties, which enrich the unity and the cultural heritage of Spain, and the encouragement of the spirit of understanding and of international cooperation’ (author’s translation, Díez, Morales and Sabín 1980:61). In the post-Franco period, Castilian is recognised as the official language of the Spanish state, and the other languages as co-official within their respective Autonomous Communities (see section 1.2 below).

The next sections give a brief history of the Catalan, Basque and Galician languages, in order to provide an overview of these three languages before studying Galician in more detail in subsequent chapters. Both the Basque Country and Catalonia are split between the Spanish and French states, but the discussion here is limited to the Spanish state.

1.1.2 Catalan

Catalan is spoken in Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Andorra, the Roussillon region of France and Sardinia. Catalonia consists of four provinces, Barcelona, Tarragona, Lerida and Gerona, with capitals of the same name, in the north-east of Spain.

The two main factors which have influenced the historical development of Catalan are Catalonia’s territorial expansion, and Catalan’s contact with Castilian (Siguan 1992:125). From the end of the tenth century, the Catalans expanded their territory, such that by the fifteenth century Catalan had spread to Sicily, Sardinia and Greece, and was the official

language in all Catalan-speaking areas. Catalan's early contact with Castilian was brought about by the progressive merger of Catalonia with Castilian-speaking areas of the Iberian Peninsula and its eventual incorporation into the Spanish state: in 1151 the *Condado* of Barcelona and the monarchy of Aragon were united through marriage, creating the Kingdom of Aragon (the language of Aragon being Castilian); and in 1469, as mentioned above, the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile were united through the marriage of Isabel and Ferdinand.

The first known text written in Catalan is from the end of the twelfth century, or the beginning of the thirteenth (*Homilies d'Organyà*). During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Catalan literature held a distinguished place in European literature, but in the second half of the fifteenth century Catalan literary production declined and practically disappeared. From about this time, Spain rose to be a world imperial power, headed by Castile, and Castilian became more and more dominant. After the defeat of Catalonia in the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714), the use of Catalan was actively discouraged by an increasingly centralised Spanish state, and the status of Catalan 'was eroded as it became progressively more dialectalised and archaic, its use largely confined to limited "domestic" and unofficial contexts' (Webber and Strubell i Trueta 1991:13-14). The decline in the written use of Catalan was an obstacle as far as its evolution and adjustment to new circumstances was concerned, and the lack of development was compounded by Castilian influences in the lexis and syntax (Siguan 1992:126).

The nineteenth century saw renewed interest in Catalan culture and language. Originally the *Renaixença*, or linguistic and literary recuperation, was a cultural phenomenon linked to European romanticism, but it acquired political overtones during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The beginning of the *Renaixença* is generally considered to be 1833 when *Oda a la patria* was published by Bonaventura Carles Aribau. The *Jocs Florals*, medieval poetry competitions in which only Catalan poetry was permitted, were reestablished in 1859 in Barcelona. Literature was produced in Catalan once again, there were periodic publications and newspapers in the second half of the nineteenth century, and by the end of the century there was increased public use as well. The first periodic publication in Catalan which achieved a certain continuity was *Un Troç de Paper*,

published fortnightly from 1865 for a couple of years. The first daily newspaper was *El Poble Català*, which was published for a couple of years from 1879, and *La Veu de Catalunya* was published daily from 1899 until the Civil War. The increased use of Catalan led to a preoccupation for its correct use, and in 1839 Labernia published a *Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana*. In 1907 Prat de la Riba founded the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*. In 1911 the *Institut* established a philology section which, through the work of Pompeu Fabra, was responsible for formulating linguistic rules and norms: in 1913 the *Normes Ortogràfiques* were published, and in 1917 a *Diccionari Ortografic*, which was followed by the *Diccionari General de la Llengua Catalana* in 1931.

The cultural *Renaixença* was accompanied by a political movement. In 1892 *La nacionalitat catalana*, by Prat de la Riba, was published and would be the catalyst of the movement. Prat de la Riba was a lawyer, and believed that the national spirit was manifested throughout the history of a people in their customs and in their laws and institutions, as well as in their popular traditions. He gave special importance to language. The elections of 1914 were won by the Catalanist parties, and Prat de la Riba became president of the *Mancomunitat de Diputacions de Catalunya*, the forerunner of the *Generalitat*. Any dispensations with regard to home rule were withdrawn in 1923, following the coup by Primo de Rivera and the dictatorship which lasted until 1931. During the Second Republic (1931-1936) Catalonia recovered its autonomy under the Statute of Autonomy (approved in 1932) and the *Generalitat*, the Catalan government, was able to promote the public use of Catalan. This was brought to an end by the Civil War (1936-1939), and afterwards the Franco regime would allow no public use of any language but Castilian. In fact, the Franco regime considered Catalan to be a dialect of Castilian. During this period the activities of the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* were carried out clandestinely, and the *Jocs Florals* were carried out in exile. In the 1960s the regime relaxed somewhat and some concessions were made. Some literary prizes appeared, and some magazines were created. In the post-Franco period, the *Generalitat* was reestablished in 1977, and the Statute of Autonomy² was approved in 1979. In 1978 the teaching of Catalan language and literature became part of the curriculum in schools (but

² Spain is divided into seventeen Autonomous Communities. Whilst the central government maintains a wide range of powers, those of the Autonomies (defined in their respective Statutes) include legislative powers exercised by the Autonomous Parliaments.

not university), and in 1983 the Language Normalisation Law was passed. The first television channel in Catalan, TV3, started in 1983.

Catalonia underwent a socioeconomic transformation from the end of the eighteenth century, becoming an industrial region in a predominantly agricultural country. It was light industry, mainly textiles, which became established in Catalonia since there were no primary materials. The work created by the industrialisation of Catalonia attracted, and continues to attract, people from other regions of Spain and from other countries.

Immigration has implications for the use of Catalan, since those moving to Catalonia bring with them a language other than Catalan. Half the inhabitants of Catalonia are immigrants or children of immigrants (Siguan 1992:159). Lack of knowledge of Catalan is closely related to immigration, but this lack of knowledge decreases with time and the integration of the immigrants into Catalan society.

According to figures from the 1986 census, just over 90% of the population of Catalonia understands Catalan, nearly 64% can speak it, and 31% can write it (Siguan 1992:159). According to data from the same census, professionals have a higher understanding of Catalan than those engaged in catering and services (98.3% as opposed to 90%). A higher proportion of professionals can speak and write Catalan (82.9% and 56%) than those in catering and services (50.8% and 17.2%) (Siguan 1992:163). Immigrants are usually engaged in those areas of employment which show the lowest figures for speaking and writing Catalan. Unlike Galician and Basque, Catalan has traditionally been associated with the Catalan middle and upper classes and has been considered a prestigious language.

1.1.3 Basque

Basque is spoken in some parts of Navarre and mainly two of the three provinces of the Basque Country which is split between the Spanish and French states. Discussion of the Basque language will be limited here to the Spanish Basque Country. Administratively, the Spanish Basque Country is divided into three provinces: Vizcaya (capital Bilbao), Guipúzcoa (capital San Sebastian), and Alava (capital Vitoria).

The Basque language, unlike the other languages in the Iberian Peninsula, is not Latin-based, nor is it an Indo-European language. It is one of the oldest languages in Europe, and its origins are still unknown. Before the arrival of the Romans, the Basque language was spoken in a large area: on both sides of the Pyrenees, as far south as the River Ebro, and to the Mediterranean in the east. The Latin-speaking Romans were able to establish themselves in the plains, and Basque was maintained in the mountainous areas. Castilian originated in Burgos and Alava where Basque had been spoken before the arrival of the Romans, and in Navarre a variety related to the old Aragonese language emerged. In these areas it was Castilian, not Basque, which replaced Latin in functions previously reserved for Latin. Basque came to be considered as a rural language which was not suitable for cultured uses, and was generally restricted to oral use. However, works of a religious nature were written in Basque over various centuries, and this led to an identification between the Basque language, traditional society and religious faithfulness.

There was intellectual interest in the Basque language, which had been principally an oral language, during the nineteenth century. The appearance of Basque nationalism and its spread was accompanied by a renewed interest in Basque. However, whilst the literary Renaissance played an important part in producing Catalan nationalism, the renewed interest in Basque was a result of nationalism, rather than a factor contributing to it. Unlike the Catalan situation, there was no brilliant literary past which could be recuperated, and the Basque language had been reduced to rural use. In addition, its distance from Castilian made its acquisition by non-Basque speakers difficult.

The Basque Nationalist Party, the *Partido Nacionalista Vasco*, was founded in 1894 by Sabino Arana. Arana linked the defence of the *fueros*, or local liberties, with Basque nationalism. He coined the name *Euzkadi* for the Basque provinces as a national entity. He believed that the nation of *Euzkadi* was manifested through its institutions, traditions, in the customs maintained over the centuries, and also by the language. He rejected modernity and urban, industrial society, which threatened Basque characteristics. He also believed the nation to have a biological foundation, in this case, the Basque race. Unlike the Catalans who encouraged immigrants to learn Catalan, for Arana, however well an immigrant might speak Basque, he/she would still be a foreigner in *Euskadi*.

The Basque language was considered to be an element of Basque identity and with proposals to teach it, its codification became a priority. However, given that it had been basically an oral language, the diversity of dialects had been maintained. The Basque Language Academy was founded with the objective, amongst others, of elaborating a common norm. But the norms which were proposed were based on Guipuzcoan and received little support. It was after the Civil War in a climate of resistance to the Franco regime and renewed nationalism that the question of linguistic codification was addressed once more. In 1964 there was a meeting of Basque writers who were all willing to find a common variety. Proposals were put forward which formed the basis of general principles adopted by the Basque Language Academy in 1971, which created commissions to elaborate a norm. The standard adopted was *euskera batúa*, which is based mainly on the written tradition of the central dialects (Guipuzcoan and Labortano), together with features from peripheral dialects. Although there was opposition from traditional sectors who saw *euskera batúa* as artificial, it has generally been accepted.

Like Catalonia, the Basque Country also experienced industrialisation and economic growth from the eighteenth century. However, whilst this took the form of light industry in Catalonia, in the Basque Country it was heavy industry, principally iron ore extraction, which grew mainly in Vizcaya, and related industries in Guipúzcoa. Banks and financial services appeared around the industrial concentrations of Vizcaya, and the bourgeoisie responsible for the growth of the financial industry was able to forge links with the ruling classes in Madrid and play an economic role in the industrialisation of Spain as a whole. The Basque bourgeoisie was, on the whole, hostile to Basque nationalism. Industrialisation, as in Catalonia, attracted workers to the Basque Country from other regions of Spain, and from other countries.

Having been proscribed during the Franco regime, Basque now has co-official status with Castilian within the Basque Country. In the Basque census of 1981 and 1986 respondents were asked to classify themselves according to their knowledge of Basque: *Euskaldunes*, if they were capable of understanding and speaking Basque; *Cuasi-Euskaldunes*, if they had some active or passive knowledge of Basque; and *Erdaldunes*, if they had no knowledge of Basque. In the Basque Country overall, between 1981 and 1986, there was

an increase in the proportions of those classifying themselves as either *Euskaldunes* (21.53% to 24.65%) or *Cuasi-Euskaldunes* (14.45% to 18.18%), and a decrease in the proportion of those classifying themselves as *Erdaldunes* (64.01% to 57.15%) (census figures quoted in Siguan 1992:233). There is a higher concentration of Basque speakers in Guipúzcoa than in Vizcaya and Alava (Siguan 1992:233).

In the 1986 census knowledge of Basque was also matched against professional groups. The group with the highest proportion of people classifying themselves as *Euskaldunes* was agricultural workers at 63.83%, followed by professionals at 20%, and management at 18.2%. The lowest levels were seen in services at 12.98% and industrial workers at 15.57%. This can be explained by the fact that Basque for many years was used primarily by agricultural workers and fishermen, and the recuperation of the language began in those sectors of society which were educated and interested in politics. Although there appears to have been an increase in the number of people able to understand and speak Basque, the number of Basque speakers is still smaller than the number of speakers of the other languages of Spain (Siguan 1992:236).

1.1.4 Galician

We have seen that when the Romans began their occupation in the second century BC, the Iberian Peninsula was already inhabited by various peoples. In the north-west and the centre were the Celts, who had arrived various centuries earlier, and in the east and the south, the Iberians, who had arrived before the Celts, probably from north Africa. The area which is known today as Galicia was conquered by Julius Caesar. The presence of gold, silver and tin in the area influenced the establishment of the Roman presence (Costa Clavell 1983:19). Augustus followed Julius Caesar, and he divided the peninsula into three provinces: Citerior or Tarraconense, Betica and Lusitania. Today's Galicia, Asturias and Cantabria formed part of the province of Tarraconense, with the River Douro dividing it from Lusitania, a division which continued until the beginning of the third century AD. In the third century, Caracalla reorganised these divisions and created a new province, Hispania Nova Citerior Antoniana, which included today's Galicia, Asturias and part of Cantabria. In the time of Diocletian, Iberia was divided into five provinces. Hispania

Nova Citerior Antoniana remained independent from Tarraconense and was given the name of Gallaecia. Gallaecia extended into what today is northern Portugal, as far south as the River Douro, and consisted of three districts: Braga (from the north of the River Douro to the southern parts of the provinces of Pontevedra and Orense), Lugo (the north of the present Galicia), and Astúrica (present day Asturias, the north of Leon, and part of the west of Santander).

Latin-speakers colonised the area administratively, and Latin forms the basis of the Galician language. Latin continued to be the language used in administration and the Church, but by the eighth century it differed so much from the spoken language that we can say two languages existed: Latin and Galician-Portuguese, or Galaico-Portuguese. The first texts written in Galaico-Portuguese appeared in the twelfth century, and between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries this was the language used by the intellectual class. Carvalho Calero (1984:192) asserts that the literary texts and documents from Galicia and Portugal in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries cannot be classified as either Galician or Portuguese on purely linguistic grounds. Fontenla, too, refers to the unity of Galaico-Portuguese in both Galicia and Portugal in the Middle Ages: '[t]he fact is that in medieval texts...it is very difficult to differentiate the origin of authors and troubadours from both parts, such was the unity of the literary language used by them' (author's translation, Fontenla 1987:67).

In 1093 Alfonso VI created the *Condado* of Portugal which became an independent kingdom in the twelfth century. The new kingdom expanded southwards, and its centre of power and influence moved south. Moving south, Galaico-Portuguese came into contact with Christian populations with different linguistic influences. With the creation of Portugal, territory which had been part of the old Gallaecia became part of Portugal, and this had repercussions linguistically and culturally. Galicia and Portugal became culturally separated, and

...from the linguistic point of view, the consideration of the Braga district of Galicia as a land where a foreign language is spoken, because effectively there is a political frontier between the Spanish provinces of Pontevedra and Orense, and the Portuguese ones of Minho and Trás-os-Montes, constituted a gross extrapolation of the political into the area of the linguistic. (Author's translation, Carvalho Calero 1984:190)

Literary production in Galician stopped in the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century the Galician nobility was replaced by Castilian nobility, and under Castilian influence, Galician became only a popular language, with no administrative or cultural uses. Galicians who wished to gain access to the ruling group adopted Castilian. Carballo Calero describes the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as those of 'maximum cultural prostration of our language' (author's translation, Carballo Calero 1979:145). Since Galician was not written, the idea developed amongst Galicians themselves that Galician was really a degraded form of Castilian (Carballo Calero 1979:145). In the Kingdom of Portugal, the fate of Galaico-Portuguese was quite different: it continued to evolve, and with the name of Portuguese it became the language of an independent state and future empire, and was used in administration, science, literature, and so on.

From about the middle of the last century, there was a growing awareness of Galicia's own culture and identity. The cultural-political movement which developed from this was *Galeguismo* (this will be detailed in section 3.5 of Chapter 3). One of the objectives of the *Galeguistas* was the dignification and public use of the Galician language. Until the outbreak of the Civil War, and in contrast to the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was an increase in the public use of Galician. After the Civil War, the public use of Galician was proscribed, but the work of linguistic recuperation was carried on by those in exile in Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Mexico and Cuba. In the post-Franco period, under the Spanish Constitution and the Galician Statute of Autonomy, Galician is recognised as co-official with Castilian within Galicia, and as such it is used in public administration, education and the media. There has been an official *norma* (standard) for Galician since July 1982.

Unlike Catalonia and the Basque Country, Galicia is not a region which has seen industrialisation, rather, it has traditionally been an agricultural and fishing region. As one

of the poorest regions in Spain it has been an area of emigration, to Latin America, other parts of Spain and to other countries in Europe. Galician has therefore not had to contend with large numbers of Castilian speakers, but on the other hand, it has been identified with backward, rural life and not had the prestige associated with economic wealth, as has Catalan. Since it is related to Castilian it is relatively easy for a Castilian speaker to understand and learn Galician, but its proximity to Castilian also leads to interference. Figures for understanding and speaking Galician in the Galician population as a whole are very high. Details of the sociolinguistic situation of Galician will be given in Chapter 2.

1.2 THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

After the proscription of the Franco period, there is now legal provision for Catalan, Basque and Galician. The linguistic rights and duties of all Spaniards are set down in Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution of 1978:

Article 3

- 1 Castilian is the official Spanish language of the state. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.
- 2 The other Spanish languages will also be official in their respective Autonomous Communities in accordance with their Statutes.
- 3 The richness of the different linguistic varieties of Spain is a cultural heritage which will be the object of special respect and protection.
(Author's translation, Siguan 1992:75)

The recognition of the other languages of Spain and the right to use them was undoubtedly a major step forward following the proscription of any language other than Castilian during the Franco regime. However, as we will see in section 3.7 of Chapter 3, some commentators note inequalities in Article 3.

The Spanish state consists of seventeen Autonomous Communities. Of these, the following recognise their own languages in their respective Statutes: Catalonia (Catalan),

the Balearic Islands (Catalan), Valencia (Valencian), the Basque Country (Basque), Navarre (Vizcaian Basque and Castilian), and Galicia (Galician). All the Statutes have the same basic points: they recognise a language which is different from Castilian, which is their own language ('*lengua propia*'), as official together with Castilian; the people of the Autonomy have the right to know and use the language; and there should be no discrimination on the basis of language. The Autonomies where the Statute recognises a language which is different from, but co-official with, Castilian account for more than 40% of the Spanish population (Siguan 1992:80).

Of particular interest to us is the legal status of Galician. We have seen above that the Constitution recognises the other languages of Spain as official in their respective Autonomous Communities in accordance with their Statutes. The Galician Statute of Autonomy was approved in 1981, and Article 5 specifically refers to the Galician language:

Article 5

- 1 Galicia's own language is Galician.
- 2 The Galician and Castilian languages are official in Galicia and everyone has the right to know and use them.
- 3 The Galician authorities will guarantee the normal, official use of the two languages and will encourage the use of Galician in all levels of public and cultural life and in the publication of official information, and will provide the necessary means to facilitate its knowledge.
- 4 Nobody can be discriminated against for reasons of language. (Author's translation, Xunta de Galicia 1992:17)

The Language Normalisation Law (1983) also sets out the linguistic rights in Galicia before setting out the uses of Galician:

Article 1

Galicia's own language is Galician.

All Galicians have the right to know and to use it.

Article 2

The Galician authorities will guarantee the normal use of Galician and Castilian, the official languages of the Autonomous Community.

Article 3

The Galician authorities will adopt the appropriate means so that nobody will be discriminated against for reasons of language.

Citizens will be able to approach judges and the courts to obtain the legal protection for the right to use their language. (Author's translation, Xunta de Galicia 1992:18-19)

This, then, is the framework for the legal status of Galician: it is now legally recognised as an official language in domains from which it was previously excluded, such as public administration, the mass media and education. In Chapter 2, I will discuss to what extent Galician is used in public administration and the media, whilst the issues surrounding Galician's legal status will be discussed in Chapter 3, and in Chapter 4, I will discuss the legal provisions for the use of Galician in education and to what extent it is actually used in practice in schools.

The histories and sociolinguistic situations of the languages of Spain given in this chapter have been brief, but I believe sufficient to situate Galician in a general context within the Iberian Peninsula in preparation for the more detailed discussion of Galician and its sociolinguistic situation in the following chapters.

PART I

THEORETICAL ISSUES

CHAPTER 2

BILINGUALISM

This chapter deals with the phenomena which arise when two or more languages are present in a society. In the first half of the chapter I will discuss theory about bilingualism, diglossia, language shift and language maintenance, and in the second half I will attempt to relate the situation in Galicia to the theory.

A. THEORETICAL ISSUES

2.1 BILINGUALISM

Linguistic theory has its origins in the cultural ideology of Western Europe and the major Anglophone countries, with the result that linguistic competence has often been described in terms of the ideal monolingual. Given that the monolingual speaker has been the point of reference, the bilingual speaker has been viewed as different and deviant, and at the societal level, bilingualism has been seen as problematic, and even undesirable. As Wardhaugh puts it

Monolingualism...is such a widely accepted norm in so many parts of the western world that it is often assumed to be a world-wide phenomenon, to the extent that bilingual and multilingual individuals may appear to be 'unusual'. (Wardhaugh 1992:98)

Bilingualism has generally only been seen in a positive light when it has been the kind of elite bilingualism found in the higher echelons of society.

The majority of countries in the world are officially unilingual, despite the fact that there are nearly 3,000 different languages and yet fewer than 200 states (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:70-71). This means, then, that many languages are not officially recognised, or at best have restricted official status.

Before reviewing some of the descriptions and definitions of bilingualism, it would first be useful to consider what constitutes a language since this will obviously have implications for what can be considered to be bilingualism.

2.1.1 Language and Dialect

Most people use the terms 'language' and 'dialect' quite freely, but trying to define these terms is not without its difficulties. For Haugen (see Wardhaugh 1992:24-25) the confusion over the terms 'language' and 'dialect' goes back to Ancient Greece. The Greek language associated with Ancient Greece was actually a group of distinct local varieties (Ionic, Doric, and Attic), each with its own literary traditions and uses. Later, Athenian Greek, the common language, became the norm for the spoken language. This provided the model for later usage of the terms and the resulting ambiguity. Wardhaugh (1992:25) asserts that '[l]anguage can be used to refer either to a single linguistic norm or to a group of related norms, and *dialect* to refer to one of the norms'. However, this situation is confused by the use in France of the terms *dialecte* and *patois*. The French use the term *dialecte* to refer to a regional variety of a language that has an associated literary tradition, and *patois* to refer to a regional variety which lacks such a literary tradition.

We might decide that whether or not a variety is intelligible to other speakers should be a criterion when trying to establish language and dialect definitions. However, a few examples will show that this criterion is not adequate. Hindi and Urdu in India, and Serbian and Croatian in the former Yugoslavia, are all recognised as separate languages, but they are almost identical at the level of grammar. Hindi is written left to right in the Devanagari script and draws on Sanskrit for its borrowings, whilst Urdu is written right to left using the Persian-Arabic script, drawing on Arabic and Persian sources. Hindi and Urdu are the same language, 'but one in which certain differences are becoming more and

more magnified for political and religious reasons' (Wardhaugh 1992:26). Similarly, the differences between Serbian and Croatian are mainly different preferences in vocabulary rather than in pronunciation and grammar. However, many Croats believe that Croatian is not a dialect of Serbo-Croatian but in fact a separate language, and these sentiments are reinforced by the use of the Roman script for Croatian and the Cyrillic script for Serbian and by the different religious loyalties of Croats and Serbs. (See Chapter 6, section 6.1.1.3, for a more detailed discussion of Serbo-Croat). In China, on the other hand, a speaker of Cantonese would not be able to converse with a speaker of Mandarin since the two varieties are very different. However, a shared writing system means that literate Cantonese and Mandarin speakers can communicate, and speakers of the two varieties would argue that they speak dialects of Chinese, not two different languages.

The standard variety may in fact be the preferred dialect of a particular language, and other dialects may then be viewed as dialects of that standard, itself a dialect. Dialects may be social, as well as regional. Language-dialect definitions may, therefore, depend on the opinion of the speakers of a variety, or the opinion that others have of a particular variety. Whether a variety is considered to be a language or dialect usually depends on political and cultural factors. As we will see in Part II, the debate about how Galician should be written and whether it is a variety of Portuguese or an independent language is, in fact, a debate about non-linguistic issues.

The difficulties associated with trying to define the terms 'language' and 'dialect' will obviously have implications when trying to decide whether people are bilingual or bidialectal. Is someone who speaks Hindi and Urdu, or Serbian and Croatian, or Mandarin and Cantonese, bilingual or bidialectal? As Wardhaugh puts it, '...the bilingual-bidialectal distinction that speakers make reflects social, cultural, and political aspirations or realities rather than any linguistic reality' (1992:98). In the next sections I will look at bilingualism at the level of the individual and of society.

2.1.2 Individual Bilingualism: Definitions

This section will deal with bilingualism at the level of the individual from the point of view of both competence and of function.

2.1.2.1 Competence

The most stringent requirements for bilingualism based on competence were put forward in 1933 by Bloomfield who stated that bilingualism was 'native-like control of two languages' (quoted in Appel and Muysken 1987:2). Haugen and Hall both relaxed these requirements. For Haugen a speaker of one language can be considered bilingual when he/she can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language. However, it is, of course, possible to produce meaningful utterances in another language without being able to understand them. Hall considers a speaker to be bilingual if he/she has 'at least some knowledge and control of the grammatical structure of the second language' (quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:82). Pohl widens the definition further to include the initial stages of bilingualism when a speaker understands the foreign language but cannot speak it. Macnamara lists the four areas of linguistic ability (understanding, speaking, writing and reading), each of which he further divides into four levels (phonemes/graphemes, lexicon, syntax and semantics). He considers a person to be bilingual if he/she possesses even minimal proficiency in just one of these skills (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:82). Mackey believes that the point at which the speaker of the second language becomes bilingual is either arbitrary or impossible to determine. Bilingualism is something relative, and Mackey therefore defines it as '[t]he alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual' (quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:86).

Definitions of bilingualism should be precise as to the degree of competence required in the various areas of linguistic ability (understanding, reading, writing, speaking) for an individual to be considered to be bilingual. Can, for example, an individual be bilingual if he/she is competent in the 'passive' skills (reading and understanding), but not the 'active' ones (speaking and writing)? We should also question the validity of using writing as a criterion for bilingualism since most of the world's languages are either not written at all

or are written rarely and by only a few people. Another issue is how the competence of the speaker is to be assessed: given that there are great differences between native speakers, speakers should be matched as closely as possible in terms of sex, age, academic ability, education, social group and language aptitude (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:84).

2.1.2.2 Function

In the 1950s and early 1960s, scholars turned their attention more and more to the functional aspect of the presence of two languages, both with respect to the bilingual speaker and the bilingual society. For Baetens Beardsmore, the minimalist interpretation of functional bilingualism is that

a person can be called functionally bilingual if he is able to accomplish a restricted set of activities in a second language with perhaps only a small variety of grammatical rules at his disposal and a limited lexis appropriate to the task in hand. (Baetens Beardsmore 1982:23-13)

At the other end of this continuum, is the maximalist interpretation: 'the speaker is able to conduct all of his activities in a given dual linguistic environment satisfactorily' (Baetens Beardsmore 1982:13).

Since language is a social phenomenon knowledge of the purely linguistic is not enough. A speaker must also know how the language is used, that is, a speaker must have sociolinguistic competence as well as grammatical competence:

In the sociolinguistic view the task of grammar is not only to describe the rules that produce grammatically correct sentences in a specific language but also to describe what is 'acceptable' linguistic behaviour in different speech situations. (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:87)

It is accepted more and more that 'the study of the purely linguistic-grammatical instrument is inadequate, if that instrument is not studied in relation to its function' (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:87). For Canale and Swain communicative competence has to do with the relation and interaction between grammatical competence (the knowledge of

grammatical rules) and sociolinguistic competence (the knowledge of rules of language use) (cited in Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:87-88). The speaker's view of and attitude towards his/her native context is important, that is, to what extent the speaker identifies him/herself with the languages and/or linguistic communities and/or cultures concerned, and the speaker's conception of his/her competence. In addition, one could take into account other people's assessment of the speaker, that is, to what extent the communities concerned accept the speaker as a native speaker (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:88).

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:90) puts forward the following definition of bilingualism:

A bilingual speaker is someone who is able to function in two (or more) languages, either in monolingual or bilingual communities, in accordance with the sociocultural demands made of an individual's communicative and cognitive competence by these communities or by the individual herself, at the same level as native speakers, and who is able positively to identify with both (or all) language groups (and cultures), or parts of them.

2.1.3 Societal Bilingualism

The above section deals with bilingualism at the level of the individual. Bilingualism can also be studied at a wider level: when speakers of different languages are brought together within the same political entity, the result is societal bilingualism or multilingualism.

Fasold (1984:9-12) identifies four main causes of multilingualism, which are not mutually exclusive, a multilingual society usually being an example of more than one of the historical patterns.

The first of these is migration, either by a large group of people who expand their territory by moving into joining territory, or by a small number of an ethnic group who move into a territory already under the control of another nationality. In the first case, some of the indigenous population eventually become 'nationalised' (Fasold 1984:9) to the larger group, and culturally and linguistically assimilated to a greater or lesser extent. In the second case, the immigrants arrive speaking their native language(s), thus adding to the linguistic repertoire of the territory.

Another cause of societal multilingualism is imperialism, including colonisation, annexation, and economic imperialism, in which control is taken with relatively few people from the controlling nationality actually taking up residence. Imperialism differs from large scale migration only in relative terms: in the former, control is taken with relatively few people from the controlling nationality taking up residence in the new area, whilst in the latter, relatively large numbers of people from a given nationality move into contiguous territory and take control. Colonialism and annexation are types of imperialism, differing only in terms of whether or not people have to cross an ocean. In economic imperialism, on the other hand, a language penetrates a country without the associated nationality taking political control, partly because of the economic advantages associated with it. In both annexation and colonisation the imperialist language is likely to be used in government and education, and in economic imperialism the foreign language is necessary for international commerce and diplomacy.

Societal bilingualism may also be brought about by federation, either voluntary or forced, in which diverse ethnic groups or nationalities are brought under the political control of one state. Annexation and colonisation are examples of forced federation, as well as imperialism. Fasold points out that voluntary federation is rare, and cites Switzerland as an example. Forced federation applies particularly to European colonisation in Africa and Asia, and also in the western hemisphere, where different linguistic and sociocultural groups were brought together under a single administration.

A fourth cause of societal multilingualism is that geographical boundaries do not necessarily coincide with sociocultural boundaries, with the result that in border areas some people may be citizens of one country but belong to a sociocultural group which is based in another. This situation may be brought about when a nation loses a war and is forced to concede territory to the victors. Fasold notes (1984:12) that these four causes of multilingualism are not hard and fast categories, and that in some cases, such as annexation and large group migration, it is not easy to distinguish one category from another.

Hoffmann (1991:158-163) identifies both historical and contemporary factors which contribute to societal multilingualism. Historical factors include military conquests, occupation, secession and annexation; political marriages and succession arrangements; colonisation; migration and immigration; and federation. She notes four contemporary factors which contribute to multilingualism. The first is neocolonialism, in which many former colonies keep the old colonial language as the sole or joint official language. Neocolonialism is characterised by economic, and often political, dependency and by the maintenance of the old colonial language. Secondly, immigration and migration of labour contributes to multilingualism at individual and group levels in immigrant groups. A third factor is language promotion. This may take the form of imposing an official language in a particular territory by suppressing the local one, or of making pidgins, creoles and local languages official or national languages in order to promote their development and use. Fourthly, in the contemporary world many people have to communicate with others from different language backgrounds, for example because of increased international cooperation and communication and the movement of labour across language borders. Foreign-language learning is promoted in many countries in schools, and also by international organisations (for example, the agencies of the European Union). Hoffmann points out that these efforts lead to individual rather than societal bilingualism, but that sometimes a sort of temporarily bilingual group may be formed, for example, when a common language is agreed for international conferences.

The bilingual people of the world can be divided into four broad groups: elite bilinguals, children from linguistic majorities, children from bilingual families, and children from linguistic minorities (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:75-80). The first group, elite bilinguals, are those people who are voluntarily bilingual. Children from linguistic majorities are mainly those children who learn something of a foreign language at school, or those on immersion programmes. They may become bilingual for two reasons: firstly, social unrest among minorities may be prevented by guaranteeing a minority language more prestige either by employing it as a language of instruction for the majority, or by enabling it to be more widely used for official purposes; secondly, children from the linguistic majority may become bilingual through linguistic immersion programmes in which a minority language or a world language is taught to the linguistic majority, as for example in a formerly

colonised country. As far as children from bilingual families are concerned, if one of the languages spoken at home is the majority language, then the children will be under no external pressure to become bilingual. They may, however, be under pressure from within the family to be able to communicate with either parent in his/her own language. On the other hand, children from linguistic minorities are under external pressure to become bilingual. Parents, too, usually put pressure on their children to become bilingual so that they have better educational and economic prospects. If they become monolingual in their own language, these children will inevitably be excluded from such advantages. If they become monolingual in the majority language, they may be excluded from contact with their parents and their origin and culture.

Appel and Muysken (1987:2) identify three models of societal bilingualism which are theoretically possible. In the first situation, the society is divided into two monolingual groups, where any necessary intergroup communication is carried out by a few individuals. This is often the case in former colonial countries. In the second situation, everyone is bilingual, whereas in the third situation, one group is monolingual and the other bilingual. The bilingual group is usually a minority, perhaps from a social, economic or political point of view, rather than a numerical point of view.

In this section we have taken a look at some definitions of bilingualism from the point of view of both competence and function. We have also considered the causes of societal bilingualism and the models which are theoretically possible. The use of linguistic varieties at a societal level will be discussed in the section which follows.

2.2 DIGLOSSIA

One consequence of having two languages or varieties available is that people may choose which variety to use. In 1959 Ferguson discussed the characteristic features of speech communities where two varieties of the same language were used by the same speakers in different circumstances. He called this situation diglossia, and the defining languages were Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German and Haitian Creole. These languages all had a

superposed variety which Ferguson called the High variety or H, and a regional dialect, called the Low variety, or L. He compared the characteristic features of the H and L varieties of the defining languages according to function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology.

Ferguson argued that in one set of situations only H was considered appropriate, whilst in another only L was appropriate, with the two sets overlapping only very slightly. For example, a sermon in a church or mosque, and a university lecture would typically be given in H, whilst instructions to servants would be given in L. This functional specialisation of H and L was one of the most important features of diglossia. Diglossia, then, is based on a set of shared cultural conventions which individuals are aware of. Since there are constraints on individual choice, we can view diglossia as an aspect of communicative competence. Use of the 'inappropriate' variety in a particular situation would mean that the individual had not complied with the conventions, and we could interpret this as communicative incompetence. On the other hand, if we take the view that an element of choice must remain since human beings are not machines, this 'inappropriate' choice could be interpreted as deliberate non-adherence to the norms on the part of the individual.

In terms of prestige, Ferguson found that the speakers of the defining languages regarded H as superior to L, to the extent that the existence of L was even denied. Even when the feeling of superiority of H was not so strong there was usually a belief, even amongst those who had limited command of H, that H was somehow more beautiful, more logical and better able to express important thoughts.

In Ferguson's defining languages there was a large body of written literature in H, produced either long ago in the community, or in another speech community where H was the standard variety. He found that H and L were acquired differently - L in the 'normal' way as the child's mother tongue, and H principally through formal education. The difference in acquisition meant that speakers were more at home in L than in H.

Ferguson found that there was a strong tradition of grammatical study of the H variety. In contrast, grammatical studies of L either did not exist or were few in number. As far as the grammar itself was concerned, Ferguson found that 'in diglossia *there are always extensive differences between the grammatical structures of H and L*' (1959:333), and that in general the grammar of H was more complex than that of L, although he recognises that it is 'risky' (1959:333) to make generalisations about grammatical complexity.

As far as lexicon was concerned, most of the vocabulary of H and L was shared, but given the functional split of the varieties some terms and expressions existed in H which were not present in L, and vice versa. The phonologies of the two varieties were either quite close or moderately different. Ferguson also found that diglossia was stable, typically lasting at least several centuries, and in some cases well over a thousand years.

According to Ferguson, diglossia differs from a situation in which there is a standard variety with dialects in that no part of the speech community uses H regularly as a medium of ordinary conversation. His definition of diglossia is:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (Ferguson 1959:336)

Ferguson, therefore, identifies two varieties of a language, each with functional specialisation, and deals with the features of the H and L varieties. However, he does not discuss what factors might be involved in the process of language choice.

The factors affecting language choice in multilingual settings are discussed by Fishman (1965b). These factors include group membership (both objective and subjective), the situation (degree of intimacy, formality, etc), and topic. However, whilst these factors may help us to understand language choice at the level of the individual, they are not adequate

when it comes to accounting for language choice in multilingual settings as a whole. Fishman uses the concept of 'domain' as a means of relating individual behaviour to the norms of society at large, thus accounting for language choice in multilingual settings:

...domain is a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture, in such a way that *individual behavior and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other*. The domain is a higher order of abstraction or summarization which is arrived at from a consideration of the socio-cultural patterning which surrounds language choices. (Fishman 1965b:75)

Ferguson limited diglossia to two varieties of the same language. In 1967 Fishman expanded Ferguson's concept of diglossia to include not only separate languages or dialects, but also to include more than two varieties. Thus, it is possible to have diglossia where there are separate languages or simply separate dialects, ie it is possible to have diglossia with or without bilingualism.

Where there is both diglossia and bilingualism each of the languages is compartmentalised according to roles. If either the range of roles becomes restricted or is not compartmentalised, then there is no need for separate languages or varieties. According to Fishman, 'this is a *societal arrangement* in which individual bilingualism is not only widespread but institutionally buttressed' (1980:6).

When there is bilingualism without diglossia, there are no separate functions for the varieties. This situation tends to be transitional, since without compartmentalisation the language which is associated with more rewards will tend to displace the other(s).

The situation of diglossia without bilingualism is illustrated by the first of the patterns of societal bilingualism identified by Appel and Muysken (1987:2). Two or more speech communities are united religiously, politically or economically, as for example in pre-Revolutionary Russia when the elites often spoke French and the masses Russian, and communication between the groups was via translators and interpreters.

Since all communities have certain activities to which access is limited, there will be certain terms which are unknown to certain sectors of the community, or which are used differently by certain speakers. Factors such as population expansion and economic growth and contact with other groups lead to internal diversification and, therefore, to linguistic diversification. Such diversification is the beginning of bilingualism and '[i]ts societal normification is the hallmark of diglossia'. Therefore, a situation of neither diglossia nor bilingualism tends to be self-liquidating (Fishman 1967:37).

The situation of bilingualism without diglossia clearly highlights the difference between bilingualism and diglossia, that is, that bilingualism is characteristic of individual linguistic behaviour, whereas diglossia is the socio-cultural organisation of language varieties along functional lines. According to Fasold (1984), bilingualism without diglossia is the result of 'leaky' diglossia (1984:41), that is, when one variety 'leaks' into the functions which were formerly reserved for the other language.

Fishman (1968) specifies the differences between diglossia and bilingualism more precisely. Diglossia is a societal arrangement which 'pertains to socially patterned, intra-group bilingualism', whilst he uses bilingualism to refer to 'individually patterned behavior that is frequently orientated toward inter-group purposes' (1968:35, note 14). Stable diglossia depends on a social consensus in support of this arrangement. If this consensus ceases to hold, then overlapping of domains (Fasold's 'leaky' diglossia) and eventually language shift (ie the displacement of language A by language B) may occur.

Both Ferguson and Fishman discuss diglossia in binary terms (although Fishman does allow for the possibility of more than two languages). However, Fasold (1984) gives examples where diglossia exists in terms of the functional split between languages, but where more than two languages are involved. He cites the example of the case of Tanzania where Swahili is the L variety with respect to English, but the H variety with respect to the vernaculars. He calls this 'double overlapping diglossia' (1984:44-46). In 'double-nested diglossia' (1984:46-48) (for example, Khalapur, north of Delhi) there are H and L varieties (Hindi and Khalapur respectively), but within each there is a further diglossic relationship (for example Hindi has oratorical (H) and conversational (L) styles,

and Khalapur has varieties called *Saf boli* (H) and *Moti boli* (L)). He gives the English-educated Chinese communities in Singapore and Malaysia as an example of 'linear polyglossia' (1984:48-50). *Bahasa Malaysia* (the H form of Malay) is the second highest variety, and *Bazaar Malay* (the L form) is the lowest variety of all: all forms of English and all varieties of Chinese are located above it in the hierarchy of prestige. Fasold revises Ferguson's definition of diglossia, leaving only functional separation unchallenged:

Broad diglossia is the reservation of highly valued segments of a community's linguistic repertoire (which are not the first to be learned, but are learned later and more consciously, usually through formal education), for situations perceived as more formal and guarded; and the reservation of less highly valued segments (which are learned first with little or no conscious effort), of any degree of linguistic relatedness to the higher valued segments, from stylistic differences to separate languages, for situations perceived as more informal and intimate. (Fasold 1984:53)

Whilst Ferguson's belief that H was perceived as being more prestigious than L, is true for Arabic and Greek, this is not the case for Swiss German and Haitian Creole. German-speaking Swiss value both varieties but for different reasons, and in this sense both varieties are H varieties. Some individuals would argue that Swiss German holds more prestige for them. There is also a strong attachment among Creole-speakers to their language and a resentment of the implied superiority of French. Ferguson, then, fails to distinguish between four very different situations.

Other commentators find failings in the concept of diglossia. For Nercissians (1988), for example, the 'almost exclusive attention of diglossia theory in its present form to language prestige is rather simplistic and one-sided' (1988:56). She states that theory about diglossia does not explain why and how the L variety, with lower status than the H variety, is standardised alongside the H variety. She also questions why the variety which is suitable for formal settings, that is, the H variety, is not also suitable for informal settings and why it does not simply replace the L variety. Whilst status is important in the survival of a language and its continued use by the members of the corresponding language community, Husband & Saifullah Khan (in Nercissians 1988:57) point out that although a minority language may be perceived to be of low status, it may at the same time be valued

as a fundamental part of the minority culture and group membership. Ryan (1979) recognises the identity function of language as one of the major factors in the preservation of non-standard varieties. For Ryan there are two aspects to the distinction between high and low prestige varieties: firstly, 'status or prestige, the value of a speech variety for social advancement,' and secondly, 'solidarity, the value of a variety for identification with a group' (Ryan 1979:155). For both Nercissians and Ryan, then, the functional split between languages, which is the principal feature of diglossia, is not in itself enough to explain the survival in some societies of non-standard or low prestige varieties, and they see group membership and identity as being important factors. I will discuss the role that language plays in identity and group membership in the next chapter.

Martin-Jones (1989) rejects the structural-functional approach to bilingualism. She refers (1989:108) to Fishman's model of diglossia in bilingual situations, pointing to four central problems which 'stem from the structural-functional view of society which underpins the diglossic framework'. Firstly, there is a lack of choice since the languages in the community fall 'into a neat pattern of complementary distribution' (Martin-Jones 1989:108), although we have already noted above that an element of choice must remain since humans are not machines. Secondly, diglossia is seen as natural, with no explanation of the social origins of the functional split between the languages. Thirdly, the notion of situation of language use in Fishman's model of diglossia is inadequate. Domains 'are portrayed as abstract "sociocultural constructs" rather than actual instances of language use and as part of a system of societal regularities underpinning actual speech events' (Martin-Jones 1989:110). Martin-Jones notes that Fishman does not address the issue of what connections might exist between domains as abstract sociocultural constructs and actual speech acts, or between cultural norms and the language choices of individual bilinguals. Finally, the model of diglossia cannot account for change over time: '[w]ithin this static model, it is not possible to account for the social and linguistic processes involved in language retention and shift among bilingual minorities' (Martin-Jones 1989:111). Martin-Jones points to the work which attempts to link the divisions between linguistic groups to social, political and economic divisions as a more appropriate means of studying the functional divisions in languages. She quotes Eckert:

Diglossia does not arise; it is imposed from above in the form of an administrative, ritual or standard language. By virtue of its political and economic status, this language becomes requisite for access to power and mobility within the society. (Quoted in Martin-Jones 1989:120)

We will return to the issue of diglossia being imposed from above in the following chapter.

2.3 INTERFERENCE, LANGUAGE SHIFT AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

The long-term results on the languages involved in multilingual settings may be interference, language shift or language maintenance. In interference, a language or code may be subject to syntactic changes, lexical borrowing and changes in pronunciation. Long-term language contact may lead to far-reaching structural changes, the outcome of which is a mixed language or a pidgin or creole, or perhaps a new language.

Language shift occurs when a community gradually shifts from one language to another. The classic pattern of language shift is that a monolingual community becomes bilingual (often with diglossia) as a stage on the way to monolingualism in a new language. Shift is a neutral concept and can refer to language shift towards a majority or a minority language. The language being shifted to gradually conquers more and more domains, whilst the other language is used in fewer domains, such that its value decreases and there is less incentive for young people to learn it. Language shift is usually an intergenerational process. Language shift may be incomplete, for example, when a section of the community retains the old language in addition to acquiring the new one, or when a large majority, if not all, the community continues to use the old language for certain functions and therefore retains a degree of proficiency in it. In its extreme, language shift leads to language death: as a language is used in fewer domains, speakers become less proficient, the number of stylistic variants is reduced, the lexicon is reduced, the morphology is simplified and eventually no-one uses the language in the community.

Factors affecting language shift include migration into and out of the community; industrialisation and other economic changes; the number of speakers, their religious and

educational backgrounds, and their social class; and the degree of similarity between the languages. Whilst large groups may be in a better position to mobilise support for their language, the speakers' social position is of more importance than their number.

When members of a community continue to use the language(s) they have traditionally used, this is called language maintenance. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (cited in Appel and Muysken 1987:33) put forward factors which contribute to ethnolinguistic vitality, and thus contribute to language maintenance or shift. The three areas affecting vitality are status, demographic factors, and institutional support. Status refers to the economic status of the speakers of the languages in the community, their social status in terms of their self-esteem, their sociohistoric status (which affects the extent to which they see themselves as an ethnolinguistic group with common interests), and language status (both within and outside the community). Demographic factors include the number of speakers in a linguistic group, and their geographic distribution. For example, minority groups which are concentrated in an area have a better chance of preserving their language, and generally, rural groups tend to preserve a minority language longer than urban groups, due to communication patterns and the absence of daily social pressure to use the majority language. Institutional support refers to the extent to which a language is represented in the various institutions of a nation, a region or a community. Use of a language in the government, church, education, cultural organisation, and media contributes to its maintenance. Cultural (dis)similarity can be added as an important factor in language maintenance and shift: when cultures are similar there is a greater tendency for shift than when they are less similar (Clyne in Appel and Muysken 1987:37-38).

Fishman (1990 and 1991) discusses the process of reversing language shift (RLS). He proposes eight stages of RLS, which he sees as a sub-category of language status planning (language planning will be discussed in Chapter 4). These stages include re-establishing the community norms of the grammar, phonology, intonation and semantics of the language in question (stage eight), the organisation of public events (stage seven), formal linguistic socialisation, the major part of which is concerned with literacy (stage five), the provision of special RLS schools (stage four), use of the language in the workplace (stage three) and lower governmental services and the mass media (stage two), and the

recognition and implementation of cultural autonomy (stage one). The most important stage is stage six, which consists of 'family-, neighbourhood-, community-reinforcement...and constitutes the heart of the entire RLS venture' (Fishman 1990:20). This stage is crucial because the major part of socialisation in terms of language and identity takes place through intergenerational interaction, and relatively early on. It is not easy to plan RLS efforts which focus on building the family, neighbourhood and community and RLS must include programmes designed to provide social support for families. All subsequent stages must connect back with stage six if RLS is to be successful, although the link between some of the stages and stage six is not always direct or obvious. In other words, whilst it is important for a language to have a presence in public events, the media and the workplace, this will have little effect in reversing language shift if parents do not pass the language on to their children.

B. GALICIA

In the first half of the chapter I discussed issues relating to bilingualism, diglossia and language shift and maintenance. In this half of the chapter I will give a sociolinguistic overview of Galicia. With the aim of trying to establish to what extent Galicia can be described as bilingual and diglossic, I will give information about the proportion of people who have a knowledge of Galician and Castilian, and about the use of the languages both within and outside the family.

2.4 THE SPREAD AND USE OF GALICIAN

2.4.1 Knowledge and Spread of Galician

Knowledge of Galician within Galicia is widespread, largely because Galician and Castilian are linguistically closely related and because Galicia has been a region of emigration rather than immigration. However, it should be noted that the relatedness of Galician and Castilian causes interference, that is, Galician may become Castilianised, or Castilian Galicianised, in some speakers. Although knowledge of Galician is widespread,

we will see below that competence in the four areas of understanding, speaking, reading and writing varies greatly. This is particularly pronounced between generations: generally speaking, a very high proportion of the older generation is able to understand and speak Galician, whilst a higher proportion of the younger generation is able to read and write Galician. However, Rojo (1981:274) questions the validity of using ability to read and write Galician as a measure of competence, given that only recently has Galician had a presence in schools. I would add that, given that Galician has traditionally been the language of poor rural communities, it is probable that the older Galician speakers are barely literate in Castilian as well, since their access to education would have been limited.

Fernández (1983) refers to research he carried out in May 1981 which focused on the attitudes of school children, but also included information about the knowledge and use of Galician and Castilian by the children, their parents and grandparents. In this study, 86.5% of the children in the sample said they could maintain a conversation in Galician, and 98.7% in Castilian. 82% of children whose first language was Castilian could speak in Galician, and 96.2% of those whose first language was Galician could do so in Castilian (Fernández 1983:82).

More up-to-date figures about the spread and use of Galician are given in the studies by Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira (1993 and 1994). The 1993 publication consists of information compiled from a pilot study for the *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* which was carried out in the area of Ferrol between the end of February and mid-March 1991. Whilst this area was chosen because it is the most representative of Galicia from a sociological and linguistic point of view, the authors caution against taking the study to be representative of the whole of the Galician population. The pilot study includes information about the language use of the people interviewed, their parents and their grandparents, and language use according to age, class, and habitat. The 1994 publication is the first volume of the *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia*. It is compiled from data collected between April and September of 1992, and focuses on first language, language competence and language acquisition. We will be concerned here with first language, language competence and language acquisition in Galicia as a whole. Information related to the individual sectors into which Galicia was divided for the

purposes of the *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* can be found in Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira (1994).

Almost a fifth (17.2%) of the population of Galicia was born in cities, whilst the majority of the population (60.4%) was from rural areas (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994:42). Of the people interviewed for the pilot study, 95.2% were from Galicia (unlike Catalonia and the Basque Country, Galicia has been a region of emigration rather than immigration), and 86.3% had always lived in Galicia. In terms of where those interviewed were originally from, the pilot study shows the same distribution as the 1994 publication: 60.7% were from rural areas, 17.4% from urban areas, and the rest were from intermediate areas. Almost half were from the coast, 41.6% from inland areas, and just less than 10% from mountain areas. In terms of residence, just over half (51.6%) lived in rural areas, about a fifth in the city, 16.2% in the outskirts of the city, and 12.2% in towns. 60% lived on the coast, and the rest inland (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:13). These figures, then, show movement of people away from rural areas to cities and towns.

In Galicia as a whole, 62.4% learnt to speak first in Galician, 25.6% in Castilian, 11.4% in both languages and 0.6% in other languages (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994:39). These figures vary, however, when first language is considered according to area of origin, social class, and age. (Social class in Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994 was assessed according to profession, education, income, and area of residence).

When area of origin is taken into account, we see strong Castilianisation in the city areas (65.3% learnt to speak first in Castilian) compared to rural areas: for rural areas of fewer than 2,000 inhabitants with features characteristic of urban areas such as squares and banks ('rural I'), the figure falls to 18.8%; for rural areas with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants who are dispersed ('rural II') the figure is 5.6%. Galician is the first language of 86.5% of people from areas classed as rural II, and 67.3% of those from rural I areas, but the first language of only 17.1% of those from city areas (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994:43).

When first language is considered according to social class, amongst those who learnt to speak first in Galician 7% are in the low class, whilst for those who learnt to speak first in Castilian the figure is 2.8%. 2.1% of mother tongue Galician speakers are in the upper middle class, but for mother tongue Castilian speakers the figure is 9.9%. The majority (55.6%) of mother tongue Castilian speakers are in the middle class, whilst the majority (55.8%) of mother tongue Galician speakers are in the lower middle class (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994:52).

When we consider first language according to age, Galician was the first language of 81.8% of those aged over 65 and 76.4% of those aged 56 to 65, but for those between the ages of 16 and 20 the figure falls to 34.4%. Castilian is the first language of 45.9% of people aged 16 to 20. In the 21 to 25 age group the balance is slightly in favour of Galician with 43.8% having Galician as their first language, and 40.8% Castilian. The figures for mother tongue Galician speakers increase with age (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994:40). In other words, Castilian is increasing as the first language in younger people. Also increasing is the percentage of people who learnt to speak in both Castilian and Galician: for the over-65 age group the figure is 6.6%, whilst for the 16 to 20 age group this figure rises to 18.8%. In the 16 to 20 age group, the combined figure for those who are mother tongue Castilian speakers and those who learnt to speak in both languages is 64.7% (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994:41).

When we consider mother tongue of the under-25 age group according to the habitat where they were born, in cities there is a strong presence of Castilian as mother tongue (69%) and a low presence of Galician as mother tongue (12.3%). Almost a fifth learnt both Castilian and Galician (18.6%). For those born in the rural II environment, 73.4% have Galician as their mother tongue, whilst 13.9% have Castilian as their mother tongue, and 12.5% learnt to speak in both languages (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994:44). In the pilot study, for the under-26 age group living in city areas, Castilian was the first language of 95.2%, whilst it was the first language of 29.4% in rural areas (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:22).

From these figures, then, we can see that Galician has a stronger presence amongst the older generation, the lower classes and in rural areas. There is a very low presence of Galician as mother tongue in the under-25 age group born in cities. The figures show a loss of Galician from one generation to the next, and in areas which were traditionally Galician-speaking, there are more initially-bilingual speakers as a phase of transition towards the loss of intergenerational transmission of Galician (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:22). I would also add that the movement of people from rural to urban areas, where they encounter a stronger presence of Castilian, will no doubt compound the loss of intergenerational transmission of Galician.

As far as linguistic competence in Galicia as a whole is concerned, 97.1% claimed to be able to understand Galician quite well or very well and 86.4% to speak Galician quite or very well. For reading and writing the figures are lower: 45.9% claim to be able to read Galician quite well or very well and 27.1% say they can write Galician quite or very well (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:76). 2.9% claim to be able to understand Galician little or not at all. However, the authors verify whether those who make this claim ever use Galician, whether there are people in their circle who speak the language regularly, and whether there are other channels through which they could receive contact with Galician. They find that only 0.04% of the population of Galicia does not understand Galician, and therefore they claim that the 'real' level of comprehension for Galician is 99.9% (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994:77).

Linguistic competence in the areas of understanding, speaking, reading and writing varies according to class and age. Whilst there is little variation across the classes where ability to understand Galician is concerned, the higher the social class, the lower the ability to speak Galician: 90.4% of the low class can speak Galician, whilst for the upper middle class the figure is 71.8%. On the other hand, the higher the social class, the higher the ability to read and write Galician: in the low class 30.9% can read and 16.1% can write Galician quite or very well, whilst in the upper middle class 68.1% can read and 43.5% can write Galician quite or very well (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994:81).

There is little variation in ability to understand Galician quite or very well across the age groups: more than 96% of all age groups are able to do so. However, competence in reading and writing increases as age decreases. In the 16 to 25 age group, 72.9% can read and 64.1% can write Galician quite or very well, but for those over 65 these figures fall to 23.4% and 7.3% respectively (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994:82). These figures, then, reflect the fact that Galician was prohibited from schools until relatively recently (see Chapter 1).

Generally, Galicians have a low estimation of the quality of the Galician they speak. The sample for the pilot study was also asked to assess how good or bad their Galician was: there was a higher proportion of people who thought their Galician was not good than people who thought their Castilian was not good. There was also a higher percentage of people who thought their own Galician and that of their area was Castilianised than people who thought their own Castilian and that of their area was Galicianised. In other words, there was generally a lower estimation of the quality of Galician spoken by the interviewees and others in their area, than in the quality of Castilian spoken by the interviewees and others in their area¹ (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:17-20).

As far as acquisition of Galician in Galicia as a whole is concerned, 84.5% acquired it in the family, with schools accounting for only 5.5% and other environments, such as with friends, neighbours or at work, accounting for 8% (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994:174). These figures reflect the fact that until relatively recently Galician was prohibited from education, as well as the fact that the domain where Galician is acquired is determined by mother tongue of those who learnt to speak first in Galician or Galician and Castilian. If the acquisition of Galician and Castilian are broken down according to mother tongue, we see that whilst school and other environments are negligible for Galician and both Galician and Castilian, they account for 21.4% and 38.3% respectively

¹ It is not at all unusual to hear comments such as 'that is the Galician word we use here, but the word used in area x is more Galician', 'I do not speak good/proper Galician', and 'the Galician from this area is not very good - they speak proper Galician in area y'. Remarks such as these may not only be the result of a low estimation of Galician, but also an awareness on the part of the speaker that he/she and the people he/she knows do not speak standardised, normative Galician.

of mother tongue Castilian speakers. 42.2% of mother tongue Castilian speakers learnt Castilian in the family, whilst 99.9% of mother tongue Galician speakers and 93.5% of those who learnt both Galician and Castilian did so in the family (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994:175). We will see below, however, that whilst the family is the main environment in which Galician is acquired, there is a loss of intergenerational transmission of Galician within the family. In Chapter 4 we will see that the presence of Galician in schools is low. Neither of these facts bodes well for the acquisition of Galician by young people in the future.

In this section, then, we have seen that overall a very high proportion of the population of Galicia understands and is able to speak Galician. We can conclude that since there are two languages in Galicia and most Galicians have at least passive knowledge of both Galician and Castilian, there is bilingualism at both the societal and individual levels in Galicia.

2.4.2 Use of Galician According to Age, Class and Habitat

This section will deal with the language habitually used by different generations and the language used between family members in general, and according to class and habitat. Rojo (1981:284) points to the problems of asking people which language is spoken in the home, since often the parents will speak one language (Galician) to each other, but use a different one (Castilian) when talking to their children. In his study, Fernández (1984:207) also found differences in the language used by the children in the sample within the family: Galician was used much more with the grandparents than with other members of the family, and the use of Galician was about the same with parents, brothers and sisters. However, use of Galician by the children in Fernández's sample outside the family with friends, that is, still in informal situations, decreased. Use of Galician also decreased in what were considered to be more formal contexts, for example, with a priest or school teacher.

The study by Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira (1993) bears out the general trends found by Fernández (1984). Language use over three generations (the interviewees,

their parents, and their grandparents) was compared, and the options offered were 'only Castilian', 'mostly Castilian', 'only Galician', and 'mostly Galician'. The category 'only Galician' showed a marked decrease from the generation of the grandparents (84.5%) to that of the interviewees (34.8%). The category 'only Castilian' was about the same in all three generations. The proportion of speakers in the bilingual categories increased. In general, the use of Galician decreases as age decreases: of the interviewees aged 60 or more, 54.3% used only Galician, but this figure dropped dramatically to only 8.6% in the 16 to 25 age group. In this last age group 64.5% speak only or mostly Castilian, whilst in all other age groups those who speak only or mostly Galician represent the larger proportion. 97.7% of the grandparents of the over 60s spoke only Galician, whilst 74.6% of the grandparents of the 16 to 25 age group spoke it. The parents of all age groups represent the highest percentages of speaking only Castilian (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:23-24).

Those questioned were also asked about their use of Castilian and Galician with their grandparents, parents, partner, brother/sister and children. In general there was a decline in the use of Galician when the interviewees' language use with their grandparents was compared to their language use with their children. In rural areas, the interviewees predominantly used Galician when talking to family members, although there was a decline in the use of Galician when talking to their children. In towns, although much smaller, there was still a predominance of Galician, but a higher use of Castilian with children, and in the city areas Castilian was almost exclusively used by the interviewees when talking to their children. A similar pattern was shown by crossing language use within the family with social class (self-assessed by the person being questioned): in the lower class there was a predominant use of Galician by the interviewees, but a decrease in use of Galician when they spoke to their children, whilst in the middle class the language spoken with brothers/sisters and with children was slightly in favour of Castilian.

Irrespective of class, there was a predominance in the use of Castilian in city areas when speaking to children (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:30-33). As we saw in section 2.3 above, it is intergenerational transmission of a language which is important in the process of language shift, and the figures above indicate that it is predominantly Castilian which parents use with their children. As I have already pointed out, we could

expect the use of Castilian by parents with their children to increase as people move from rural to urban areas.

Rojo (1981:286) found that the more rural an area was the higher the incidence of the use of Galician, and this was also the case in the study by Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira (1993). According to their study (1993:25), in city areas 36% of those interviewed said they spoke only Castilian and only 3% said they spoke only Galician, whilst in rural areas this last figure rose to 55.4%. However, in rural areas there was a large decrease in the percentage of Galician-only speakers from the generation of the parents (93.1%) to that of the interviewees (55.4%), whilst the figures for the generation of the grandparents and parents were almost identical (96.3% and 93.1% respectively). When habitat (rural, town and city) and age were combined the distribution of language use was not favourable for Galician in the under-41 age groups in general, but the figures are particularly low in the under-26 age group:

Usual Language of Interviewees	Rural	Town	City
Only Castilian	2.9%	32.4%	57.1%
Castilian and Galician	74.3%	67.6%	42.9%
Only Galician	22.9%	0.0%	0.0%

Table 2.1: Use of Language in the Under-26 Age Group, According to Habitat (source of data: Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:26)

Mother tongue is important as a factor for conditioning habitual language use - the majority of those questioned maintained their first language as the only or the dominant language habitually used (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:28). However, Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira (1993:28-29) point out that the fact that in the sample as a whole there were fewer people who, having Castilian as their first language, used Castilian exclusively compared to those who stayed monolingual in Galician, did not necessarily point to a process of re-Galicianisation: most of these people were from families in which the parents used only or mostly Galician. We have seen that parents predominantly use Castilian with their children, and if first language conditions habitual

language use then we can assume that, if present trends continue, Castilian and not Galician will be the language habitually used by Galicians.

2.4.3 Language Use in Domains Outside the Family

This section will deal with language use in Galicia outside the family environment. Portas (1993) provides a useful and thorough account of the use of Galician in various domains.

Language use in the work environment varies according to the social class of the people carrying out the work, the traditional or modern characteristics of the type of work being analysed, and the level of formality of linguistic contact. Use of Galician is highest in agriculture and fishing, industry and construction, which, according to figures from 1989 from the *Instituto Galego de Estadística* (Galician Institute of Statistics) employ 39.2%, 14.4% and 8.4% of Galician workers respectively (cited in Portas 1993:152-153). Spanish penetrates much more in the service sector which employs 38%. Although Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira (1993:37) point out that their study is of a provisional nature, it shows that language use within the work environment depends on many factors, including the age of the workers, where they are from and the language they usually use. Generally speaking, the use of Galician with work colleagues increases as age increases, those who come from rural areas are more likely to use Galician with work colleagues, and those who usually speak only or mostly Galician are more likely to speak only or mostly Galician with their colleagues. However, the use of Galician by those who usually speak only or mostly Galician decreases when they speak with their superiors (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:35-45).

As we have seen (Chapter 1), the use of Galician in institutions in the public sector was until recently prohibited. Galician is now co-official with Castilian in Galicia and as such it is used in public administration, the *Xunta* (Galician Government) and the Galician Parliament. Galicians can use either Castilian or Galician with the public authorities. The study by Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira (1993) shows that overall, nearly 66% use only or mostly Galician with the public institutions, whilst just over 34% use only or mostly Castilian. The 16 to 25 age group is more likely to use only or mostly Galician

with the public institutions than the 41 to 60 age group (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:53). People from rural areas are more likely to use only Galician (62.4%) than only Castilian (6.8%) with the public institutions, whereas those from cities are more likely to use only Castilian (64%), rather than only Galician (10.1%) (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:55). Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira (1993:55) conclude that two thirds of those interviewed use mostly Galician in their contact with the public institutions, and see an important sociolinguistic change in that Galician is being used less within the family, in spite of its use in education, and is beginning to be spoken with the public authorities and used in the media.

The majority of official publications from the different *Consellerías* (ministries) of the *Xunta* are written in Galician (Portas 1993:156). In the Parliament, Galician is used internally for administration, and also in the *Diario de Sesións* and the *Boletín Oficial*. In spite of this, though, Spanish is still used in some official written uses, especially in provincial administrative delegations which are dependent on the central services of the *Xunta*. It is not difficult to find advertisements from departments of the *Xunta* in Spanish, and Spanish is used in a high percentage of books which are edited by the *Xunta*, above all those published through the *Servicio Central de Publicacións da Consellería da Presidencia* (Portas 1993:156). This appears to be inconsistent with the spirit of the legal framework, according to which we would expect the authorities to encourage the use of Galician in all levels of public life (see Chapter 1, section 1.2). However, as we will see in Chapter 3 (section 3.7), not only have many commentators drawn attention to the fact that there are imbalances between the status of Castilian and the non-Castilian languages of the Spanish state, but the laws are vague about the promotion of the use of the non-Castilian languages. We will also see that one of the criticisms constantly made by commentators about the *Xunta* is that there is a lack of will to 'normalise' Galician. (*Normalización* will be discussed in Chapter 4).

Whilst the written language in the central administration of Galicia is usually Galician, spoken language is subject to the formality or informality of the context. Many authorities practise inverse diglossic behaviour: Galician is used in formal contexts, such as speeches in Parliament, and in front of the press or the television cameras, whilst Spanish is used

internally in administration and informal contexts (Portas 1993:156). Whilst it is true that Galician is now being used in contexts from which it was excluded until relatively recently, I believe that in many cases the use of Galician in front of the press or television cameras is no more than people doing what they have to be seen to do, that is, they have to be seen to use Galician in public, but away from the cameras they continue to use Castilian.

At a more local level, the councils provide the most direct administrative contact with the population. Since there are no detailed studies about their oral language use in plenary meetings or in public acts, Portas looks at the language used by the councils in their official documentation published in January 1990 in the *Boletín Oficial de la Provincia* in order to draw some conclusions. Of the 237 councils (of a total of 313 in Galicia) which published material in the *Boletín Oficial de la Provincia*, the majority (199, or 83.9%) of the councils use only Spanish in their published documentation, a small percentage (9.4%, or 22 of the 237) use both languages, and fewer still (16 or 6.7%) use only Galician (Portas 1993:157-158). This state of affairs is confirmed by García Conde (interview, 1994), who is part of the language 'normalisation' team at the council of Santiago de Compostela. In the council of Santiago, public communication is partly in Galician and partly in Castilian, but most internal paperwork is in Castilian. According to the law, all public communication should be in Galician and the *Xunta* has to ensure that the councils comply with the law. With this aim in mind, councils can apply for subsidies for activities such as courses, but the *Xunta* does not ensure afterwards that Galician is in fact used, in spite of its obligations (interview 1994). Once again, then, the public bodies appear to promote Galician by providing subsidies, but I would argue that there is no real will behind these actions to 'normalise' the language.

Portas (1993) also discusses the religious use of Galician and Spanish. In spite of the recent changes in behaviour and the way that the languages are valued in Galician society, the Church in Galicia 'continues practically to turn its back on the language of the community which it addresses' (author's translation, Portas 1993:167) both in terms of the language used by the church institutions and hierarchy, and the everyday use in religious practices by priests. Only 4.2% of masses in Galician parishes took place in Galician only,

whilst 85.9% took place in Spanish only, and 10% in both Galician and Spanish in varying degrees (López Muñoz in Portas 1993:168). This, of course, is particularly significant given the importance of Santiago de Compostela as a place of pilgrimage in the Catholic Church. On the other hand, though, there are sectors which promote religious activities of a *Galeguista* nature, setting up associations and carrying out projects which attempt to alleviate to a certain degree the lack of religious texts in Galician.

Galician is now used in the mass media. There is a greater presence of Galician on television than on the radio, which in turn has a greater presence of Galician than the written media, and overall, Galician is used more in the media under public control than in media in the private sector (Portas 1993:169). We could argue that the use of Galician in the media is effectively being subsidised since it has greater presence in the media under public control. In contrast, there is a high level of support for Catalan from the private sector, which reflects its higher status. From 1974 to 1985 Galician was only used in TVE's 'Panorama de Galicia', however, TVG (Televisión de Galicia) was set up in 1985, broadcasting entirely in Galician. Both Portas and Roca (forthcoming) point to the criticism levied at the Galician used on TVG, Portas stating that presenters and dubbers

 speak Galician which is phonetically full of features belonging to Spanish, resulting in a language which sounds 'strange' to television viewers, demonstrating the lack of appropriate linguistic sensitivity of those responsible for the selection and linguistic training of the professionals.
 (Author's translation, Portas 1993:173)

Most of the advertising on TVG is in Spanish, and both the volume and variety of programming in Spanish is higher than in Galician.

In terms of daily newspapers, only recently (6 January 1994) was a newspaper launched which is written entirely in Galician - *O Correo Galego*. This newspaper tends to concentrate most on news and events related to Galicia, having a reduced section for international and national news. Other regional newspapers which use Galician tend to do so for local news and events and cultural and linguistic matters, leaving coverage of international and national news to Spanish. This situation reinforces the idea that Castilian

is more suitable for 'serious' topics, whilst for local and 'folk' issues Galician is the more appropriate language.

Book publishing can also be used as a measure of cultural production in both Galician and Spanish. In 1985 for every book in Galician, more than a hundred were published in Spanish. There is a large number of text books on Galician language and literature because these are subjects in the curriculum of primary and secondary level education. Given that it is a legal requirement for History and Geography at primary level and other subjects at secondary level to be taught in Galician, there are some other text books published in Galician, although, as we will see in Chapter 4, the list is by no means comprehensive. In addition, the number of books translated into Galician is very low: while 59 books were translated into Galician in 1985, 9,437 were translated into Spanish (Portas 1993:176). Four publishers account for most of the books published in Galician (Edicións Xerais, Galaxia, Edicións do Castro and Sotelo Blanco), and there are a number of small publishers, such as Xistral, Edicións do Cúmio, Via Láctea and Souto, along with some linguistic and pedagogical associations which also publish material (for example, AS-PG, AGAL, *Irmandades da Fala*).

2.4.4 Diglossia

We have seen that whilst there is bilingualism at both the societal and individual levels in Galicia, the use of Galician varies considerably according to age, habitat and class. In the last section we saw how Galician was used in domains outside the family.

Some of the factors which have affected the use of Galician are that it has been associated with rural, uncultured life and poverty, that is, it has lacked prestige. Castilian, on the other hand, has been associated with economic and political power, education and culture, that is, it has had prestige. People have had a low estimation of Galician and, as we saw in section 2.4.1, often believe that their Galician is not 'good'. A movement up the social scale, which may have often been reduced to simply moving from the country to the city, was accompanied by the abandonment of Galician and the adoption of Castilian. We have seen that many Galician-speaking parents speak Castilian to their children. Studies such as

the one by Fernández (1984) show that people will generally use Galician with their family (although the use of Galician varies according to the interlocutor) but Castilian outside the family, particularly with the priest, the doctor, or the school teacher. In other words, Galician is used for informal, or low, situations and Castilian for formal, or high, ones. On the other hand, Galician now has a presence in formal domains previously reserved for Castilian, such as education, the media, politics and public administration, although we have seen that its use varies within these domains and is by no means dominant.

The range of opinions about whether or not the term diglossia can be applied to Galicia reflects the difficulties of trying to establish a definition, as seen above in section 2.2. Some commentators² would say that the term diglossia can still be applied to the sociolinguistic situation in Galicia. Others³ believe that there never was diglossia in Galicia in the sense of H(igh) and L(ow) languages, rather there had been two different social groups, one which used Castilian and one which used Galician. Any code switching was due to the interlocutor being identified as a speaker of the other language rather than being the result of a change of topic. In this case, what appeared to be diglossia was attributable to the fact that people who carried out certain activities belonged to a particular linguistic group. Most commentators use the term diglossia in the way Fishman uses it to describe a situation between two languages in contact. Portas, on the other hand, believes that the term is applicable to Galicia in the sense that Ferguson had originally used it, in that there is a written code which is different from the spoken language (interview 1994).

Unlike most commentators who see diglossia as being negative for Galician, Brea (interview 1994) expresses a desire for Galician to be in a diglossic situation in the way that Ferguson uses the term, with respect to Portuguese, because for him Galician and Portuguese are varieties of the same language, and, if *Reintegración* took place, written Portuguese would be the H(igh) variety and spoken Galician the L(ow) variety. This situation is, he believes, necessary for a language to be 'normal'. (I will discuss *Reintegración* in Chapters 5 and 6 in Part II).

² Costas, García Conde, Fernández, Casares and Yus Respaldiza (interviews. 1994) all express this view.

³ For example, González Blasco (interview 1994).

Rojo (interview 1994) points out that generalisations about the sociolinguistic situation can no longer be made: what was the case for the whole of Galicia twenty years ago now has to be modified according to the strata of the population, the location, the cultural background of the speakers, and so on. Some commentators point to the fact that Galician is recovering more and more domains and so the term diglossia is less applicable (Sánchez Puga, interview 1994). I would qualify that by saying that rather than recovering domains, Galician is entering domains from which it was previously absent, such as education, the media, and public administration, whilst on the other hand, it is losing speakers in its traditional domains. In some situations where only Spanish would have been appropriate in the past, such as in political speeches, Galician is now used as the H variety. However, in many of its new domains, the use of Galician is still restricted. For example, we have seen that in newspapers Galician is usually used for the 'folklore' type of articles, and that in public administration Castilian is still used for written and oral communication. We will see in Chapter 4 that in many schools Galician has a minimal presence, usually being a subject to be studied, rather than the language through which other subjects are taught. In other words, what we see is that in varying degrees in different domains, there appears still to be a functional split between the uses of Spanish and Galician.

2.4.5 Language Shift in Galicia

In his study of school children, Fernández (1983) tried to quantify the processes of *desgalleguización* (the loss of Galician from one generation to the next) and *regalleguización* (the move from Castilian to Galician from one generation to the next) from the generation of the grandparents to the parents, and from the parents to the children being questioned. The percentages of Galician speakers and patterns of language use varied according to generation, social class, and habitat. Fernández found that the greatest differences were from the generation of the grandparents to the generation of the parents, with, as would be expected, greater *desgalleguización* and lower maintenance of Galician in the city than in the country. In the generation of the children, the rates of *desgalleguización* in rural and city areas were much closer, but the rate of *desgalleguización* of the children in the city areas decreased considerably and maintenance of Galician increased. Fernández found that in absolute terms the *desgalleguización* of the

children was greater in the city than in the country, but the rate had decreased in the city. There was also a higher rate of *desgalleguización* and lower maintenance in the rural middle class children than in the city middle class children, although in the rural lower class there was higher maintenance and lower *desgalleguización* than in the urban lower class.

In general, then, Fernández found that although a large increase in the rate of *desgalleguización* would have been expected between the generation of the parents and the children, this had not been the case, especially in the cities. However, in absolute terms the number of Galician speakers in the family environment was lower than in the previous generations. He attributed this lower rate of *desgalleguización* in cities to a greater presence of Galician in the formal domains previously reserved for Castilian (for example, political and administrative use, and use in the mass media and schools). However, in a later article (Fernández 1991:256) he believes he was wrong to have attributed it to this since Galician had never had a very high profile in cities which were, therefore, bound to show a deceleration in the rate of *desgalleguización*.

As we have seen, the figures from the pilot study for the *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* also point to the general loss of Galician from one generation to the next, which has resulted in the very low figures for use of Galician in the under-26 age group (see Table 2.1 above), even in the rural areas which were previously the stronghold of Galician. Although the initial figures we saw appear to be favourable for Galician, with a high proportion of the Galician population being able to understand and speak Galician, there is intergenerational shift from Galician to Castilian. Portas, too, sees a clear move towards Castilian: the number of bilingual Galicians continues to grow, those with Galician as their first language forming a higher proportion than those with Spanish as their first language; the number of people who are monolingual in Spanish is growing; and the number of monolinguals in Galician is decreasing, since they are becoming part of the bilingual group (Portas 1993:188). On the other hand, amongst individuals of a higher status and economic position and amongst those people who live in urban areas who were originally Spanish-speakers, there is a greater use of Galician. Portas also notes the changes of linguistic use in formal contexts (1993:189-190). He states that in society as a

whole a positive tendency can be detected in terms of the increase in the effective use of the language and attitudes and values amongst Galicians (Portas 1993:191).

Roca (forthcoming) sees Galician as a dying language. The almost exclusively rural society of Galicia is becoming urban, people are migrating from the country to the city, there is increased communication, and the mass media reaches everyone. This means that 'the bulk of Galicians have, for the first time in their history, become integrated in the mainstream of the modern world' (Roca, forthcoming). This may have its advantages, but 'underprivileged language varieties survive best (in fact, can only survive) under conditions of geographical and cultural isolation (mountains, harsh climate, illiteracy, etc)', and the fate of Galician can be no different (Roca, forthcoming). Add to this the fact that Galician is declining as mother tongue and that there is an intergenerational decline of Galician, and for Roca '[t]he message emerging...is loud and clear: Galician is dying'. He goes on to say:

The real Galician deposited in the minds of successive cohorts of Galician toddlers via intergenerational transmission since the time of the Romans is disappearing at such a rate...that its early demise appears inevitable: if present trends continue (and all the signs indicate they will), there will not be one single Galician-speaking child in some 30 years (indeed, probably much earlier, given the factors of acceleration and critical mass, not included in the statistics). When this happens, the language will simply go under with the death of the last natural adult speaker. (Roca, forthcoming)

Since many Galicians now pass Spanish rather than Galician on to their children, Roca doubts that there is a genuine wish amongst Galicians to halt the decline, since 'Galician does not pay off' (Roca, forthcoming). Other commentators, too, point to the fact that in villages, traditionally a stronghold of Galician, Castilian is now spoken by children, whilst some twenty years ago they spoke Galician (García Conde, interview 1994), and that Galician-speaking parents speak Castilian to their children (for example, Maceira Porto, Pazos Pereira, interview 1994).

Other commentators also view the future of Galician with pessimism. Brea, for example, believes that Galician in the future will only exist as a part of folklore, being used for

fiestas and by town criers. He sees Galician's future as being rather like Irish is now (interview 1994). Gil Hernández, too, sees a similar future for Galician (interview 1994). Others are more optimistic, believing that Galician is still in a position where it could have a future, but see a need for change in the public policies and public institutions which are supposed to promote and encourage the use of Galician (García Conde, García Negro, interviews 1994). I would agree since, as we have seen, there is a lack of will on the part of the public bodies to encourage the use of Galician.

Although Galician is now co-official in Galicia and has a presence in the High domains, those working for its revival and promotion should not let their guard down and relax. A higher percentage of children can read and write Galician than can maintain a conversation, which is the sort of situation one would expect if the children were learning a foreign language (Fernández 1984:206). That Galician is the first language of a high proportion of children from villages is not very hopeful because, as we have seen, there is movement of people from rural to urban areas. Although Galician is now present in domains which until recently were exclusive to Castilian, the use of Galician is decreasing in informal domains so that it is not the language of socialisation of the majority of the younger generation. In addition, interaction in formal and prestigious domains affects only a small proportion of individuals, and in a relatively advanced stage in their lives at that (Fernández 1991).

We have seen that it is the intergenerational transmission of Galician, which Fishman (1990 and 1991) sees as crucial to reversing language shift, which is being affected. It is through the intergenerational transmission that we learn to socialise and establish ties with family, friends, and others, and through which we learn the values, ideologies and traditions necessary for a sense of community to be maintained. I have already said in section 2.4.1 that the movement of people from rural to urban areas, where they encounter a greater presence of Castilian, is likely to compound intergenerational loss of Galician. We saw in section 2.4.2 that first language was important in conditioning habitual language use. Gaining new, High domains may be of little help in securing the future of Galician if parents do not transmit the language to their children. In other words, without

intergenerational transmission of Galician, it may be very difficult, if not impossible, to reverse the very low figures we have seen for the use of Galician amongst young Galicians.

CHAPTER 3

NATION, STATE AND (LINGUISTIC) MINORITIES

This chapter is concerned with the relationship between (linguistic) minorities and the state. In order to examine this relationship, it is necessary to first consider the rise of the nation and the relationship between the nation and the state. I will then discuss theories about identity, ethnicity and nationalism and the role that language plays in these, before moving on to consider the relationship between minorities and the state, and the role that language plays in this relationship. In the second half of the chapter I will attempt to relate the theories and issues raised in the first half to the situation in Galicia.

A. THEORETICAL ISSUES

3.1 THE NATION AND THE STATE

Before looking at some of the factors which contribute to the rise of the nation, it must be stated that the term 'nation' should not be confused with, nor used as a synonym for, the term 'state'. Connor (1978) deals with the ambiguity which surrounds these terms. The state is the major subdivision of the globe and can therefore be conceptualised in physical, quantitative terms. The nation, on the other hand, is much more difficult to conceptualise because it is a psychological phenomenon and thus essentially intangible. The basis of the nation is a belief in a group's separate origin and evolution, 'a psychological bond that

joins a people and differentiates it...from all other people in a most vital way' (Connor 1978:379). However, what ultimately matters 'is not *what is* but *what people believe is*' (Connor 1978:380), and therefore the group's belief in their separate origin need not correspond to reality. Tangible characteristics such as religion and language are significant to the nation insofar as they contribute to the notion of the group's self-identity and uniqueness.

In line with its intangible nature, Benedict Anderson puts forward the following definition of the nation: 'it is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (Anderson 1983:15). The nation is imagined because 'its members will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (Anderson 1983:15). It is imagined as limited because 'even the largest of them...has finite, although possibly elastic, boundaries beyond which lie other nations' (Anderson 1983:16), and it is imagined as sovereign because it has its origins in 'an age in which the Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm' (Anderson 1983:16). Finally, the nation is imagined as a community because 'regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson 1983:16).

The term nation-state refers to a situation in which, in theory at least, a nation has its own state, where the borders of the territorial-political unit coincide with the territorial distribution of a national group. However, there are few countries in the world which actually conform to this definition of nation-state. This is because of the process of state development, where the state has attempted to construct nations from heterogeneous citizens. Given the process of state development, the modern state may, and in fact most nation-states do, encompass diverse nations who have been grouped into a 'national population' of the state. The result of this is that there are nations both with and without their own states.

Since the concept of the nation is central to many of the points I will be discussing with regard to the relationship between minorities and the state, I shall start by examining the rise of the nation.

3.1.1 The Rise of the Nation

Both Hobsbawm (1990) and Anderson (1983), amongst others, provide detailed accounts of the rise of the nation, which I will compare. I will also refer to Gellner (1983) and Llobera (1994).

Anderson traces the rise of the nation by aligning it to the cultural systems out of which it came into being. The two major cultural systems with which he is concerned are the religious community and the dynastic realm, both of which provided a hierarchical social structure. In the case of the former, the apex, of course, was divine, whilst the apex of the latter was the monarch, whose legitimacy derived from divinity. However, with the gradual demotion of Latin (the sacred language which had provided the principal means of imagining the community of Christendom) and the explorations of the non-European world (which caused Europe to widen its cultural and geographic horizons), the unity of the religious community waned after the late Middle Ages. The automatic legitimacy of the monarch began to decline in the seventeenth century.

There was also a fundamental change in the concept of time from one of simultaneity of past, present and future, to one of 'homogeneous, empty time' (Anderson 1983:30). This was important because it allowed people to 'think' the nation. The technical means for presenting this new concept of time was provided by the novel and the newspaper, both of which enabled people to form imaginary links between characters and events. As far as the newspaper is concerned, the main link is the calendrical coincidence, borne out by the date at the top of the front page which shows the progress of homogeneous, empty time.

Capitalism, and particularly print-capitalism, was central to the popularity of the nation. The initial market for book publishing was the literate, bilingual, Latin-readers who constituted a small proportion of the total population of Europe. By the mid-seventeenth

century the Latin market was diminishing and cheap editions were being produced in the vernaculars. There were three main reasons for this: there was a change in the style of Latin to which the intelligentsia aspired; Protestantism made use of the expanding vernacular print-market and created large new reading publics; and there was a slow, geographically uneven spread of particular vernaculars as instruments of administrative centralisation. From languages of administration, the vernaculars gradually became languages-of-power and contributed to the decline of both Latin and the imagined community of Christendom.

The print-languages laid the bases for national consciousness in three ways: first, they created a means of communication below Latin and above the spoken vernacular, such that speakers of a vast variety of vernaculars could understand one another via print and paper and thus became aware of others in their language-field; second, print-capitalism gave a new fixity to language, and therefore the rate of change in language slowed from the sixteenth-century; and, third, print-capitalism created languages-of-power (Anderson 1983:47-48). Thus, the new communities were imaginable due to the interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), print, and the fatality of human linguistic diversity (although the immense variety of languages were assembled into fewer print languages, these could not be assembled into a universal language).

Gellner (1983), too, gives much importance to written language in his book *Nations and Nationalism*. He recognises the role that written language plays in both culture and administration: '[l]iteracy, the establishment of a reasonably permanent and standardized script, means in effect the possibility of cultural and cognitive storage and centralization' (Gellner 1983:8).

For Gellner nations have their roots in industrial society. He sees nationalism as 'the general imposition of a high culture on society' (1983:57) in which the 'generalized diffusion of a school-mediated, academy-supervised idiom, codified for the requirements of reasonably precise bureaucratic and technological communication' (1983:57) is essential. Industrialised society requires individuals to be both mobile and have the kind of generic training which allows them to understand and follow instructions for new

activities or occupations. They need to be able to communicate with others in the course of their work and must possess oral and written language skills, and written communication must be in 'the same shared and standardized linguistic medium and script' (Gellner 1983:35). A centralised education system is essential in achieving these goals, and this education system is run by the state as a means of socialising individuals into a single, standard culture, via a single, standard language and literacy. 'Literacy is no longer a specialism, but a pre-condition of all the specialisms, in a society in which everyone is a specialist. In such a society, one's prime loyalty is to the medium of our literacy, and to its political protector' (Gellner 1983:142).

Llobera (1994) criticises Gellner's account of the rise of the nation as being rooted in industrial society since nationalist developments 'were largely present prior to industrialization', and he states that 'industrial society only served to reinforce an existing phenomena' (1994:100). Llobera believes that the roots of modern national identity can be traced back to the Middle Ages. In the case of England, for example, there seems to be general agreement that by the end of the medieval period there was a sense of national identity. However, this national consciousness would have been limited to a small part of the population in the various nations in the Middle Ages. Even so, the medieval use of terms such as 'natio' and 'patria' shows that political and cultural realities must have been developing. Language is a factor which helps to explain the appearance of nations in the Middle Ages. Llobera, like Anderson, cites literature in the vernacular as helping to fix language, and written language also helped to preserve historical memories. Another factor in the appearance of nations was early administrative divisions, particularly those of the Roman period, as was a proper name for a country. The culture (customs, laws, and so on) of an area also helped to identify nations. A sentiment of national consciousness existed in the Middle Ages from the twelfth century, principally in the classes of knights and the semi-educated clerics 'who had narrower linguistic (more "national") horizons' (Llobera 1994:84), rather than in the educated classes who used Latin. For Llobera, then,

...the idea of nation as an imagined community is far from being modern and...it was in the Middle Ages that many of the Western European nations were created by a sheer jump of the imagination in the circles of the literati, most commonly, but not always, around the monarchs. (Llobera 1994:120)

He makes it clear, though, that medieval and modern sentiments of national identity are not the same, and

...this is why national identities had to be 'invented', or as I prefer it, re-created. What matters is that past history should provide a plausible scenario for the re-creation of national identity; if not, it can only be maintained with the help of the state. (Llobera 1994:215)

I would suggest that two of the most important factors in this 're-creation' of national identity are a standardised written language and a national education system.

Hobsbawm (1990), in contrast to Anderson and Llobera, charts the rise of the nation through the ideological and political discourse of those who began to use the term at the end of the eighteenth century. The primary meaning of nation was political, equating the people and the state in the manner of the American and French Revolutions. The nation was considered as one and indivisible, and was 'the body of citizens whose collective sovereignty constituted them a state which was their political expression...the element of citizenship and mass participation or choice was never absent from it' (Hobsbawm, 1990: 18-19). This gives us the equation nation=state=people. Since the definition of state was essentially territorial, the nation was linked to territory.

According to Hobsbawm, there were two concepts of nation: the nationalist concept and the revolutionary-democratic concept. The essence of the former was that the creation of political entities which contained the nation derived from the prior existence of some community which distinguished itself from other communities, whilst the central concept of the latter was that the sovereign citizen-people was the state, which constituted a nation. The equation state=nation=people applied to both these concepts.

Like Anderson, Hobsbawm examines the relationship between the nation-state and the process of capitalist development. However, Hobsbawm takes a general economic view, rather than concentrating on print-capitalism. He refers (1990:31) to Professor Gustav Cohn who believed that the economic benefits of large-scale states were demonstrated by the history of Britain and France. This had two consequences: first, the 'principle of nationality' applied in practice only to nationalities of a certain size which were culturally and economically 'viable' (he does not offer a definition of 'viable'); and, second, the building of nations was seen as a process of unification and expansion. This second point inevitably led to nations being heterogeneous, and was therefore incompatible with definitions of nation based on ethnicity, language or common history. The heterogeneity of the 'nation-state' was accepted because there were many parts of Europe and the rest of the world where nationalities were so mixed on the same territory that a purely spatial homogeneity seemed unrealistic, and it also seemed that small nationalities had much to gain by merging with larger nations. In keeping with liberal ideology, the nation and nation-state were seen as a phase in human evolution and progress, from a small group to eventual world unification (and implicit in this was the assimilation of small communities into larger ones). This has Darwinian overtones of the survival of the fittest, or in this case, the most 'viable'.

The feelings of collective belonging of pre-industrial people formed the basis of political nationalism. These feelings of collective belonging, which Hobsbawm calls 'proto-national' bonds (1990:46), could be mobilised by states and national movements. There were two types: first, the supra-local forms of popular identification, and second, the political bonds of select groups more directly linked to states and institutions. An important element of proto-nationalism was an elite literary or administrative language. This was because it created a community of the intercommunicating elite, it acquired a new fixity which made it appear more permanent, and eventually the official or the culture-language of rulers and elite usually came to be the actual language of modern states via public education and other administrative mechanisms. For Hobsbawm, there could be no spoken national language before general primary education, except such literary or administrative idioms as were written or devised or adapted for oral use, either as a lingua franca or to address popular audiences across dialectal boundaries.

The most decisive criterion of proto-nationalism was the consciousness of belonging or having belonged to a lasting political entity. Where proto-nationalism existed it made the task of nationalism easier in that existing symbols and sentiments of a proto-national community could be mobilised behind a modern cause or a modern state. However, proto-nationalism alone is not enough to form nationalities, nations or states, although it may be desirable for the formation of serious state-aspiring national movements.

Both Anderson and Hobsbawm thus provide an explanation of the foundations on which the nation could be built, and go on to give an account of how the growing state administration and apparatus both needed, and helped, to create loyalty to the state, ie patriotism.

Anderson applies the anthropologist Victor Turner's "'journey" between times, statuses and places, as a meaning-creating experience' to the process of state-building (1983:55). The journey is the pilgrimage, in both religious and secular terms. The secular pilgrimage or journey was created by the rise of absolutising monarchies and by the Europe-centred world-imperial states. The absolutising monarchies created a unified apparatus of power, which was controlled by and loyal to the ruler. Unification meant that both people and documents had to be interchangeable. Human interchangeability was fostered by functionaries who undertook administrative 'journeys' on which they met fellow 'pilgrims', a process which led to a consciousness of connectedness. The interchangeability of documents was fostered by the development of standardised languages-of-state. During the mid-nineteenth century there was a rapid increase in state expenditure and the size of both civil and military state bureaucracies, which gave the possibility of social advancement to a greater number of people from more varied social backgrounds. The rise of the bureaucratic middle classes was linked to print-capitalism since it was essential for them to be literate. The bourgeoisie were the first to achieve solidarity on an essentially imagined basis, through print-language.

For Hobsbawm, the institutional and administrative arrangements and laws which the state imposed over its territory was one of the factors in the development of patriotism. The state increasingly kept records of its citizens through censuses, compulsory attendance at

primary school, military conscription, personal documentation and registration, and so on, and, with the advances in transport and communication, it was able to keep records of those in even the remotest parts of the territory. From a technical point of view, this raised questions about the best way to implement such a form of government: any administrative system would require a written and spoken language-of-state. It also raised the question of citizen loyalty to the state, not least because the state increasingly depended on the participation of its citizens (for example, for taxes and to fight in wars), in other words, there was a need for civic loyalty or patriotism.

The original idea of patriotism was state-based rather than nationalist, since it related to the state exercising power in the name of the sovereign people. This made the state to some extent 'ours', and therefore preferable to the states of foreigners. Simply by becoming a 'people', the citizens of a country became a sort of community, though an imagined one. States had every reason to reinforce state patriotism with sentiments of community where possible. Between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, this coincided with mass migration and international rivalries, and so it was relatively easy to unite nations against outsiders.

The process of modernisation itself ran the risk of causing a conflict between loyalty to the state and loyalty to the community, because it was necessary to homogenise and standardise the inhabitants by means of a written national language. As I have said already, a national language was needed for administrative purposes, but in addition it was necessary for literacy and mass secondary education if there was to be technical and economic development.

In this section, then, we have seen that the rise of the nation is linked to capitalism and the growing state machinery. Anderson lays much emphasis on the feelings of community generated by print-capitalism. Both Anderson and Hobsbawm acknowledge the role that the language of administration, and later the language of state, had to play in the creation of the nation, through the increased state administration.

As far as national language is concerned, I believe that it contributed to the 'imagined community' in terms of the increasing state administration which touched 'ordinary' people's lives and created a sense of community amongst functionaries. If there was to be economic growth then the population would have to be educated. Not only was a common spoken and written language essential for mass education, but it would also help the creation of a sense of community. Whilst Hobsbawm discusses the role that public education played in the creation of national spoken languages, neither he nor Anderson discuss the role it had in creating this feeling of community. Education gave the state the ideal opportunity to promote myths of common history and myths of common ancestry, in other words, to promote Anderson's 'imagined community'. Conscription would also have fulfilled a similar role, and it could be argued that not only did war make it necessary to create the 'imagined community', but that it would have facilitated this process by creating 'us' and 'them' situations. As Williams (1991b:4-5) says: '[t]he key agencies of this national socialisation programme were compulsory education and mass conscription, which together did more to seal the populous into a citizenry than any other earlier state-inspired necessity'.

We will return to the role that language, and in particular print language, plays in the creation of the 'imagined community' in Part II.

3.2 LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY, ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM

In this section I will discuss the role that language plays in identity, ethnicity and nationalism.

3.2.1 Identity

There are two basic aspects to the process of identity: the way we see ourselves, and the way we are seen by others. Liebkind (1989) provides a useful review of identity theories. Between 1971 and 1981, Henri Tajfel developed a theory of social identity, according to

which people's self-image is composed of personal identity and social identity. Social identity is derived from membership of various groups. When people are assigned to a group, that group becomes an in-group for them, and they think of that group as better than the alternative, which is an out-group for them. They do this basically because they are motivated to achieve and maintain a positive self-image. This in-group preference is a form of ethnocentrism (that one's own group is the centre of everything) which is seen to enhance self-esteem by increasing the value of a particular social identity. However, in the 1950s and 1960s ethnocentrism tended to be one-sided in stratified social systems, and this meant that subordinate groups developed negative self-concepts and positive attitudes towards the dominant groups. Since then, it has often been taken for granted by social scientists that those ranking low in prestige hierarchies in society would have lower self-esteem than the more favoured members of society.

The theory of reflected appraisals holds that we tend to see ourselves as others see us. In this way, subjective identity is affected by objective identity. However, the evaluations of others are internalised only selectively. In addition, self-evaluations are intimately related to a more global conception of identity. Identity has to do with the way in which people define themselves and identify with various other individuals and groups. The way in which other people or groups define a particular individual or group is often called 'objective'. I would question, though, to what extent this 'objective' identity is really objective and impartial. The distinction between self-defined (subjective) and other-defined (objective) aspects of identity is important for a person's self-esteem. Our self-appraisals affect the imagined appraisals made by others more than the reverse.

There is a difference between self-conception and self-esteem (Liebkind 1989:51). Self-conceptions are the theory people hold about themselves, but self-esteem is motivationally more significant. The self-esteem motive is one to maintain a positive conception of oneself. Self-esteem can be based on a sense of competence or power, and be tied to effective performance, or be based on a sense of virtue or moral worth, which partly derives from reflected appraisals.

Sociological theories of minority identity have often neglected the fact that human identity has both personal and social aspects. While social identity derives from membership of various social groups, personal identity derives from characteristics which distinguish an individual from other members of the same group(s). An important source of an individual's sense of identity is his or her feeling of being distinctive, not only as a group member but also as an individual. If a person belongs to a social group which has become a source of guilt and shame, this gives rise to conflicts of identification. This conflict can be solved either by changing the identification, or by reappraising the 'bad' characteristics, so that identification can be maintained without damage to one's self-esteem.

The terms 'majority' and 'minority' are value laden and seem to reflect a hierarchy which combines the idea of status and legitimacy, of numbers and of deviation from the norm. Thus to be a member of a minority places a person outside the majority, either in a superior position if the minority is an elite, or in an inferior position if the minority is an oppressed group. Tajfel also distinguishes between numerical and psychological minorities, and defines the latter as a segment of society that feels bound together by common traits that are held in low esteem (Liebkind 1989:54).

Finally, if the social aspect of identity obtains from group membership, then a feature of identity must be the distinction between groups, that is to say recognition of discrete group boundaries. Identity, therefore, is also about defining and maintaining the boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. Grillo asserts that 'identity construction is a political process' (1980:13) and that

...the establishment and protection of a boundary between 'Us' and 'Them' are political activities involving many divergent interests which may have different meaning at various levels of social organization. They also entail the elaboration of an ideological and symbolic system through which the concept of 'Us' is projected in such a way that it becomes part of the predominant mode of discourse, an aspect of everyone's everyday experience. (Grillo 1980:14)

3.2.2 Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity

There is a difference between ethnic identity, which is 'clearly anchored in the identity process' and ethnicity, which is 'part of the structural relationship between ethnic groups' (Liebkind 1989: 47). However, in sociological literature they are often used synonymously. The term 'ethnic group' has often been used by American sociologists to refer to a group existing as a subgroup of a larger society with a common cultural tradition and a sense of identity. However, there is no intrinsic reason why an ethnic group need be a minority.

Ethnicity refers to primordial, unpoliticised people:

Its primary referent is to unmobilized man, to man living in a limited human and geographic environment uncomplicated by broader causes, loyalties, slogans or ideologies. For mankind under such limited social conditions we find it inappropriate to distinguish between those daily rounds that pertain to or derive from religion, nationality, or social class. As far as we can tell, peasant and tribal societies themselves make no such distinctions...Instead, we find a fully integrated set of beliefs, views and behaviors, a 'way of life' that is 'traditional' in that it invokes timeless custom as the directive guide to all the processes, problems and perspectives of life. This then is the initial and primary meaning of ethnicity: an all-embracing constellation, limited in its contacts with the outside world, limited in its consciousness of self, limited in the internal differentiation or specialization that it recognizes or permits; a 'given' that is viewed as no more subject to change than one's kin and one's birthplace; a 'given' that operates quite literally with these two differentiations (kinship and birthplace) uppermost in mind; a 'given' in which kinship and birthplace completely regulate friendship, worship, and workmanship. (Fishman, 1965a:70)

There are both objective and subjective aspects to ethnic identity. Objective aspects include linguistic, racial, geographical, religious and ancestral characteristics, which are in some way given and involuntary. However, in rapidly changing social contexts visible links with earlier generations may disappear but a sense of 'groupness' remain. Subjective aspects are seen as a matter of belief in which common descent is perceived to be more important than common heritage; there is presumed identity, but it is not arbitrary, there must be some link between past and present. We can distinguish between public and

private ethnic markers (Edwards 1985:111-112). For socio-economic advance, public ethnic markers may be set aside and become symbolic so that they are no longer a barrier to social advance. Private and symbolic markers continue to exist because they allow group boundaries to persist without obstructing social mobility and access. Some public markers persist for a long time, because they are both public and symbolic. These are the factors which Edwards takes into account in his definition of ethnic identity:

Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group - large or small, socially dominant or subordinate - with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialisation or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of 'groupness', or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past. (Edwards 1985:10)

Group boundaries are important. The cultures which they enclose may change, and do change since all groups are dynamic, but the continuation of boundaries themselves is more longstanding, in other words we could describe the boundaries as 'fixed', but their content as 'fluid'. For example, third and fourth generation immigrants may be quite different from the first generation, but still recognise links. Grillo (1980:12), for example, discusses 'switching' in relation to the Basques:

At one time to be 'Basque' is to be conservative, in a political sense; at another, or for others, it is to be socialist and revolutionary. This is not a simple case of old identities in new clothing, or new identities in 'time-honoured disguise', as Marx called it, but a complex interweaving of the two.

In other words, there is still a distinction between 'us' and 'them', but the identity markers within the groups 'us' and 'them' have changed. This switching is not arbitrary, and '...it must at least partly reflect the social and economic position of the groups and individuals whose version of "Our" identity holds sway' (Grillo 1980:12), in other words, it is a response to the social, economic and political position in which they find themselves.

3.2.3 Ethnicity and Nationalism

There is a similarity between ethnicity and nationalism in that they both contain a sense of 'groupness'. However, in addition to this feeling of 'groupness' nationalism embraces a desire for some form of political autonomy and national self-government, and in this sense nationalism is an extension of ethnicity. Thus, if ethnicity refers to 'unmobilized man' (Fishman 1965a:70), then nationalism must refer to 'mobilized man'. For Fishman the change from unmobilized to mobilized man is accounted for by social, economic and cultural changes, which result in both a 'broadening and a fractionization of concern' (1965a:72). Groups which were previously integrated on the basis of kinship become integrated on the basis of symbols of shared origin, in other words we could say that they become nations, or 'imagined communities'.

Primordial ethnicity is a construct that pertains to an all-encompassing web. This web comes apart and becomes segmentized, bit by bit, during successive periods of socio-cultural change. Its segments become separately transformed, symbolically elaborated and integrated via organizations, ideologies and political institutions. Nationalism - including language loyalty - is made up of the stuff of primordial ethnicity; indeed, it is transformed ethnicity with all of the accoutrements for functioning at a larger scale of political, social and intellectual activity. However, below the level of conscious symbolic behavior, bits and pieces of primordial ethnicity may still show through. (Fishman 1965a:72-73)

Nationalism, it could be argued, differs from ethnicity in two respects: firstly, there is the desire for political autonomy, and secondly, there is inherent in it a process of identity formation. To put it another way, nationalism appeals to cultural differences in its attempts to further the interests of the nation, that is, in its quest for self-government for the nation. As Agnew (1989:174) puts it:

[nationalism] rests on claiming non-political legitimacy for political advantage. In other words, nationalism relies on appealing to cultural symbols of identity in pursuit of political goals, prime among which is control over the state. It is a form of practical politics, therefore, not a transcendental force.

Kedourie (cited in Edwards 1985:11) puts forward three major assumptions in nationalism: first, that there is a natural division of humanity into nations; second, that these nations have identifiable characteristics; and third, that their only legitimate form of government is self-government.

3.2.4 Language and Identity

Language is one of the most important features of identity (see, for example, Gudykunst and Schmidt (1988) and Petrella (1980)). Of course, it is not the only one, but it is perhaps the most salient, and immediately differentiates 'us' from 'them'. It marks speakers as members of an in-group or an out-group. Research indicates that ethnic group members identify more closely with those who share their language than with those who share their cultural background, and that individuals also evaluate speakers perceived as in-group members more favourably than those perceived as out-group members (Gudykunst and Schmidt 1988:1). This relates to the ethnocentrism and self-esteem referred to above in section 3.2.1.

Ethnic identity may or may not coincide with the language used. For mainstream populations, the language of daily use, ie the language of communication, is usually the language which reflects the group's culture. However, other groups may associate themselves with a language which is not the one of daily use, for example the Irish or Italian Americans, in other words, their language is symbolic. This distinction between communicative and symbolic language mirrors the distinction between public and private ethnic markers (see section 3.2.2).

There are surface and underlying aspects of ethnic identity (Eastman 1984). At the surface level are the behavioural aspects such as language usage, and at the underlying level is the primordial sense of belief. A change in language from one of use to one of association (from communicative to symbolic), for example to facilitate social mobility, does not, therefore, mean a change in ethnicity. Indeed, people can share ethnicity but speak different languages. For a complete change in ethnic identity, cultural features would have to be substituted at both the surface and underlying levels.

Two similar dimensions to ethnicity can be distinguished: the cognitive (ie the ideological-symbolic; primordial) and the social structural (ie behavioural) (Mullings 1978). All groups are characterised by the former, but the latter is different according to discrepancies in the socio-economic position and history of the group in the context in which it exists. Thus, we can distinguish between 'cultural' and 'oppressed' minorities. 'Cultural' minorities maintain only their primordial identity; 'oppressed' minorities express other cultural markers of ethnicity (eg language, dress, costume), distinguishing themselves from the dominant society, and generally occupy the lowest levels of the stratification scale with respect to the division of labour and allocation of resources.

Language, then, is one of the most important, and probably the most salient, features of identity. For Pool (1979:15-16) identity is related to the main language spoken and the level of competence a person has in another language. However, he goes on to say that the relationship between language and identity is stronger in some countries than in others, and also varies from one group of people to another.

According to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, a person's language shapes his or her world view, a particular physical or social environment will be seen differently by different people according to what language they speak. For example, if speakers of language A have words to describe things whilst speakers of language B do not, then it will be easier for speakers of language A to speak about those things. Also, if language A makes distinctions which language B does not, then speakers of language A will perceive the differences in their environment which their language draws attention to. This argument can be extended into the area of grammatical categories, so that the way gender, number, time and so on are classified will help the users of the language to perceive the world in a certain way and also limit their perception. In other words, we perceive only what our language allows us to perceive, or what it predisposes us to perceive: it controls our world view. Fishman (see Eastman 1983:75) distinguishes between those who see language as determining thought and those who see language as a reflection of world view. The former represents the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, also known as the language-constraint view, or linguistic determinism, according to which we are compelled to think in a certain way by the structure of our language, that is, our language determines our thought. The latter

position is also known as the language-reflection view, or linguistic relativity, and according to this 'language behaviour feeds back upon the social reality that it reflects and helps to reinforce it (or change it) in accord with the values and goals of particular interlocutors' (Fishman quoted in Eastman 1983:75). When considering the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis we should remember that whilst some concepts may be easier to express in some languages than others, it is possible to speak about anything in any language if a speaker is willing to use some degree of circumlocution. In addition, people with different cultures may speak languages with many of the same structural characteristics, and people who speak languages with very different structures may share very similar cultures (see Wardhaugh 1992:223-224). We should also note that the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis does not allow for radical changes in world view which may be brought about, for example, as a result of scientific experimentation and discovery.

If one agrees with the linguistic determinism position, then any changes to the language of a nation will have repercussions for the way people think and perceive the world around them. Pool (1979) suggests that when a member of group A, whom he calls Ma, who normally speaks the language of group A, La, learns the language of group B, Lb, and gains competence in Lb, Ma increasingly identifies him/herself as a member of group B. As Ma acquires competence in Lb, he or she shows more and more resemblance to the members of group B, and thinks increasingly like the members of B. If the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is to be believed, then Ma will also change the way he or she views the world when increasing competence in Lb is gained.

Eastman (1981) takes a different view from Pool. It is 'language defined as speech *used* (speech in its syntactic, semantic, *and* pragmatic aspects)' (Laitin in Eastman 1981:47) that influences world view. In other words, if we take language as speech used, what is communicated is culture, and Eastman (1981) sees identity as cultural behaviour. Communication is not a one-way process, and so when Ma communicates with Mb, we can assume that Mb also communicates with Ma, thus building up shared experiences. Shared experiences are part of our perceptions of ourselves and of others, and it is in this sense that language may influence our ethnic and political identity. In other words,

language is a form of cultural communication, and to the extent that identity is cultural behaviour, language can affect our identity.

We have seen that features of group identity change in response to the social, cultural, political and economic environment in which a group finds itself. One of the features of group identity which may change is language. If language is one of the most important and salient features of identity, then we can assume that a change in language or language use must influence our identity. Our identity may, therefore, be influenced by the social, cultural, political and economic environment. If this is the case, then any state policies which affect this environment will have repercussions as far as identity is concerned. We have also seen (section 3.1.1) that language plays an important role in the 'imagined community' of the nation. I would argue, therefore, that it would be possible to manipulate language and therefore identity as part of the overall process of nation-building. We will return to this suggestion in Part II when we consider the orthographic debate in Galicia.

3.3 (LINGUISTIC) MINORITIES AND THE STATE

There are two basic categories of linguistic minorities, indigenous and immigrant, and here I shall be concerned with the former. In this section I will discuss the relationship between linguistic minorities and the state, and of particular interest will be the role that language plays in that relationship. I will begin by discussing what constitutes a minority and, in particular, a linguistic minority.

3.3.1 Linguistic Minorities

The status of minority presupposes a process of group identification, but the mere fact of group or ethnic identity does not create a minority. A group can be a minority in numerical terms but this does not automatically confer minority status in terms of the group's social, economic and political position. Besides, numerical definitions are not satisfactory since there are no lower and upper limits, either in terms of sheer numbers or

in terms of their proportion of the total population, with which minority groups must comply. In addition, it is possible for a numerical minority to be in a socially dominant position. For this reason, Allardt points out that 'the decisive factors in labelling minorities are...border-maintaining behaviour and social categorisations rather than size' (1984:197).

A Anderson (1990) identifies seven basic types of indigenous minority situations:

1. the language minority may be situated in its own compact 'homeland' territory, within a specific country, but not where minority status is created by the drawing of international frontiers
2. a language minority may culturally (but not necessarily politically) represent the linguistic majority in the neighbouring country; in this sense the ethnolinguistic frontier does not precisely coincide with the international boundary
3. the situation of ethnic minorities across international frontiers becomes still more complicated when there are complementary minorities in both directions at the same point across the boundary, ie when the predominant population of one country constitutes a minority across the border in a neighbouring country, and vice versa.
4. a situation of imposed minority internationality is formed when a language minority is indigenous to a specific region yet divided between two or more states (eg Basques and Catalans)
5. certain indigenous language minorities might be widely scattered...Such minorities usually constitute relatively small proportions except in very localised situations, although collectively their numbers could add up into millions
6. a special case might be made for interrelated language minorities enjoying ethnic and linguistic revival within separate countries. The 'Celtic Revival' is a good case in point...
7. the most complicated situation is found when language minorities exist within language minorities (eg English in Quebec) (Anderson 1990:121).

As in the case of minorities in general, there is an element of subordination in the distinction between majority and minority languages. The positions of dialects and minority languages with respect to national, majority languages are similar in that both occupy a subordinate position, however, a minority language is relatively independent, whilst a dialect is not since it is defined in relation to a standard language. (See previous chapter for a discussion of the differences between languages and dialects). As with minorities in general, it is this subordinate position which is the principal characteristic of minority languages, rather than the number of speakers.

Allardt (1984) views linguistic minorities as a subcategory of ethnic minorities. This means that there must be distinctions between 'us' and 'them' on the basis of language, which presupposes a more general assessment of group boundaries on the basis of ancestry, race, culture, and so on. There are four basic, necessary criteria for the existence of a language minority:

- self-categorisation (self-ascription)
- common descent
- distinctive linguistic, cultural or historical traits related to language
- social organisation of the interaction of language groups in such a fashion that the group becomes placed in a minority position. (Allardt 1984:201)

Not all members of the group will categorise themselves as members, and not all members will share the same origins, but the first two criteria should be true of a majority of the group. As far as the third criterion is concerned, it is not necessary for individual members of the minority to know the language. The final criterion has been dealt with above.

The European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages puts forward the following categories of language communities:

- (1) Small independent nation-states whose languages are not widely used by European standards and which are not official, working languages of the European Community
- (2) Small nations without their own state...who reside in one or other member-state.
- (3) Peoples such as those in (2) who reside in more than one member state...
- (4) Trans-frontier minorities, ie communities within one country who speak a majority language of another, be that country a member-state of the EC or not... (Williams 1991b:11-12)

The groups encompassed by these categories vary in size, constitutional recognition, socio-economic level, and their cohesion. Williams (1991b) believes that in spite of their problems, together they face a better future, thanks to initiatives taken over the last decade which have led to the establishment of agencies such as the Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, which aims to safeguard and promote minority cultures. The Bureau has been involved in publications and research, activities which lead to closer co-operation and understanding of the problems faced by groups with lesser-used languages.

3.3.2 Language and Politics

We have already seen that language is an important feature of identity, and that changes in language may affect our identity. We have also seen that language plays an important role in the 'imagined community', and I have suggested that the process of nation-building is aided by influencing language use and therefore identity. In this section I will discuss how language can help unite a population. This in turn will have implications for language planning, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Whilst language can be a very powerful tool in the process of unifying a diverse population, it can, under certain circumstances, lead to disintegration and conflict (Kelman 1971). Examining the extent to which the system's ideology is accepted is a way of gauging the involvement of individuals and subgroups in the national system. For a

nation-state to be able to function efficiently it is essential that the basic principles of the national ideology be accepted, and this in turn implies that the individual must regard the authority of the state as legitimate. The state is better able to mobilise its citizens if the latter regard the state's authority as legitimate.

There are two sources of legitimacy: the extent to which the national system reflects the ethnic-cultural identity of the national populations, and the extent to which the national system meets the needs and interests of the population. The legitimacy of a political system is reflected at the social-psychological level in the sense of loyalty that its members have towards it, and there are two sources of loyalty to the nation-state, which correspond to the two sources of legitimacy at the system level: sentimental attachment and instrumental attachment. 'An individual is sentimentally attached to the national system to the extent that he sees it as representing him - as being...a reflection and an extension of himself' (Kelman 1971:25). The system thus embodies the people in which the identity of the individual is based, and is therefore legitimate and merits loyalty. Sentimental attachment is related to primordial attachment, the latter being a strong form of the former (Eastman 1983:34). Thus, if people have a primordial attachment to a state, they see the state as representing themselves and their heritage. Sentimental attachment has implications for national languages, linking the need to be one nation or state with the need for a unique linguistic and cultural heritage. 'An individual is instrumentally attached to the national system to the extent that he sees it as an effective vehicle for achieving his own ends and the ends of members of other systems' (Kelman 1971:25). The system provides the organisation for the smooth running of society, allowing individuals to participate to their benefit, thus fostering their loyalty.

Sentimental and instrumental attachments can both substitute for one another and reinforce one another (Kelman 1971). If sentimental attachments are strong, the system can maintain its legitimacy in the face of internal divisions by appealing to the common national identity of the people and thus gain their loyalty. Likewise, if instrumental attachments are strong the system can maintain its legitimacy even if it does not reflect the ethnic-cultural identity of the population. If the population believes that the system is representative of its identity then it is more likely to trust the system which in turn means

that political leaders are in a stronger position with regard to policies for economic development and also organisation of society. Since a common language both strengthens and reinforces sentimental and instrumental attachments it can be a unifying force for a national population.

As far as the relationship between language loyalty and national loyalty is concerned, those who occupy high places in the educational and socioeconomic arenas and who have political power are ideologically integrated into the system (Kelman 1971:48). On the other hand, those who believe they ought to conform to the system, but who do not particularly want to, are what Kelman calls normatively integrated into the political system. Ideological integration can be likened to sentimental attachment, and normative integration can be likened to instrumental attachment. Political leaders may identify and use national symbols to bring about the ideological integration of those who are normatively integrated. If language is seen in relation to ideological/sentimental attachment and normative/instrumental attachment to the state, then planners can formulate policies which can bring about, or not, sociopolitical integration. Thus, in a diglossic situation without bilingualism, there is likely to be limited access to the system for large segments of the population, and discrimination against minorities in terms of the allocation of social and economic resources and rewards (Kelman 1971:32). (I will return to the issue of access to the system below in section 3.3.5 on Centre-Periphery). However, if there is a national language it is easier to develop political, economic, and social institutions that serve the whole population. A common language strengthens sentimental and instrumental attachment and fosters mutual reinforcement of the two processes.

3.3.3 (Language) Rights

In this section I will consider inequalities and rights since the issues raised are relevant to our discussions about the relationship between the state and (linguistic) minorities. As we will see in later sections, inequalities are reflected in the official attitudes towards linguistic minorities and in the centre-periphery relationship.

Jean Jacques Rousseau discusses inequalities and rights in his *Discourse on the Origins and the Foundations of Inequality Among Men* (originally published in 1755, see Rousseau 1984) and *The Social Contract* (published in 1762, see Rousseau 1960). Rousseau sees two different sorts of inequality. The first he calls 'natural or physical because it is established by nature', and the second 'moral or political inequality because it derives from a sort of convention, and is established, or at least authorized, by the consent of men' (1984:77). He sets out to ascertain the origins of the second type of inequality by tracing the history of Man from the state of nature to civilisation.

From the original state of nature, in which people led solitary lives, people passed through stages to the nascent society in which they lived more social lives. Nascent society introduced property to people in the form of the hut and commodities. Rousseau sees inequalities as partly stemming from property, and also from the desire for public esteem which resulted from the closer relationship between people. For Rousseau, metallurgy and agriculture led to civilised society. Agriculture led to the necessary division of the land and hence to property, and metallurgy and agriculture together led to the division of labour and unequal master-servant relationships. Differences between supply and demand, rich and poor eventually led to 'either dominion and servitude, or violence and robbery' (Rousseau 1984:119). This led to the establishment of the social contract:

...the rich man under pressure of necessity conceived in the end the most cunning project that ever entered the human mind: to employ in his favour the very forces of those who attacked him, to make his adversaries his defenders, to inspire them with new maxims and give them new institutions as advantageous to him as natural right was disadvantageous. (Rousseau 1984:121)

Rousseau sees the contract as being between all the individuals who compose the state who together form a collective body which is under the direction of the general will. The collective body also forms the Sovereign in which formal political authority resides. The Sovereign should have no interest contrary to the totality of individuals who compose it, and its power is directed by the general will. The State is also directed by the general will and as such will act in the interest of the common good. The Social Contract in this sense is seen as giving equality to individuals, not instituting inequality. However, in reality it

...put new fetters on the weak and gave new powers to the rich, which irretrievably destroyed natural liberty, established for all time the law of property and inequality...and for the benefit of a few ambitious men subjected the human race thenceforth to labour, servitude and misery.
(Rousseau 1984:122)

In other words, then, the social contract is in reality a way for those in power to maintain inequalities and, therefore, their powerful position.

Cobarrubias (1983) extends Rousseau's two types of inequality to linguistic differences and privileges, particularly in relation to linguistic minorities, where differences in power are reflected in the official attitudes towards linguistic minorities. As we have seen, minority groups for which language is a crucial characteristic are linguistic minorities, and both the group and the language are in a subordinate position with respect to the dominant group and language.

Cobarrubias applies the distinction between natural and legal rights to language rights. For Cobarrubias, freedom of language choice could well be part of our natural freedom. However, there are many speech communities that do not enjoy this natural freedom. Each speech community has natural language rights, but where there is interaction between two or more speech communities the dominant one usually has different, and more, conventional rights to the smaller, or 'captive' community, which usually only possesses those conventional rights which the dominant community has granted it or those which it has gained by protest. The dominant community is autonomous, whilst the captive one is not. Cobarrubias puts forward two points with regard to natural rights and legal rights and their relationship to linguistic inequalities: 'first, that no state, or nation, is empowered to control all language functions, since captive communities retain at least natural language rights; second, that every state, or nation, is empowered to control some language functions' (Cobarrubias 1983:74).

Brumfit (unpublished) also discusses rights and their application to language rights. He refers to John Rawls who put forward two basic principles of rights:

First Principle Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all.

Second Principle Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both:

- (a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged...and
- (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity. (Rawls quoted in Brumfit, unpublished)

This approach has been criticised for concentrating on individuals, as if they were divorced from communal ties. Since language belongs to both individuals and the community, if we are to apply the principles of rights in general to linguistic rights in particular, we must consider the relationship between the individual and the community. The fact that language is the possession of a community is reflected in aspects of language rights which Brumfit asserts need consideration:

First, is the status of language users as communities; second, the domains in which rights may protect the use of a language; third, the role of formal education; fourth, the interactional nature of communication; fifth, the meaning of terms like 'mother tongue'; sixth, the economic implications of 'rights' commitments. (Brumfit, unpublished)

Language use is only problematic when there is more than one language or style to choose from. Given that membership of a language group is a social or cultural category (unlike race, for example, which is a biological category), Brumfit claims that '[l]anguage users are thus more or less voluntary members of a community, and legislation about language use requires the law to take a view on *how* voluntary such membership ought to be' (Brumfit, unpublished). Members of speech communities would then have the right to 'practise an association' (Brumfit, unpublished), and also the right *not* to.

Many rights statements ask 'for protection for members to enjoy "their *own* culture...religion...language"' (1966 International Covenant quoted in Brumfit, unpublished) and are thus assigning people to the linguistic groups into which they were

born. Brumfit, on the other hand, supports 'the protection of the right of individuals to practise the language they choose' and goes on to state that 'the tendencies to identify language with nation and region has an uncomfortable ring of "blood and soil" about it, by blurring the issues of "blood" (genetic), "language" (culture) and "land" (power)' (Brumfit, unpublished).

Coulombe (1993:146) identifies three basic types of language rights:

(1) the right against undue interference in private language use and against discrimination on the basis of language; (2) the right to sustain one's language; and, (3) the right to live in one's language.

The first type does not require any intervention or interference from the state. However, this linguistic *laissez-faire* leaves minorities susceptible to hegemonic projects, and the 'forces of competition within the free market are not conducive to the growth of a minority language nor to the harmonious coexistence of a plurality of language' (Coulombe 1993:143). There are circumstances, then, when these rights do require some form of intervention from the state. A variation of the *laissez-faire* attitude is to suggest that it is the members of the community themselves who have a duty to protect their language. However, this argument for individual responsibility

assumes away the subtle effects of assimilation, namely the tendency of members of marginal communities to 'choose' the language of the dominant group for reasons that go beyond the desire to integrate or to assure upward mobility, but rather stem from the community's lack of expressive power, recognition, and self-respect. (Coulombe 1993:145)

The second type of language rights might include the use of public funds for the provision of minority language schools and governmental services, and programmes for the employment of members of the linguistic minority in public services. The use of one's language in public and private everyday situations would be required under the third type of language rights. An argument which might be made against these types of rights is that securing rights for X would require that they also be secured for Y and Z. This would not be feasible, and so some would argue that 'the only way that the state could uphold its duty

to all linguistic groups equally is through individual language rights...' (Coulombe 1993:147).

Whilst in theory 'all communities have the right to preserve the conditions of their identity' (Coulombe 1993:147), language promotion is not the condition for preserving the identity of all communities, and therefore strong language rights are not universally valid. In other words, strong language rights should be considered where there is a strong link between language and identity. The validity of strong language rights would also depend on conditions such as the state of the language in question.

The first language right is an individual one. The second type is a communal right 'vested in members of some linguistic communities which...hold a special place in a given polity' (Coulombe 1993:148), and the third type is also a communal right which 'can be held by territorially-based communities which have a certain critical mass...in addition to historical claims' (Coulombe 1993:148). It is likely that strong language rights can only be territorially-based but very few who would qualify on those grounds would need to claim the right: community life may already be mainly in the language concerned, and not all communities would possess the socioeconomic, demographic and linguistic conditions necessary for such rights to be claimed. Problems may arise when there is more than one linguistic community claiming strong language rights within the same territory, since neither claim can override the other. Where one group has strong language rights and another group weak language rights, this may raise issues about discrimination against the individual (it may be argued that positive discrimination in favour of one group violates individual rights against discrimination). The issue can be seen as a conflict over rights: 'between the moral rights of individuals and the moral rights of community members' (Coulombe 1993:149).

3.3.4 Language and Territory

The principles of territoriality or personality may be used as measures to solve language conflict situations. The territoriality principle 'recognises the right of a particular language's dominance in a particular territory', whilst the personality principle

'acknowledges an individual's linguistic rights wherever that individual might be' (Mar-Molinero 1994:323). It is the territoriality principle which has most often been applied in Europe (eg Switzerland and Spain). In Spain, for example, Castilian (Spanish) enjoys official status throughout Spain, whilst Galician, Basque and Catalan are co-official with Castilian within their respective territories or *Autonomías* (see Chapter 1). This means that whilst Galicians, for example, can expect Galician to be used in the education system in Galicia, Galicians in, say, Andalusia cannot. Castilian-speakers, on the other hand, can expect to be able to use their language in any part of Spain. Galicians in this situation would not be able to practice the language they choose. In language conflict situations, then, certain groups are accorded more linguistic rights than others. We could argue that the personality principle applies to those who are in a stronger position politically, socially and economically, whilst those in a weaker position are restricted by the territoriality principle. In addition, as we will see in the section which follows, access to the language used by those in power is restricted to a greater or lesser extent (for example, by elite closure and the centre-periphery structure, see section 3.3.5).

Laponce (1984) argues for the maintenance of separate linguistic territories. There are three reasons for this position: firstly, languages are not able to survive geographical dispersion, secondly, the costs of multilingualism are high and outweigh the benefits, and thirdly, linguistic contact almost inevitably leads to conflict, especially when the groups concerned compete for economic control. Pattanayak and Bayer (1987), on the other hand, believe that Laponce's proposals are akin to linguistic apartheid, and assert that in fact most societies are multilingual and in these cases it is monolingualism which is seen as dysfunctional.

3.3.5 Centre-Periphery

Groups can be described as being at the centre or periphery in either a physical sense or in a metaphorical sense. In the latter case, the group in question is in a dominant or subordinate position in a political, economic, and cultural sense. Centre-periphery can operate between strong and weak states as well as within states between strong and weak groups. Society is ordered around the political, economic, cultural, etc, centres and this

provides the conditions which contribute to and reinforce identity construction and thus the opposition between 'us' and 'them'.

The process of nation-building, detailed at the beginning of this chapter, is central to the construction of the centre-periphery model, both in the metaphorical sense and in terms of the territorial control which the state wields. Although homogenisation is an aim of the nation-building process, it often highlights social, economic, cultural, racial, and linguistic differences and creates a hierarchy, both within and between nation-states. Peripheries can be orientated towards several centres.

State formation involves 'a process of penetration of a territory by a coherent set of institutions along...several dimensions' (Bayley 1975:362). The relationship between these institutions (government and administration, forces of law and order, and systems of public representation) forms the state system. In the early modern period in Europe, these institutions were associated with the 'extraction-coercion cycle': 'A set of officials to control the logistics of the expanding army...and to extract revenue for it, comingles to form a dense, hard-working excessively regulated and regulating bureaucracy; and this formed the spinal column of a *state*' (Finer 1975:136). In contemporary Europe, however, the state deals with much more than extraction and coercion, and of great importance is its role in economic and social intervention and distribution.

We saw in section 3.1.1 that functionaries were an important part of the growing administration in the nation-building process. The functionary-client relationship is especially important with regard to centre-periphery since it is the functionaries who coordinate access to and allocation of resources, such as jobs, housing, education, etc. Not only does this system lead to social stratification through the inequality of access to and allocation of resources, but the system itself is hierarchical: functionaries usually have high status jobs, and they often come from backgrounds which differentiate them from clients. These two characteristics of the system lead to what Grillo (1980:21-22) calls

'disjunction', ie functionaries and clients differ markedly, and this in turn can lead to a sense of powerlessness.

Territorial control is an important consideration in the notion of centre-periphery: control of territory by the state will ensure that the dominant culture will have free movement within the nation-state's boundaries; it can divide and rule in order to prevent subordinate cultures developing a base from which to reproduce their own culture; and the state will have control over resources within its territory. This also relates to the territorial and personal language rights which were discussed in section 3.3.4 above.

Gottman (1980) describes how rapid technological and economic change led to urbanisation and a consequent redistribution, not only of the population, but also of economic activity and political weight. In turn, these changes led to a shift in centre and periphery relationships around the world.

The process of elite closure would appear to explain, in part, how the centre-periphery structure is maintained. Elite closure is '...a type of social mobilization strategy by which those persons in power establish or maintain their powers and privileges via linguistic choices' (Myers-Scotton 1993:149). Elite closure is possible because people in the same community speak different linguistic varieties, which are generally allocated to different situational uses and valued positively or negatively by community members. Elites are fluent in varieties which are different from those that others know, they use, particularly in public, a variety which is different from the one that others use, and the way that they speak is 'judged positively and therefore has psychological value' (Myers-Scotton 1993:151). Elite closure, then, can be related to the functional split between linguistic varieties which was detailed in Chapter 2.

Given that in society there is usually more than one linguistic variety, elite closure exists almost everywhere, in 'weak' or 'strong' forms. In both weak and strong elite closure, the elite has a linguistic repertoire and linguistic use which differs from others. In the former there is potential access to elite membership via formal education. In the latter, however, the differences between the linguistic repertoires of the elite and others are large, and there

is no potential access to elite membership via education for large sectors of the population. However, people may unconsciously choose not to acquire the language because the costs far outweigh the benefits, and because knowledge of the official language is not in itself enough: people also need 'the "right" school, the "right" level of education, and above all, the "right" social network' (Myers-Scotton 1993:154). Linguistic differences may also reflect class conflict between a protoelite and the elite in power.

The elite closure model should allow for the possibility of change initiated by a protoelite. When a protoelite threatens the dominant group it raises issues of legitimacy and illegitimacy by persuading the populace that the present language policy lacks authenticity. To maintain its power, the elite would have to modify existing policies. A change of policy, though, does not necessarily mean the end of elite closure, since a strong form may be replaced by a weak form:

...what new policies and the accompanying new language use patterns can do is change the *basis* of elite closure. Or, viewed most optimistically, new policies can *replace* strong elite closure with a weaker form of closure, offering larger segments of the population more access to socioeconomic mobility. (Myers-Scotton 1993:161)

Consensus theory would appear to support the maintenance of elite closure. In consensus theory, the acquisition of individual skills through education, literacy, and the state agencies is seen as the basis for the individual mobility which is necessary for the organisation of society. I would argue that we should include the linguistic variety of the elite in these individual skills which are required. This also relates to Gellner's (1983) view that industrialised society requires individuals to be mobile and have generic training (see section 3.1.1 above). Consensus theory places the blame for failure on the individual rather than on the structure of the state, which is therefore relieved of any liability for continuing inequality, that is to say any barriers to mobility are created by the individual rather than imposed (Glyn Williams 1980). Besides, the dominant group is not likely to strengthen the position of minorities within its territory without securing its own position, and so participation is according to the terms laid down by the dominant group, which controls the state institutions. Indeed, much 'regional development' involves 'deploying

public funds to extend the interests of central and external private enterprises into the periphery' (Glyn Williams 1980:369). Conflict theory, on the other hand, claims that the consensus view is just a way of justifying inequality and of suppressing any alternative social organisation.

In the previous chapter in section 2.2 (diglossia), we saw that some commentators attempt to link the divisions between linguistic groups to social, political and economic divisions as a means of studying the functional divisions in languages (see Martin-Jones 1989). We also saw that for other commentators (see Ryan 1979 and Nercissians 1988) the functional split between languages, which is the principal feature of diglossia, is not in itself enough to explain the survival in some societies of non-standard or low prestige varieties: they see group membership and identity as being important factors. We saw earlier in this chapter (section 3.2.4) that language is one of the most important features of identity. It is because of its importance in identity that a low prestige variety may be maintained by a group. This, I would contend, would facilitate the maintenance of elite closure. We could argue, then, that the nation-building process brings about a functional split between linguistic varieties which is reinforced by elite closure and then maintained by the centre-periphery model of the state institutions.

3.3.6 The Response of the State to Minorities

The issues raised above relating to (language) rights and the relationship between the centre and periphery are relevant to the relationship between the state and minorities. They should be borne in mind when considering the response of the state to minorities.

The various state policies affecting ethnolinguistic minorities can be placed on a continuum ranging from negative through conservative and moderate to liberal treatment of language minorities (A Anderson 1990:127). The most negative policy is for a state to eradicate a minority, for example by extermination, by expelling it, or by exchanging it for co-ethnics (ie people of the same ethnicity or language as the majority) who were themselves a minority in another (usually neighbouring) country.

Another negative policy is assimilation which is still an attempt by the state to rid itself of a minority. Two aspects of assimilation are conformity to the dominant culture and complete homogenisation. In the former, ethnic groups adapt themselves to the dominant culture which itself remains stable, whilst in the latter all elements, both indigenous and immigrant, minority and majority, fuse to produce a new identity for all. However, assimilation erodes certain aspects of ethnicity, such as language, whilst others remain (Glazer and Moynihan 1963). This can be explained by the distinction between public and private ethnic markers, which was discussed in section 3.2.2. Private and symbolic markers remain because they permit group boundaries to continue without impeding social mobility. In contrast, public aspects of ethnicity such as dress and language gradually disappear. Aspects which would 'mark' the ethnic group members and possibly interfere with intra-society movement and access to resources, are expendable. Language is a highly visible marker of group identity. Some see it as central to group identity, others believe that it is not always essential for continued identity (a language may be lost without a consequent loss of ethnic identity). However, language can be readily seized upon as a symbol of identity. In nationalist movements, for example, a dormant language can reappear as a rallying point. Ethnic language may be abandoned due to the perceived advantage of life in the mainstream. Ethnic group members have to make choices between mainstream accessibility and retaining those aspects which 'mark' them as ethnic group members, and, according to Edwards (1984:281), ethnic groups show willingness to assimilate along these lines. We might argue that they are exercising their right to practise the language they choose (see Brumfit, unpublished, and section 3.3.3). However, I would question how much choice ethnic groups really have. Given that peripheral groups usually have a weak economic basis (though not always, as in the case of the Basques and Catalans), they simply may not be able to 'afford' demands for autonomy.

Conservative policies affecting ethnolinguistic minorities include implied assimilation, for example, languages may be recognised yet restricted to private schools in lieu of public financial support. In fact, the state may simply choose to largely ignore the minority.

Moderate policies are found in states exhibiting limited or weak centralism. In the first case, the national government might abandon assimilation as a general policy and 'there

may be evidence of limited public (ie government) support of minority languages in selected public schools' (Anderson 1990:129). In the second case, 'there may be fairly generous encouragement (including financial support) of minority languages in schools, etc, and possibly an official national policy of ethnic pluralism (however defined), yet no (or very limited) recognition of minority territorial rights, ie regional autonomy' (Anderson 1990: 129). This apparent 'encouragement' may in fact be a way of keeping the minority in an overall subordinate position.

Liberal policies include regional autonomy and ethnic federalism. In regional autonomy, there is recognition of the territorial rights of the minority, such that the minority forms a 'state within a state' (A Anderson 1990:129) and is allowed to use its own language within the territory. Anderson (1990:129) cites the Catalans and Basques in Spain (and we should add, of course, the Galicians) as an example of limited regional autonomy. In ethnic federalism the national state as a whole is viewed as a partnership between ethnolinguistic minorities. The principal minority languages are recognised, probably throughout the whole country. I would add, however, that these measures may be a way of apparently conceding certain rights whilst in fact maintaining certain groups in a minority position.

Driedger (1980) outlines six theoretical positions on ethnic groups in majority societies: assimilation and amalgamation, which assume the gradual disappearance of ethnicity in the face of urbanisation and modernisation; multivariate assimilation and modified pluralism, which allow for the retention of some ethnic characteristics, perhaps in altered form; and ethnic conflict and pluralism, which predict the maintenance of a relatively unchanged identity. The concept of pluralism has been used in a variety of ways, and three basic meanings can be identified. The first of these is 'the existence of separate power bases emanating from separate interest groups, who are able to keep each other in check so that no single group is able to assume a permanent dominance' (Kofman and Williams 1989:10). The second meaning originates from 'the colonial experience, where separate social systems were linked by an interdependent economic system in ethnically heterogeneous societies' (Kofman and Williams 1989:10). The third meaning 'is weaker and less specific than the first two, implying no more than diversity and differentiation within a society' (Kofman and Williams 1989:10). Following ethnic conflict, partition

may occur as an attempt to reduce tensions and conflict by keeping the groups separate. Out of the previous single state, two or more states are created, and at least one of the new states claims a direct link with the prior state. However,

the principal reason for a state's existence is the maintenance of its own integrity, a major part of which involves its territorial integrity. Sovereign states will not only attempt to prevent their own disintegration but also work to disallow any transformation of state structure, such as from a unitary to a federal state. However...political concessions are often made to pressure groups...as a preference to giving up territory. (Waterman 1989:119)

3.3.7 The Response of Minorities to the State

The result of the state's policies towards minorities will depend on the extent to which the minorities comply with them. The response of the minorities ranges along a continuum from passive to active, ie from broad acceptance of the framework imposed to collective organisation, mobilisation and overt nationalism, or even terrorism.

There are three categories of nationalism: state nationalism; unification nationalism and irredentism; and autonomist nationalism or separatism (Williams 1984b:180-181). The first of these, state nationalism, is manifested by groups close to the centre of established states, where culture and state have developed together over many centuries. The second category is an attempt to unite culturally similar groups and territories into a larger and more powerful state. In the case of irredentism, a fragment must be detached from an already existing and culturally distinct state. In the third category, a part of the larger state claims to be the core of a nationality, not a fragment of the larger one, and rejects the state. Separatist movements desire sovereignty for the group on whose behalf they operate.

The preconditions of separatism are a core territory, bases of community and opposition groups: first, the group must be concentrated in a core territory and constitute a high proportion of the total population; second, the group must possess characteristics, such as

language and religion, that form the basis for separateness; and third, any sizeable 'outgroup' in the territory associated with the dominant power should be concentrated at the top of the social hierarchy or, if they are spread further down the social structure, regionally. Group boundaries are an important factor in separatism, since it is based on cultural distinctiveness of the group. However, a sense of separateness is not enough on its own; there must also be a perception of inequality in the distribution and competition for resources and rewards, and a political organisation to articulate group demands, in other words, ethnic identity must be transformed into nationalism (Williams 1984b:186).

There is a distinction between nationalist territorial tensions and regionalist territorial tensions (Petrella 1980:9-10). The former originate from the demands for autonomy, sovereignty or independence by certain groups on behalf of their nation, whilst the latter result from the demands by certain groups for a change in the political, economic, and cultural relations between regions and central powers within the framework of the existing state. These are not hard and fast distinctions, and may overlap. The basic structural ingredients, or endogenous variables, which are necessary for the development of nationalist and regionalist tensions are:

- 1 the presence/absence of a cultural identity or set of data that is perceived and experienced as a nation.
 - 2 the presence/absence of a specific linguistic character that is represented by more-or-less standardized language that still has some sort of social function (communication) or the threatened disappearance of which is seen as a serious blow to individual and collective identity.
 - 3 the politico-institutional status of the region that is a source of territorial tensions, prior to and after its integration into the nation-state.
 - 4 the relative level of economic development and potential, and
 - 5 the autonomous or heteronomous nature of the economic development.
- (Petrella 1980:12)

Exogenous variables relate to the nation-state and the societal system, for example, stages in the nation-state formation process, the degree reached and pursued in centralisation, and the resistance of the central powers to the recognition and acknowledgment of diversity. In other words, endogenous and exogenous variables relate to the degree of identification of 'us' and 'them' and the centre-periphery paradigm. There are also intervening variables which refer to the processes and mechanisms that help to strengthen or weaken territorial tensions and nationalist or regionalist demands:

perception, attitudes, and behaviors of the people in the critical regions vis-a-vis the uniformizing and centralizing ascendancy of the center,

nature of the agents of cultural (school, press, churches) and political (nationalist and/or regionalist parties or movements) mobilization and forms of mobilizations, and

internal contradictions and weaknesses of the dominant socioeconomic system (ecological disruption, energy crises, and squandering of energy, structural unemployment, disaffection toward work, nongovernability of the state, crisis in representative democracy, bureaucracy, and so on). (Petrella 1980:22)

3.4 CONCLUSION

The areas discussed above are all interrelated. Taking the rise of the nation and the state as the starting point, it can be seen that the process of nation-building is one of expansion which gives rise to a network of institutions and administration, which leads to a need for a state language. Nation-building is also a process of expansion in terms of a national culture by the dominant group. The outcome is a nation-state (which more often than not contains various nations rather than the theoretical single nation) in which the dominant group controls the territory of the state, its institutions, and the allocation of and access to resources and rewards. This social system leads to inequalities between the groups within the state's territory, and these inequalities can be represented by the centre-periphery model.

Groups can be geographically and metaphorically on the periphery. Groups may become aware of the differences and identify between 'us' and 'them', and if they perceive the differences as unjust, the identification of 'us' can be politically mobilised as nationalism. The centre-periphery model has implications, too, for the dominant group's attitude towards the peripheries or minorities: it will be unwilling to take measures which will jeopardise its position, and will try to assimilate other groups. When concessions are made by the dominant group, they may be more apparent than genuine, and veil continued domination of subordinate groups. As far as the minorities are concerned, they will be forced to assimilate to some degree or other if they wish to take part in life in the mainstream, and this is likely to bring about a shift in features of their identity (such as a language shifting from the public to the private sphere). The centre-periphery model also has implications for the way language use is divided in bilingual communities (that is, the functional split), since the inequalities are a result of the power relations between the groups concerned.

Language plays a central role in the process of nation-building, identity and the relationship between the state and minorities. We have seen that in nation-building a standardised language-of-state helps to create a consciousness of connectedness and belonging, and is vital to state administration and education. Administration and education in turn also help to foster feelings of community, and education can be used by the state as part of the socialisation process of individuals. We have also seen that language is a major component of identity, and immediately helps to differentiate 'us' from 'them'. Identity may be affected by changes in language. State policies which affect the social, cultural, political and economic environment may in turn affect language use (a language may change from being a public to a private marker of identity). This must in some way affect identity, at least in terms of the way we are seen by others, if not also in terms of the way we see ourselves. We could say, then, that state policies could be used to influence identity via language. We have also seen that language can be used to influence the relationship between various groups, particularly to maintain the dominant-subordinate position between the state and (linguistic) minorities. Certain language rights may be accorded to some groups and not to others, language policies may be used as a way of assimilating certain groups, and access to power may be restricted by limiting to a greater

or lesser extent access to certain linguistic varieties. Together, these measures help to maintain a centre-periphery structure.

It remains to be seen whether the positions of (linguistic) minorities will improve in the European Union. If 'EU-building' takes the form of nation-building, there will be a centre-periphery relationship between the member states, and minorities which are currently peripheries will become peripheries of peripheries.

B. GALICIA

This half of the chapter is an attempt to link the situation of Galicia and the Galician language to the theory in the first half of the chapter. I will discuss the role that Galician plays in Galician identity, the relationship between Galician and Castilian and between Galicia and the Spanish state and, to begin with, the process of identification of Galicia as a nation.

3.5 GALICIA AS A NATION

The general history of Galicia and the Galician language is given in Chapter 1. In this section I wish to concentrate on the process of identification of Galicia as a nation, which began from about the middle of the last century, when there was a growing sense that Galicia had its own culture and identity. The cultural-political movement which developed from this was *Galeguismo*, which has been categorised as three phases: provincialism, regionalism and nationalism. See Portas (1993), Beramendi (1985 and 1991) and Máiz (1984b, 1986 and 1991), and also Henderson (in press).

Provincialism

The nineteenth century was one of deep social, political and economic transformations in Galicia (Portas 1993:73). Political attention concentrated on whether the model of state

should be one of absolute monarchy or one based on the liberal ideology to have come out of the French Revolution. It was in this context that the assumption that Galicians had the right to be masters of their own destiny was taken up by some Galician intellectuals.

Provincialism lasted during the 1840s, when both the economic backwardness of Galicia and the centralising policy of the monarchy were criticised. Its proponents rejected the provincial divisions of 1833, believing instead that Galicia should be recognised as one single province, as was the old Kingdom of Galicia.

The provincialists argued that Galicia was distinct in terms of its history, countryside, economy, ethnicity and traditions. Language, however, was not at first considered to be a differentiating factor. The young intellectuals of the 1850s began to turn their attentions to cultural as well as political activities, and it was then that Galician began to appear in poetry. The language aspect of *Galeguismo* really took hold after the 1860s, and particularly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with an increase in the literary use of Galician and the appearance of Galician grammars and dictionaries.

The first modern work written entirely in Galician was *Os Cantares Gallegos* by Rosalía de Castro, published in 1863, and this marks the beginning of the literary *Rexurdimento* or Renaissance. Whilst the first book of poetry written entirely in Galician was published in 1863, the first novel did not appear until 1880 (*Majina ou a filla espúrea*, by Marcial Valladares Núñez) and the first theatrical work in 1882 (*A fonte do Xuramento*, by D Francisco de la Iglésia). It may be significant that whilst Rosalía wrote poetry in Galician, her novels were in Spanish, and she later totally rejected Galician.

The nineteenth-century interest in the Galician language, and also as we saw in Chapter 1 in the Catalan and Basque languages, can be linked to the Romantic movement in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Romantics reacted against the uniformity of the previous century and turned their attention to the medieval past and traditional cultures, stimulating interest in the non-mainstream cultures of Europe. We have already seen (in Chapter 1) that there was a *Renaixença* in Catalonia from the middle of the nineteenth century. *La Nacionalitat Catalana* (1906) by Prat de la Riba formed the basis

of much of the thinking of modern Catalan nationalism. Language, culture and territory were important elements of the nation for Prat de la Riba. In the Basque case, given that the language was not as widely spoken as Catalan and Galician and that there was less of a literary tradition, it would have been unrealistic to emphasise the role of language in Basque identity. The major factor in Basque nationalism was race. (For a more detailed comparison of the literary cultural movements in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia see Mar-Molinero, in press).

Regionalism

The regionalist phase lasted from the time of the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy until 1916. The regionalist movement organised its own political party, *Asociación Regionalista Gallega* (1891), which drew its theoretical basis from *El regionalismo* by Alfredo Brañas (1889) and *El regionalismo gallego* by Manuel Murguía (1889).

Murguía's writing began in 1865 with *Historia de Galicia*. In Murguía's writing there is a concept of Galicia as a nation, although the word 'region' is also used. Whilst his work is influenced by Mancini's concept of 'nation', in which national consciousness is a central element, it is not monopolised by it (Máiz 1984b:145-146). Murguía's concept of nation is a hybrid of the organic and historicist concept of nation which was born in Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in which nation is defined by race, language, customs, history and territory, and of Italian nationalism of a liberal nature, centred on national consciousness and political will. However, race, history and language are central to Murguía's concept of nation, whilst in liberal Italian nationalism these elements are peripheral (see Máiz 1984b). In his *Galeguista* ideology there is a desire for sociopolitical modernisation of Galicia and for industrialisation and a bourgeoisie, mixed with a desire to return to Galicia's ethnic origins.

In contrast to Murguía's liberal regionalism, there was also a traditionalist ideology which was theorised and politically headed by Alfredo Brañas. This ideology used the liberal concept of nation elaborated by Murguía, but added elements of a Catholic-traditionalist type, such that the aim of Brañas's regionalism was completely different to Murguía's (Beramendi 1985:177). The only thing they have in common is the concept of Galicia and

the necessity of political autonomy. The images of what Galicia should be are very different in Brañas and Murguía: in Brañas, Galicia has to return practically to the Middle Ages and to feudal relations of production in the countryside. These differences account for the stalemate between the two types of regionalism and the political failure of the *Asociación Regionalista Gallega*.

The use of Galician was encouraged in publications (for example in the bilingual *A Nosa Terra*¹) and public acts. The *Real Academia Galega* was founded in 1906 in Corunna and Murguía was elected its first president. However, the work the institution carried out did not correspond to expectations (Portas 1993:100). One of the principal objectives was the establishment of a standard language, which, Portas asserts, still remains to be done (Portas 1993:100). With the exception of the publication of the *Real Academia's Boletín*, 'scientific work is practically nil, and the use of Galician is reduced by many of its members to liturgical uses of speeches' (author's translation, Portas 1993:100-101).

Nationalism

In May 1916 the first *Irmandade da Fala*² was founded in Corunna by a group of *Galeguistas*. This was followed ten days later by another *Irmandade* in Santiago, and also in the same year by others in Monforte, Orense, Pontevedra and Vilalba. Others were set up in 1917 in Ferrol, Vigo, Mondoñedo and Baralla, and in 1918, amongst others, in A Estrada, Vilagarcía, Betanzos, Ortigueira, Muxía, Lugo, Baiona and Arzua. There were even *Irmandades* in Madrid, Buenos Aires and Havana. Their objectives were to 'dignify' Galician and expand its social use. They encouraged the use of Galician in literature, education, science, and any public use, both oral and written. They set up publishing houses in which they published newspapers, magazines, short stories, plays, and so on, in Galician. The most important of these publishing houses was *Nós*, founded in 1927 in Corunna by Anxel Casal, and later transferred to Santiago, remaining active until 1936. It

¹ Publication of *Solidaridad Gallega* and mouthpiece of the agrarian movement.

² Originally called *Hirmandade de Amigos da Fala Gallega*, the objective of these 'brotherhoods' was to dignify the Galician language and encourage its public use. Using the name of what had been the publication of *Solidaridad Gallega*, the mouthpiece of the *Irmandades* was *A Nosa Terra*, which they published in Galician from 1916 to 1936.

published the most important works of the *Nós* group and the magazine of the same name, as well as the paper *A Nosa Terra*, by then written entirely in Galician. The *Irmandades da Fala* were not associations of a purely cultural nature primarily interested in the promotion and defence of the Galician language, as their name would seem to suggest (Máiz 1986:215). In fact their programme included social, political and ideological elements which were developed through *A Nosa Terra*.

The birth of modern Galician nationalism is generally considered to be in 1918 when the *Irmandades da Fala* had their first assembly in Lugo from which their *Manifesto* emerged. In this document, the *Galeguistas* affirm that '[s]ince Galicia has all the essential characteristics of a nation, from today we will call ourselves Galician nationalists, because the word "regionalism" does not encompass all the aspirations or include the intensity of our problems' (author's translation, quoted in Portas 1993:103).

Some of the proposals put forward in the *Manifesto* were: co-officiality of Galician and Castilian, and as such its use in domains such as education and the judicial system; and a series of measures aimed at achieving national sovereignty for Galicia. It defended an Iberian federation, which included Portugal, and the establishment of a Galician government and parliament which would exercise power in Galicia. In the *Manifesto* there were calls for equality of political rights for men and women and universal suffrage, together with proposals which did not square very well with this, such as the consideration that Galicia should return to the agrarian world, with *caciquismo* substituted by control by 'good' and 'generous' men (Beramendi 1985:182). (During the Cánovas Restoration (1875-1923), *caciquismo* was the system by which governments could ensure the election of candidates of their choice through their influence over *caciques*, or local elites).

There were ideological divisions within the *Irmandades*, which gave rise to a split in 1922. On one side was traditionalist or conservative nationalism (Beramendi 1985:180), heir to traditionalist regionalism, and on the other was liberal (Beramendi 1985:178) or democratic (Beramendi 1991:150) nationalism, heir to liberal regionalism.

For the traditionalists³, ethnicity and history were factors which formed the nation, and land and race were particularly important⁴. The traditionalists rejected capitalist modernity, and this was complemented by a nostalgia for the past. They also rejected industrialisation as a solution to Galicia's backwardness, believing that Galicia should continue to be rural since the peasantry held the most pure national characteristics. The persistence of the rural nature of Galicia was seen as a defence against the modern economy and capitalism, and the rural nobility would conserve or recuperate their hegemony by their conversion into a ruling elite.

Like the traditionalists, the liberal nationalists⁵ saw the nation as being determined by history and nature. However, spiritual elements predominated over physical ones in establishing ethnicity, that is, 'Volksgeist', language and folklore predominated over race and land (Beramendi 1991:152). With the aim of a more equal distribution of resources amongst individuals, they supported the generalisation of small businesses in cities and small co-operatives in the country. They supported the creation of an urban ruling class.

All groups criticised the backwardness of Galicia and emphasised its problems, such as the lack of communications and education, linguistic and cultural oppression, emigration and the poor living conditions of, in particular, peasants and fishermen. In contrast to the provincialist and regionalist phases in which Spain was seen as the nation, containing regions or other nations, the nationalists denied the existence of a Spanish nation. They saw the centralist state and Castilian domination of other nations through the state as being responsible for Galicia's problems. They proposed a federation or confederation of Iberian nations, which would include Portugal if possible. In Galicia, Galician and Castilian would be co-official, education would be 'Galicianised' at all levels, and Galician culture would be encouraged (Beramendi 1991:161).

³ During the 1920s and 1930s the nucleus of traditionalist nationalism was Vicente Risco (the principal ideologue), Ramón Otero Pedrayo, Arturo Noguero and Florentino López Cuevillas.

⁴ Risco's concept of a nation was that it was 'a natural fact, a biological fact, independent of the will of the people' (author's translation. Beramendi 1991:143).

⁵ The liberal nationalists included Antonio and Ramón Villar Ponte, Luis Porteiro, Juan Vicente Viqueira and Jaime Quintanilla. In the early 1920s, Antonio Villar Ponte and others left, whilst figures such as Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao, Alexandre Bóveda and Ricardo Carballo Calero joined.

The *Nós* Generation

The *Nós* Generation⁶ used Galician not only in literary work, but also in scientific, ethnographic, historic and geographic work. Perhaps the most important and famous of their collective work is the magazine *Nós*, which was published from 1920 to 1936, and which was the cultural expression of the *Galeguismo* of the *Irmandades*.

The view that Galicia was a nation was by now already well established in *Galeguista* thinking. Risco attached special importance to the land ('a Terra'), which for him shaped humanity and helped to explain 'the essential features of the national character' (author's translation, Beramendi 1984:430). For him, the character, spirit, and soul of the Galicians were the result of the land and race, and it was thanks to the land that many Galicians were peasants and fishermen. He felt there was a danger of *desgaleguización*, that is, the loss of traditions and language, due to centralisation within the Spanish state. For him Galicia's problems stemmed from emigration, the death of small industries, deforestation, and the bad management of agriculture, livestock and the sources of energy. Galician nationalism sought the spiritual, economic and political reconstruction of Galicia, which for Risco implied autonomy in these three areas. On economic reconstruction, Risco proposed the more equitable distribution of wealth, which he believed could be achieved by way of free importation of grain, establishing the means to export livestock and other primary sector goods, the construction of railways, the promotion of fishing and the revival of small industries, the reduction of emigration, and the transfer of ownership of the land to those who worked it. The nationalism of the *Nós* Generation was not separatist. Both Risco and Castelao advocated a federal structure for Iberia.

The *Nós* Generation, in particular Risco, disagreed with the way to achieve the economic, political and cultural objectives of the *Irmandades* (Máiz 1986:217). For the *Irmandades*, achieving the nationalist objectives (recuperation and dignification of Galician language and literature, economic progress and modernisation), went hand in hand with the political

⁶ The *Nós* Generation included Vicente Risco (generally recognised as the ideologue of the group), Ramón Otero Pedrayo, Florentino López Cuevillas, Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao, Ramón Cabanillas Enríquez and Antón Lousada Diéguez.

battle in elections, parliamentary discussion and gaining social support for *Galeguismo* and seats in the Spanish Parliament. For the *Nós* Generation, the main objective of nationalism was to turn what was merely a sense of difference into a national consciousness of Galicia, which was to be achieved through *Galeguista* propaganda and culture, thus undermining the basis of Spanish political and cultural domination.

The political wing of the *Nós* Generation was the *Partido Galeguista*, which was founded in 1931 at the seventh and final assembly of the *Irmandades*. In its *Declaración de Principios*, the *Partido Galeguista* considered the Galician language to be one of the most important features of Galician identity and expressed its intention to defend the language and contribute to expansion of its use and its social dignification. The party defended the right to use Galician and proposed a type of bilingualism which favoured Galician, thus helping to increase its use in different functions. The legal recognition of Galician was sought by its parliamentary representatives in the Cortes of the Second Republic. In its fourth article, the Constitution of the Second Republic recognised the languages of the regions. However, only Spanish was recognised as the official language of the Republic, which its citizens had the obligation to know and the right to use, a duty not extended to the other languages of the state. There were, however, divisions within the *Partido Galeguista*, principally between the conservatives and the left, although there were radical left and separatist groups (Máiz 1986:222-223). In 1935 the conservatives broke away and formed *Direita Galeguista* in Orense and in Pontevedra, whilst the pro-republican left remained in the *Partido Galeguista*, which in 1936 became incorporated into the *Frente Popular*.

The *Partido Galeguista* was instrumental in securing the *Estatuto de Autonomía* under the Republican Constitution. The Statute was approved in 1936 by a regional referendum during the month before the outbreak of the Civil War, and submitted to the Spanish Parliament at the session which was held in Montserrat in Catalonia in February 1938, by which time Galicia was already under the control of Franco's Nationalists. The party was reconstituted in 1943, but by 1950 was defunct. The *Frente Cultural Galaxia* emerged in its place.

The Franco Dictatorship

Galicia was under the control of Franco's Nationalists very soon after the military uprising of July 1936. The Franco Regime saw Spain as being culturally and linguistically uniform. As such, a single people (the Spaniards) needed a single language (Spanish). Galician disappeared from public life, and any domains which had been gained through *Galeguismo* were lost.

Galeguismo in Galicia was silenced by the Franco Regime, but the work of linguistic recuperation was carried on by those in exile in Argentina⁷, Brazil, Venezuela, Mexico and Cuba. The *Galeguistas* in exile managed to set up publishing houses, and were able to publish works in Galician, broadcast radio programmes in Galician, and organise activities to maintain interest in Galicia. This activity was concentrated in Mexico and Argentina, the latter being the most important centre of *Galeguismo*. The *Agrupación Gallega de Universitarios, Escritores y Artistas* managed to secure the creation of a *Cátedra de Literatura Galego-Portuguesa* in the University of La Plata.

The cornerstone in the recuperation of the written use of Galician in Galicia was the founding in Vigo in July 1950 of Editorial Galaxia. It was set up by an important sector of *Galeguistas* in the *Culturalismo* movement, headed by Ramón Piñeiro, who concentrated their efforts on cultural activity which they saw as the only viable action given the political conditions at that time. Their objective was to use Galician not just for folkloric subjects, but to make it clear that Galician was valid for any topic. Galaxia published periodicals and supported literature written in Galician.

During the 1960s there was a certain opening up of the regime, such that cultural associations were able to form. These associations supported the use of Galician in the transmission of Galician culture and questioned the social situation of the language through their courses and conferences. At about the same time as these associations were forming, clandestine political parties, principally on the left, began to emerge.

⁷ Amongst others, those in exile in Argentina included Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao, Eduardo Blanco Amor and Luis Seoane.

The creation in 1965 of the *Cátedra de Lingua e Literatura Galegas* (the first chair being held by Ricardo Carballo Calero) at the University of Santiago de Compostela was of enormous symbolic importance. Three years later the research centre *Instituto da Lingua Galega* was set up. *Galeguista* demands increased through the 1970s, and place names on road signs were altered, Galician was used in letters to the press, *Radio Popular* in Vigo used Galician in some programmes and in 1974 TVE in Galicia began limited broadcasting in Galician.

As we have seen (Chapter 1), in the post-Franco period, under the Spanish Constitution and the Galician Statute of Autonomy, Galician is now recognised as co-official with Castilian within Galicia and as such it is used in public administration, education and the media. As we will see below (section 3.7), though, how official it is and what the objectives of the current legislation may be are matters which are open to discussion.

3.6 GALICIAN IDENTITY AND THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE

We saw in the first half of this chapter that language, and in particular written language, helps to build feelings of 'groupness' and community amongst its speakers. Some of the factors which were discussed as contributing to this feeling of 'groupness' or 'imagined community' can be applied to Galicia.

Print capitalism was an important factor in helping to build the 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983). As we have seen, since 1863 when *Os Cantares Gallegos* was published, one of the features of *Galeguismo* has been the promotion of Galician through literature, periodicals, magazines and newspapers. Not only, then, was Galician used in a domain previously reserved for Spanish, but it must have contributed to a feeling of 'groupness' amongst some Galicians. However, with regard to the audience of these publications, it is worth referring to Pérez-Barreiro Nolla (1990). Whilst his comments are about *Nós* magazine, they could be applied to written Galician in general before the Civil War: 'the Castilian-speaking bourgeoisie of Galicia was not impressed and the Galician-

speaking common people were not drawn in at this high level of culture' (Pérez-Barreiro Nolla 1990:194). In addition, given that most Galician-speakers were illiterate, certainly before the Civil War, the audience of written Galician must have been limited. Today, however, Galician is taught in schools so the potential audience should, in theory at least, be wider.

It is also worth mentioning again Victor Turner's "'journey" between times, statuses and places, as a meaning-creating experience' (Anderson 1983:55). Today, this process could be applied not just to the process of state-building by Spain, but also to a process of creating an 'imagined community' or nation in Galicia. People and documents are interchangeable in Galicia through both the functionary administrative system and the use of Galician in administration, in other words, this is another way in which a sense of Galician consciousness is aided by written language. Prior to the Autonomy Statute, however, these administrative 'journeys' would have been carried out by Spanish officials. We noted in Chapter 1, however, that in practice Spanish rather than Galician may be used in public administration, and that at a local level most councils use Spanish in their published documentation (see Portas 1993:157-158).

We also saw in the first half of this chapter that there is a similarity between ethnicity and nationalism in that they both embrace a sense of 'groupness', and that nationalism can be seen as an extension of ethnicity in that it further embraces a desire for self-government. *Galeguismo* can be seen as a process from ethnicity to nationalism. If a feeling of 'groupness' is present, then there must have been a process of identification and defining of the group boundary 'us', the Galicians.

Although Galician was not considered to be an important element of Galician identity in the Provincialist stage, by the Regionalist stage it was one of the main differentiating factors of Galician culture and identity. The words of Murguía in his speech at the *Xogos Florais* (literary competitions which became 'real festivals of *Galeguista* exaltation' (author's translation, Portas 1993:81)) in Tui in 1891 illustrate the importance which Galician had for the Regionalists:

Galician is, in short, what gives us the right to complete possession of the land in which we were born, which tells us that we are a different people and therefore should be so; which promises us the future we seek, and which gives us the certainty that it is going to be fruitful for us all. Like a sacred vessel in which perfumes are mixed together, you will find the main elements of our nationality, once again denied, and even mocked.
(Author's translation, Murguía quoted in Portas 1993:77)

As we saw in the last section, an important part of *Galeguismo* has been the use and promotion of Galician, both written and oral. Whilst there were gains in terms of the use of Galician, there was also a progressive Castilianisation in urban areas of Galicia and in the middle and upper classes throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Until relatively recently, as we saw in Chapter 2, Galician was principally the language of rural areas.

The belief that the Galician language is a key element of Galician identity is still prevalent⁸. Whilst other features of Galician identity, such as bagpipes, mountains and *rías*, can be found elsewhere, the Galician language is seen as the differentiating feature of Galician identity⁹.

I believe that the majority of Galicians would cite their language as one of the features of Galician identity. If this is the case, one may wonder why, as we saw in Chapter 2, Galician is losing speakers, particularly amongst young people in urban areas. I would argue that the explanation for this is in part that Galician has become a private rather than public marker of identity. In addition, we saw in Chapter 2 that urban areas were never the stronghold of Galician. For centuries Galician was not written and was associated with backward, rural, illiterate communities, whilst Spanish was associated with prestigious uses and social and economic progress. If people wanted to progress, they had to adopt Spanish. It is still the case that some Galician-speaking parents speak Spanish to their

⁸ All those asked about language and identity in the interviews I carried out between January and March 1994 expressed this view.

⁹ For García Negro (interview 1994), Galician is more than important for Galician identity, it is fundamental. García Negro and Henriquez Salido (interviews 1994) believe that language is the external manifestation of something interior, the former describing language as the external manifestation of a society's personality, the latter as the most external feature of identity. Pazos Pereira (interview 1994) also considers Galician to be important for Galician identity, saying that 'with the Galician language we feel Galician'.

children, believing that as Spanish-speakers they will have more opportunities in life. We have already seen that a change in language from one of use to one of association (from communicative to symbolic), to facilitate social mobility for example, does not mean a change in ethnicity (Eastman 1984). The group boundary 'us', the Galicians, then, still exists but it could be argued that for some people Galician is now a symbolic, or a private, marker of identity.

3.7 LANGUAGE RIGHTS/LEGISLATION IN GALICIA

Popular belief is that repression of national rights, including linguistic rights, began with the Franco dictatorship, but in reality the process of assimilation began much earlier (García Negro 1991:207). In fact, the first unifying laws were passed in the eighteenth century, and imposition of Spanish began even earlier in the Middle Ages when non-Galicians took charge of Galicia's institutions and the Catholic Church was Hispanified.

The *Decreto de Nueva Planta* in 1707, after the victory of the Spanish over Catalan territories shows the imposition of a single currency and language (Spanish) as symbols of the new state, education bringing with it the eradication of provincial dialects, Latin giving way to Spanish as a symbol of authority, and the imposition of the equation nation=state. Measures which imposed Spanish over the other languages were accompanied by a deliberate assimilationist policy (García Negro 1993:15).

What can be considered to be the first declaration of Spanish as the official language was passed in the reign of Carlos III in June 1768. The *Real Cédula de Aranjuez* imposes the use of Spanish in any public act and in education. The seventh disposition states:

Finally I order that the teaching of Letters, Latin and Rhetoric be carried out generally in the Castilian language, wherever it is not done, the respective Courts and Justice ensuring this is complied with... (Author's translation, in García Negro 1991:213-214).

Education is given importance as a factor in the imposition of Spanish, and this linguistic imposition is justified by its advocates in terms of 'greater harmony' and 'reciprocal relationships' (author's translation, García Negro 1991:214). In the history of Spanish constitutions, there are only two which recognise the rights of non-Castilian languages: the constitutions of the Republic in 1931, and the current one of 1978 (Ferrer i Girones in García Negro 1991:224).

As we saw in Chapter 1, the *Constitución Española* (Spanish Constitution), the *Estatuto de Autonomía* (Galician Statute of Autonomy), and the *Lei de Normalización Lingüística* (Language Normalisation Law) set out the legal status of Galician and its relationship with Castilian, together with the linguistic rights and duties of Galicians. The recognition of Galician as an official language in Galicia, and the right to use Galician in public life and in public bodies was undoubtedly a major step forward for Galician after the Franco dictatorship which had permitted the use of Galician, Catalan and Basque in the home and family environment only. However, many commentators have drawn attention to the fact that, particularly in article 3 of the Constitution, there are imbalances in terms of the status and position of Galician (and the other non-Castilian languages of the Spanish state) and Castilian (see Barreiro Carracedo 1985, Bastardas & Boix 1994, Esteban Radio 1981a, Fernández Velho 1986, Fontenla Rodrigues 1986, García Negro 1991 and 1993, Gil Hernández 1985, Mar-Molinero 1990, Vernet I Llobet 1994 and Vilhar Trilho 1986).

Castilian is the official language of the Spanish state, whilst Galician is co-official (with Castilian) in Galician territory only. All Spaniards have a duty to know Castilian, whilst speakers of Galician have the right to know and use their language, but not the duty. Galicians are therefore compelled to learn and know Castilian but not Galician. In other words, the personality principle applies to Castilian (Spaniards can expect to use Castilian and receive services in Castilian in any part of the Spanish state), whilst the territorial principle applies to Galician (a Galician can only expect services in Galician in Galician territory). It should be pointed out that originally the Language Normalisation Law stated in its first article that all Galicians had the duty to know and the right to use Galician, but this was contested by the Spanish government and declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Tribunal. For Vilhar Trilho (1986:140), rather than co-officiality we should

speak of subco-officiality or unequal co-officiality. The linguistic ideology of the Galician Normalisation Law continues to view Spanish as the only official language of the Spanish state, and alongside the rights conceded to Galician appear those of Spanish, as if it was Spanish which was the dominated language (Barreiro Carracedo 1985:18-29). There is a paradox in the constitutional and post-constitutional legislation in that legislation which is ostensibly protective of the other languages of the Spanish state 'dedicates more than half of its text to protecting and ratifying the privileges of Spanish' (author's translation, García Negro 1991:239).

This hierarchy and inequality between Castilian and Galician, and also Catalan and Basque, is reflected in other ways. The Constitution, for example, refers to 'the other Spanish languages' and 'different linguistic varieties of Spain' without naming the languages: Galician, Catalan and Basque do not exist even nominally (García Negro 1991:239). In addition, they are always defined in terms of their relationship to Spain and Spanish, implying that these languages are really varieties or dialects of Spanish (see also Gil Hernández 1985:116). Mar-Molinero sees the 'most significant part' of Article 3 as being the second part of clause 2 (1990:54). This clause restricts the official status of the non-Castilian languages to their respective Autonomous Communities, where the exact nature of their status is to be determined in accordance with their respective Autonomy Statutes and

...puts in doubt the claims to be a plurilingual state. On the contrary, it can be argued, the concept of plurilingualism is restricted, normally to only two languages, to various discrete geographical areas within the Spanish state. The lack of commitment to these non-Castilian languages globally is a very important factor in assessing their likely future. In my view, this is a deliberately highly restrictive clause. (Mar-Molinero 1990:54)

Some would argue, then, that the linguistic model of the Spanish state reflects a diglossic ideology:

it is a dissymmetrical model, not of a multilingual state but of a state which is linguistically unitary with some linguistic minorities to whom specific rights restricted to their own territorial area are granted. (Author's translation, Ninyoles in Fernández Velho 1986:42)

The laws are also somewhat vague in terms of the promotion of the use of Galician and the other languages. The Constitution describes the languages as being the 'object of special respect and protection', and the Galician laws use phrases and words such as 'guarantee' and 'encourage' and 'normal and official use'. The very fact that the laws state that the public bodies will 'encourage' Galician shows its inequality with respect to Castilian. Neither the Constitution nor the Galician laws define what 'special respect and protection', 'guarantee' and 'encourage' really mean in terms of what objectives are to be achieved in promoting the use of the languages, nor what resources might be made available. These words have 'sufficient semantic elasticity that they can be used falsely' (author's translation, García Negro 1991:296): 'encourage', for example, could mean providing Galician courses for civil servants which are not followed up to find out whether or not the use of Galician by the civil servants increases after the courses (see comments related to this issue by García Conde, interview 1994, in Chapter 1).

It is clear that the objective of the Normalisation Law is not 'normalisation' at all: '[a]t no time do its objectives have to do with "normalisation", they are the complete opposite' (author's translation, Barreiro Carracedo 1985:28), and 'what it does is precisely not "normalise" the situation of Galician' (author's translation, Fontenla Rodrigues 1986:72). The objective presented by the legislation is one of co-officiality, or bilingualism. This is presented in a positive light. However, some commentators argue that bilingualism is present for a time in the process of assimilation (Ninyoles 1991:172). Phrases such as 'respect and protection' and 'official language' are really euphemisms for 'regulation, limitation of use' and 'force, power' (Esteban Radio 1981a:50), and the real objective cannot be co-officiality, 'since if Spanish is not going to lose any of its uses, Galician cannot subvert the present situation' (author's translation, Barreiro Carracedo 1985:29). Mar-Molinero, too, finds it hard to visualise equal bilingualism when one of the languages is a world language with global prestige (1990:60). However, the alternative of promoting monolingualism of the local languages in the territories where they are spoken would not be socially acceptable since, at least in Catalonia, it would adversely affect the most deprived sectors of society, and it would also be discriminatory to disenfranchise Spanish citizens from the dominant language of the Spanish state. The view that balanced bilingualism could not exist since one of the languages would be stronger than the other

also emerged from my fieldwork¹⁰. I would argue, then, that the legal framework at the very least enshrines the continued dominance of Castilian over the other languages. Starting from such an unequal, or unbalanced, position, it is indeed difficult to see how equal, or balanced, bilingualism can be achieved. Fontenla Rodrigues is clear in his assessment of the real goals of the legislation:

...the Hispanification of Galician, the acculturation of the Galician community, the colonisation of our people, the destruction of the national identity of Galicia, the annulment of the process of national consciousness, the consolidation of diglossia and bilingualism, with the predominance of Spanish and prejudice of Galician, the dismemberment of the structural unity of Galician, in its diachronic or historic dimension, as much as its synchronic or present dimension. (Author's translation, Fontenla Rodrigues 1986:77)

He is also clear about the agents of this assimilation:

The intermediaries of this Castilianist project are nowadays the *Instituto de la Lengua Gallega*, the *Real Academia Gallega*, the *Junta de Galiza* or the Galician Government and the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Department of Language Policy. (Author's translation, Fontenla Rodrigues 1986:77)

These are all institutions which we would assume to be promoting and encouraging the use of Galician. However, as we saw in Chapter 2, there is no real will on the part of the *Xunta* to 'normalise' Galician. The Galician institutions cited above are not the only agents of assimilation:

¹⁰ In the interviews I conducted between January and March 1994 only two commentators believed that the authorities' goal of bilingualism was possible: Sánchez Puga (and this was to be expected since he works in the department of *Política Lingüística* at the *Xunta*), and Pazos Pereira. The former thought that it would take generations for such a situation to be achieved, and then Galician would be the indigenous language of culture, and Spanish or English would be used for communication with people outside Galicia. The latter thought that it was possible for the two languages to live together in harmony in social and administrative environments and also at the level of the individual, although there was a long way to go, particularly in terms of the mentality of the people.

...the central Government does not carry out a policy directed towards the national reconstruction of the oppressed nations (Galicia, the Basque Country and Catalonia) either. On the contrary, it seeks in many aspects the dismemberment of the cultural unity of the different linguistic areas which do not coincide with the Spanish one. (Author's translation, Fontenla Rodrigues 1986:78)

Barreiro Carracedo (1985) argues that the only way to put an end to what he calls the diglossic situation of Galician is to make the freedom to use Galician clear and explicit in the legislation, and for the courts and public administration and institutions to be monolingual in Galician.

The belief that the *Xunta* does not do all it could to help to 'normalise' the Galician language is prevalent¹¹. Many commentators believe that there is no real will to 'normalise' Galician, and that anything the *Xunta* does is a 'fachada' (facade), or, as Marco puts it, 'a varnish, a painted layer of Galicianisation of everything on view' (author's translation, Marco, interview 1994). Use of the word *fachada* is double-edged: by alluding to the word *facha*, meaning fascist, it also indirectly makes reference to the right-wing nature of the *Partido Popular* which forms the *Xunta*. This lack of will from some sectors in Galicia is because in any linguistic conflict the collaboration of the 'proprios naturais' of the country is necessary: the autonomous institutions do not represent the interests of Galician society, but comply with the orders of Madrid, Brussels, Strasbourg, or New York (García Negro, interview 1994). With reference to why the language is not really promoted by the *Xunta*, Henríquez Salido (interview 1994) asserts that Spain is a centralist state, so it is not in the state's interest that people preserve their singularity: the issue is about assimilation. The Galician government, she believes, is more centralist than the Spanish state itself. Gil Hernández (interview 1994), too, sees the *Xunta* as being 'señores españoles' (see below, section 3.8, Centre-Periphery).

It is not surprising, then, that García Negro refers to official policy as 'homeopathic tactics' ('táctica homeopática', 1993:90) because 'bad' or 'prejudicial' elements are

¹¹This opinion emerged time and again in my fieldwork.

injected to neutralise growth and to combat from within. She sums up this homeopathic tactic as follows:

there is consent for, and even promotion of, the controlled and functionally restricted presence of the dominated code in the social body, Galician, in order to continue to maintain the hegemony of the dominant code, Spanish, at the same time introducing new ideological elements of diglossic stabilisation: 'balanced bilingualism' as an ideology; the peaceful coexistence of two codes; the inevitability of the use of Spanish; in short, the naturalness of dysfunction and hierarchy. (Author's translation, García Negro 1993:90-91)

We noted above in section 3.3.6 that certain rights may be conceded whilst the group in question is in fact kept in an overall subordinate position. Galician is co-official within Galicia and Galicians have a right to know their language. Castilian, on the other hand, is official throughout the Spanish state, and all Spaniards have a duty to know Castilian. In other words, some rights are conceded to Galician, whilst at the same time it is kept in a subordinate position to Castilian. This, as we will see in the section which follows, mirrors the position of Galicia with respect to the Spanish state.

3.8 CENTRE-PERIPHERY

We saw in the first half of this chapter that groups can be a minority both in terms of their numbers and in terms of their social, economic and political position within the state where they reside. Linguistic minorities are minorities for whom language is a crucial characteristic. We have also seen that language is a key element of Galician identity. In numerical terms, Galicians are a minority within Spain, and they are also a linguistic minority in terms of their social, economic and political position within Spain.

Galicia is geographically peripheral within Spain, but it is also generally recognised to be peripheral in economic and political terms as well. Whilst not actually a colony, Galicia is in the situation of an internal colony (Mella 1992). The two main features of this situation are blockade ('bloqueo') and dispossession ('desposesión'). The first impedes access to new forms of productive activity and leads to stagnation, the second is a symptom of the

regressive process in local control of means of production (Mella 1992:62). For Rodríguez, Galicia has a precapitalist structure, and is 'formally dominated by a dependent, colonial capitalism' (author's translation, Rodríguez 1991:69).

The belief that Galicia is a periphery emerges strongly from my empirical fieldwork. There is a very strong sense of Galicia being the poor relation, forgotten and marginalised. Galicia is often referred to as a periphery, not just geographic, but also economic and political. Galicia's political dependence on the centre is conditioned by its economic dependence. This is because of the imposition of an economic model in which the Spanish state and the European Community collaborate and in which they see Galicia as a 'quarry' ('canteira') for primary materials and cheap labour, and which does not allow the development of a self-centred economy, or even the development of sectors of basic Galician products which could compete freely in the free market (García Negro, interview 1994). Other commentators, too, point to the fact that Galicia is treated as a source of primary materials (such as granite) and labour and realises no benefit from them (eg Fernández, interview 1994), and say that Galicia is like an internal colony. Also relevant is Galicia's physical isolation due to the lack of a good infrastructure to connect it with Madrid, which results in a lack of industry and then to a vicious circle (Henríquez Salido, interview 1994). Some commentators see Galicia's position as being worse than that of the Basque Country and Catalonia, often being forgotten when people speak of the 'historic' communities.

Galician is still the majority language in quantitative terms in Galicia, but this loses importance when one considers that it is in a diglossic situation: Castilian is used with unknown interlocutors, as a sign of education and being urban, in writing in general and particularly in more formal writing, where an individual is not in an equal status position with the interlocutor, and so on. Whilst there has been a general change in the way that the language is valued by its users, there is still inertia which perpetuates the rules of the past, and favours the use of Spanish. Much of this inertia can be accounted for by the economic domination of Galicia and the political domination which reinforces this domination institutionally (García Negro 1991:193-195). The Galician linguistic conflict is derived from the political dependence and economic dominance which, far from decreasing, has

increased. It is this which explains that historically Galician was not in a 'normal' position and that it was far from any official, public or prestigious domain. It also explains its identification with the popular classes of Galicia who had no power in the economy or in the social and political institutions, and who only advanced socially and economically by integrating into the institutions of the state or by emigrating, that is, through mechanisms which were not generated from within Galicia. Galicia's linguistic problem, then, is a collective one which has economic and political causes (Rodríguez 1991:77). The economic and political roots of the problem are typical of the 'colonial' situation which produces and strengthens the process of assimilation of Galician. Rodríguez (1991) argues that real 'normalisation' of Galician is not possible until there is independence from the colonial power.

Clearly, then, there are non-linguistic causes to the situation of the Galician language. Galician, Basque and Catalan are 'by definition regional languages, therefore dialects, in a political definition, and cannot compete in uses...with the national language which is only and exclusively Castilian' (author's translation, Gil Hernández, interview 1994). This situation had been established before, during and after the Transition. Since the colloquial use of Galician is still quite high, the place of attack is the standardisation, by using Castilianised Galician, which Gil Hernández calls 'criollo' and 'castrapo'. Those at the *Instituto da Lingua Galega*, the *Real Academia Galega*, the *Dirección General de Política Lingüística*, the *Xunta*, the *Consejería de Educación*, the *Consejería de Cultura*, etc are really 'señores españoles' from the national point of view who are facilitating the Spanish national project: one language, Castilian. An issue closely related to this is the unity of the Peninsula. However, another state within the Peninsula, Portugal, impedes that unity. The fundamental issue in the Galician situation is the political question, but not party politics, rather the politics of the state project, of the national project. The fundamental principle is 'Spain is one, great and free', which can be defined by unity of language, unity of army, unity of economy, and unity with regard to other states. If the language is one, then the others are not languages, but dialects. In the case of Galician, it is not only a dialect in uses, but also in its standardisation (Gil Hernández, interview 1994). Under the Spanish Constitution Spanish is the official language, but what this really means is

national language, as it has been defined since the French Revolution (Gil Hernández 1985:118).

I would argue, then, that the centre-periphery relationship between Galicia and the Spanish state is reflected in the inequalities in the legislation, which we noted in section 3.7. I would also argue that these linguistic inequalities, via processes such as elite closure (see section 3.3.5 above), help to maintain political, economic and social inequalities, and vice versa. We saw in the first half of this chapter that some commentators view Europe positively, believing that minority groups will have more scope to promote their language and cultures. Some Galician commentators, however, do not share their enthusiasm: if Galicia is peripheral with respect to Spain, it is no less so with respect to Europe (Mella 1992:61). In fact, it can be argued that Galicia will be a step further removed from the economic and political centre (García Negro, interview 1994).

3.9 CONCLUSION

We saw in the first half of this chapter how language plays a central role in the process of nation-building, identity and the relationship between the state and minorities. In this half of the chapter we have seen that, from the Regionalist phase of *Galeguismo*, language has been seen as a key feature in Galician identity, and that the use of Galician in literature, magazines and in public must have contributed to a sense of 'groupness' or 'imagined community'. We could say, then, that language is one of the key elements within the Galician group boundary of 'us'.

If the Galician language is important for Galician identity, Castilian is no less important for Spanish identity as far as the Spanish state is concerned. I would argue, then, that the process of consciousness which led to the 'imagined community' of Galicia and Galician nationalism runs contrary to the aims of nation-building by the Spanish state. This is reflected in the relationships between both Galician and Castilian, and the Spanish state and Galicia.

In terms of the ratio of Galicians to Spaniards, Galicians are a minority, and, given that language is seen by them as a crucial characteristic, we can say that they are a linguistic minority. Galicia is in a peripheral position geographically and is generally considered to be so in economic, political and social terms as well. Galicians can therefore be considered to be in a minority position economically and politically, as well as numerically.

We have seen that legally Galician is not on an equal footing with Castilian: whilst Castilian is the official language of the Spanish state, Galician is only co-official with Castilian within Galicia, and whilst all Spaniards have a duty to know Castilian, Galicians have only a right to know their language. Starting from this position, it is difficult to see how the official objective of equal bilingualism can be achieved.

We have seen that the minority position of Galician is a result of Galicia's peripheral economic and political position and its unequal legal status. It also stems from an attempt to assimilate Galicians in the process of Spanish nation-building. The inequalities between the languages and the people, I would argue, are both reflected in and reinforced by the centre-periphery paradigm.

We have also seen that there is a lack of will to promote Galician in institutions such as the *Xunta*, contrary to what one would expect. The reason for this is the importance of language:

There is something very distinctive we could say, or very definitive about this country, and that is that to begin to speak Galician all day and every day of the year and in any place, this is the ideal passport for people to begin to become conscious of their own country, of Galicia itself. This is an ideal starting point to acquire a national consciousness which most Galician people are deprived of, which is very weak or in any case anchored in the area of sentiment, in the sentimental feelings towards this country, but not deep down in the consciousness that we are Galicians. (Author's translation, García Negro, interview 1994¹²).

¹² Hai algo moi distintivo diríamos ou moi defintorio deste país, e é que comenzar a falar galego, durante todo o día e tódolos días do ano e en calquer lugar, iso é un pasaporte óptimo para comenzar a sente

García Negro concludes that that is why the Galician language is so dangerous for those who are determined to keep Galicia subordinated and dependent on centres of economic and political decisions which impede its development.

What emerges, then, is a process of nation-building which began with the Catholic Monarchs in which Castile was dominant and so was the Castilian language. We saw in the first half of the chapter that a single, standard language was important in the nation-building process, and in the second half of the chapter we have seen that Castilian was gradually imposed throughout Spain in administration, education, and all public domains. Under Franco Basque, Catalan and Galician were restricted to the family environment. In post-Franco Spain, the position of these languages is much improved. However, we should question the official goal of balanced bilingualism since these languages start on an unequal footing: in spite of the enormous advances made in the legal position of the non-Castilian languages of Spain, Castilian is still essentially the dominant language. I would argue that what we see is a continuing process of Spanish state- or nation-building in which, given its importance for nation-building, a single language is essential, in this case, Castilian. In such a process, the functions and legal position of other languages of Spain must necessarily be limited. If they are not limited, they could potentially help a rival process of nation-building.

decatarse e darse conta do propio país, da propia Galiza. Iso é un punto de partido óptimo para adquirir unha conciencia nacional da cal está privada moita xente galega, que está moi amortiguada ou en todo caso moi ancorada no terreo do sentimento, da desexo sentimental a este país, pero non no fondo na conciencia de que somos galegas e galegos.' (García Negro, interview 1994)

CHAPTER 4

LANGUAGE PLANNING AND EDUCATION

This chapter is concerned with language planning and education. In the first half of the chapter I will review some of the literature and theories surrounding language planning, bilingual education and literacy. Then, in the second half, through reference to literature, legislation and information gathered through fieldwork, I will assess language planning and education in Galicia, and their implications for Galician.

A. THEORETICAL ISSUES

4.1 LANGUAGE PLANNING

This section is concerned with the various aspects of language planning. For a full discussion of language planning see Eastman (1983) and Cooper (1989). In order to establish what language planning is and who carries it out, I will begin by quoting a few definitions found in the literature.

In 1959 Einar Haugen defined language planning as ‘the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary, for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community’ (cited in Eastman 1983:69). However, he later saw

these activities, which are now usually seen as part of standardisation, to be the outcome of language planning rather than the definition.

A definition which is often quoted in the literature is the one put forward by Rubin and Jernudd:

Language planning is deliberate language change; that is, changes in the systems of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfil such purposes. As such, language planning is focused on problem-solving and is characterized by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decision. (Rubin and Jernudd 1971:xvi)

Language planning is generally not carried out solely to improve communication, but rather in order to achieve non-linguistic ends, such as national integration, political control, economic development, and so on. In fact, these are the principal motives, and this means that many definitions of language planning divert attention from the underlying motives. Therefore, one should distinguish between overt and covert goals, and definitions should describe language planning as efforts to influence language behaviour rather than efforts to solve language problems (Cooper 1989).

It is a mistake to restrict a definition of language planning activity to the level of the state, since language planning may occur at a 'higher' level, between states. Examples of this include efforts on behalf of Esperanto and the standardisation of terminology by international organisations. Equally, language planning may take place at a 'lower' level, such as at the level of schools, trade unions, occupational organisations, and so on. Cooper therefore suggests that the target groups of language planning be called communication networks: '[a] communication network is a set of verbal interactional links among persons, each network set off from others by sparsity of interaction' (Cooper 1989:38). These communication networks can be subdivided into smaller networks or aggregated into larger ones. In this way, definitions would not be restricted to any particular level. It would be useful to view the target group of language planning within the same framework as language spread, ie through a communication network, although language planners are

more likely to aim their efforts at named entities, rather than at an abstract communication network. The target of language planning should be defined as 'others', and Cooper's definition of language planning is:

Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes. (Cooper 1989:45)

Under this definition, neither the planners nor the target group are restricted in terms of who they are, and language planning is expressed in terms of behaviour rather than problem solving. The word 'influence' rather than 'change' is used since the former would also encompass the maintenance or preservation of current behaviour.

Language policies are formulated, codified, elaborated and implemented. The formulation of a policy is a process of decision-making. The main political factor in formulation is the goal of the body formulating the policy. The codification of a policy is the technical preparation of the policy which has been formulated. Elaboration is usually undertaken by a language academy and encompasses 'the extension of the decided-upon language(s) or writing system(s) to all spheres of activity in which its use is envisioned' (Eastman 1983:8). The implementation of language policy is the procedure of putting a plan into operation in order to attain the desired objective.

The principal motivation for the formulation of public policy is 'stress', which Ellsworth and Stahnke (1976:7) define as 'the impairment of the authorities' ability to govern'. Policy decisions are a response to, or a way of avoiding, a threat to loss of power. Whilst their model is for policy affecting society as a whole, stress could motivate decision making in non-governmental institutions.

Policy-making may be influenced by several factors. These include economic cycles, political events, technological change, the political, economic, social and demographic structures of a society, the attitudes and values held by various groups within the community or by the community as a whole, and the international political environment (see Leichter in Cooper 1989:93-94).

Before a language policy can be formulated, codified, elaborated, and implemented, the policy makers need to choose the language(s) that the policy refers to. Nationism and nationalism (terms which Fishman distinguishes between) are factors which influence language choice. The former 'refers to the degree of effective operation of a political entity and is best served by political integration', whilst the latter 'is more concerned with "ethnic authenticity" than operational efficiency' (Eastman 1983:14). Language choice should be based on a combination of social, cultural and psychological factors (Eastman 1983).

Language planning may affect the form (or corpus) of a language, its functions and uses (or status), and/or the number of people who speak it. The next sections will deal with status planning, corpus planning, acquisition planning, and *normalización* and *normativización*.

4.1.1 Status Planning

Status planning refers to 'deliberate efforts to influence the allocation of functions among a community's languages' (Cooper 1989:99). Status planning can focus on any communicative function, but in practice it tends to concentrate on those functions which allow elites to maintain or extend their power, or which afford counterelites an opportunity to take power for themselves. Status planning tends to take place when changes threaten elites, or are desired by counterelites. Elites and counterelites are unlikely to be interested in status planning if there is no advantage for them, and status planning is unlikely to be successful without their support.

There are two aspects of status planning which are linked to this: firstly, it is usually done by politicians, statesmen or by policy-making bodies; and secondly, status planning decisions either conform to the ideologies of the elite, or are a response to conflicting ideologies of the elite and other groups (Cobarrubias 1983:62). Some of these ideologies include linguistic assimilation or pluralism, vernacularisation, and internationalisation. The aim of linguistic assimilation is that all speakers of languages other than the dominant language should be able to function in the latter. Linguistic pluralism is essentially the

coexistence of different language groups. Vernacularisation involves the restoration and elaboration of an indigenous language and its adoption as an official language.

Internationalisation involves the adoption of a non-indigenous language of wider communication either as an official language or as a language of instruction (Cobarrubias 1983:63-66).

Status planning, then, is essentially concerned with influencing the allocation of functions of a community's language(s). It may take place when only one language is present but has lacked prestige, or when two or more languages are present. As we saw in Chapter 2, diglossia, in the sense that Fishman (1967) used the term, is concerned with the allocation of functions between two languages. We could argue, therefore, that there is a connection between the two. Status planning tends in practice to concentrate on those functions which allow elites to maintain or extend their power. Status planning could be used to influence the allocation of 'high' and 'low' functions between languages. In other words, status planning could be used to create or maintain the functional split between languages.

4.1.2 Corpus Planning

Corpus planning

...refers to activities such as coining new terms, reforming spelling, and adopting a new script. It refers, in short, to the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, or the selection from alternative forms in a spoken or written code. (Cooper 1989:31)

Cooper (1989) believes that form (corpus planning) follows function (status planning) for at least two reasons. Firstly, the corpus planner designs or selects structures on the assumption that a given function can be served by a modification or treatment of the corpus, ie the implementation of status planning decisions may require corpus planning. Secondly, the function may influence the desired form of the corpus.

There are three main elements to corpus planning: graphisation, standardisation and modernisation. Cooper also suggests a fourth category, renovation.

4.1.2.1 Graphisation

Graphisation is the provision of writing systems for unwritten or little written languages. A choice must first be made between using an existing writing system and designing a new one. If designing a new one, a choice must be made between using a syllabary (in which each symbol represents a syllable) and an alphabet (in which each letter represents a phoneme).

The criteria for judging the adequacy of writing systems can be divided into two major categories: psycholinguistic or technical, and sociolinguistic (Cooper 1989:126).

Psycholinguistic criteria are concerned with how easy a writing system is to learn, to read and to write, and how easy it is to reproduce by modern printing methods. However, what is easy to read is not necessarily easy to write and print.

Writing is an instrument of power, and rulers use it to maintain power, whilst the ruled use writing to acquire it. Therefore, subjugated minorities often want their language to be written in a system that looks as much as possible like the system in use by their rulers. Use of the rulers' writing system will also facilitate acquisition of literacy in the rulers' language. On the other hand, some minorities want a writing system which is unique. Sociolinguistic considerations are often more important than technical factors in determining the system's acceptance or rejection, and therefore it might be more useful for those involved in graphisation to talk to anthropologists, political scientists and sociologists than to linguists and psychologists.

4.1.2.2 Standardisation

All human interaction requires some degree of standardisation, that is, some degree of shared expectations and shared understanding, and this applies to language as well. If there are no shared norms, then communication breaks down, something which is more likely to happen when communication takes place in a sphere which is wider than the local community. Planners need to consider with whom people need to communicate most and see that communication be done effectively.

A standard is 'a common form of a language that speakers of varying dialects learn to read and write both formally and informally' (Eastman 1983:71), and standardisation 'consists basically of creating a model for imitation and of promoting this model over rival models' (Karam, quoted in Eastman 1983:71). Prescription of a norm is not standardisation, since the codification could be rejected. In other words, the standard must be accepted and felt to be appropriate, although this in itself is not enough, since feelings must be turned into action, that is, the standard must be used. As we will see in Part II, an orthographic norm has been prescribed for Galician, but some sectors of Galician society reject these norms, believing that Galician should be written to a greater or lesser extent like Portuguese, rather than according to the norms which were approved by the Galician government.

The standard is usually adopted by schools and this also helps to reinforce what Milroy and Milroy (1985) call the 'ideology of standardisation', that is the idea that there is a correct way to use language and that everyone should use language in this way. Standardisation of written language varieties has usually been more successful than standardisation of spoken varieties. There are several reasons for this: there is probably more need for a single standard written variety than for a spoken one; it is probably easier to impart a written standard via schooling than a spoken standard; writers usually have more control over their writing than speakers have over their speech; and finally, we tend to value written varieties more than spoken varieties, believing that the spoken variety is an imperfect reflection of the 'true' variety, and therefore take the written standard as a universal model.

Standardisation may come about in several ways, either as the result of unplanned evolution, or as the object of overt language planning. Historically, standard languages arose as speakers of local dialects were drawn into wider networks dominated by a political and economic centre. They accepted the speech of those who formed part of this centre, particularly that of the elite, as the basis for a standard. A standard is usually accepted first in writing, and later, through formal education and communication beyond the local area, it becomes accepted for speech between speakers from different regions. In other words, 'just as standardisation in measurement usually proceeds from the centre to the periphery, so the standardisation of language typically radiates outward from metropolitan centres of power' (Cooper 1989:132-133).

A standard has two structural properties and four functions, three of which are symbolic and one objective (Garvin 1973:26). In terms of the structural properties, a standard language needs to be flexible and modernisable. The three symbolic functions are: unifying the area where it is used and the people who use it; distinguishing the area and its people from other areas and people; and generating pride in the people due to its prestige. In terms of its objective function, a standard language provides a frame of reference for its speakers: 'they know that the standard exists and that it somehow represents them' (Eastman 1983:154). These functions help to foster feelings of loyalty, awareness and pride amongst the speakers towards their language. These attitudes coincide with the objectives of modernisation and development directed at the nation, that is, attitudes of national pride, loyalty and awareness. A standard language, then, can be used to unite a speech community and distinguish it from another. (See also the role of language in the rise of the nation, Chapter 3, section 3.1.1).

As we saw in Chapter 3, the elite can use a standard language as a way of maintaining the existing social order within a society. This is because the standard language is a symbol of that order, and is promoted through the institutions under the control of the elite, such as the education system. If it is in the interest of the elites to promote the standard variety, it is in the interest of the counterelites to promote the acceptance of a new or different standard. This may be the case in nationalist or separatist movements, where a different standard from the one of the state may help to foster a sense of common identity, and also legitimise claims of separateness and demands for self-determination. This can be seen in terms of the centre-periphery model: processes which lead to the integration of local networks with wider networks in which the centre has political, economic, and cultural power over the periphery also lead to linguistic standardisation. Language may be used as a symbol by counterelites claiming self-determination, or by the centre in an attempt to prevent the periphery from breaking away.

We saw in the previous chapter that access to the language used by those in power can be restricted to a greater or lesser extent by elite closure and the centre-periphery structure. We also saw that language rights may be restricted to maintain linguistic inequalities, which are often a reflection of social, political and economic inequalities. We have seen

above that policy decisions are a response to or a way of avoiding a threat to or a loss of power by elites. In other words, we could assume that language planning can be used as a tool to maintain the linguistic, social, political and economic inequalities and the centre-periphery model which were discussed in Chapter 3.

4.1.2.3 Modernisation

Modernisation of a language includes aspects such as the development of special-purpose dictionaries and vocabularies, that is, lexical elaboration. Lexical elaboration is necessary to allow a language to function in the modern world, and apart from adding new words to the language it may involve enlarging the language's lexicon in order to express concepts that it previously has not needed to express, for example, when concepts are 'imported' from other cultures.

Lexical elaboration has implications beyond the internal structure of the language. If lexical elaboration takes the form of ridding the language of linguistic traces of a former ruler, then it is a type of political and social liberation.

4.1.2.4 Renovation

Cooper proposes renovation as another aspect to corpus planning. This he defines as 'an effort to change an already developed code, whether in the name of efficiency, aesthetics, or national or political ideology' (1989:154). Thus, regraphisation, ie 'the replacement or reform of an existing writing system' (Cooper 1989:154), should be distinguished from graphisation, and restandardisation, ie the '[p]urification of an already standard language' (Cooper 1989:154), should not be confused with standardisation. Renovation should also be distinguished from modernisation in that modernisation permits the language or language variety to serve new communicative functions, whilst renovation permits the language to serve old functions in new ways.

4.1.3 Acquisition Planning

Acquisition planning is added by Cooper to the classic bipartite corpus-status planning model and 'refers to organized efforts to promote the learning of a language' (Cooper 1989:157). Whilst the aim of status planning is to increase the uses of a language, the aim of acquisition planning is to increase the number of users. The changes which are the object of corpus and status planning both affect and are affected by the number of users which a language has: the new uses may attract new users, and new users may have an influence on the language and may themselves introduce new uses.

The planning of language education accounts for the bulk of acquisition planning. The promotion of second language acquisition is usually carried out in schools. Schools are more likely to succeed if the language is used as a medium of instruction rather than taught as the target of instruction. However, it must be borne in mind that there must be practical reasons for the language to be used outside the classroom. Acquisition planning should also include efforts designed to improve or create incentives to learn the language in question, such as making the language a prerequisite for employment.

4.1.4 *Normalización and Normativización*

Whilst the term *normalización* is not a familiar one in Anglo-Saxon sociolinguistic literature, it is familiar in many of the autonomous regions of Spain where it is seen as 'a general language planning objective that will bring about a desirable level of linguistic equality' (Cobarrubias 1987:59). The term 'normalisation' was first coined by Aracil in his writings during the 1960s. Aracil (1982:182) sees linguistic normalisation as consisting of reorganising the linguistic functions of a given society with the aim of readapting the social functions of the language to changing 'external' conditions. He distinguishes three stages in this process: firstly, new practical necessities are felt, alternatives are proposed, and objectives in solving the problem are established; secondly, the language is modified or reformed (standardised) by specialists; and thirdly, the modified linguistic structure is adopted and put into use (Aracil 1982:182). Vallverdú prefers the term *normativización*, rather than standardisation (Aracil 1982:183). Above all,

normativización affects the orthography, morphology, lexis and syntax, but it may also include lexical cultivation. 'Normalisation' should, according to Aracil (1982:31), proceed on a double front: linguistic-cultural, that is, the development of the sociocultural functions of the language in question, and socio-political, that is, the reorganisation of the linguistic functions of the society. 'Normalisation' requires, then, full political independence (sovereignty) or at least a substantial amount of self-government (Aracil 1982:31).

Ninyoles also sees two aspects to 'normalisation'. The first is that the language in question is given rules and codified (that is, it is standardised) in order to establish a supradialectal variety. The second aspect is that the term suggests placing or reinstating a culture to a 'normal' level, situating it on an equal footing with the different language(s) which are present (Ninyoles 1991:105), and this would mean abolishing the diglossic framework (1991:108). Language planning is one of the instruments of 'normalisation' (Ninyoles 1991:111).

Aracil and Ninyoles have not made the difference between 'normalisation' and standardisation clear. For Cobarrubias, the former 'is specifically aimed at changing the status of minority languages' (1987:60), and he identifies three basic tasks to linguistic normalisation:

- a) To empower a minority language in order to make it possible for it to satisfy the communicative needs of a modern society in which scientific and technological knowledge and the use of the language in higher education instruction play a substantial role; b) to increase the number of speakers/users and increase the communicative competence of current users; and c) expand the geographic scope of the language within a given area. The end result of performing these three tasks is supposedly to attain a greater degree of linguistic equality vis à vis the other language/s a given minority competes with. In fact we may say that normalization is not just one objective but a multiplicity of objectives clustered together. (Cobarrubias 1987:57)

In other words, 'normalisation' involves functional, demographic and geographical spread. The first of these aims 'requires language spread and development in *all* language

functions, whereas standardisation has been achieved many times by expanding just a few key functions such as the use of the language in public administration, education and the like' (Cobarrubias 1987:60). The second and third tasks

require tools not available in the established literature on language planning, tools that refer to the selection of effective methodologies in second language teaching to different age groups, selection of strategies for the expansion of the geographical scope of the language to be normalized and the like. (Cobarrubias 1987:60-61)

Language acquisition/learning was not considered to be part of the classic language planning process, although, as we have seen, Cooper includes acquisition planning in his model of language planning.

Whilst 'normalisation' presupposes standardisation, the aims of the two processes are different. Standardisation is concerned with the establishment of a supradialectal variety and is part of corpus planning. *Normativización*, the term preferred by Vallverdú, is used particularly in Galician sociolinguistic and language planning literature, and as we will see in Part II is still an area of contention. *Normalización*, on the other hand, is concerned with placing or restoring a language to its 'normal' level, on an equal footing with other languages. For Cobarrubias this means functional, demographic and geographic expansion. As such, we can see 'normalisation' as encompassing both status and acquisition planning.

4.2 BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Bilingual training, literacy programmes and second language learning are all forms of education that are connected with language planning (Eastman 1983:82-83). One of the common problems in language planning is deciding which language should be the medium of instruction. In 1951 the UNESCO Meeting of Specialists conducted a worldwide survey of vernacular languages in education, and recommended that the best medium for teaching was the child's mother tongue. The assumption behind initial literacy in the mother

tongue is that once literacy has been achieved in the first language it is easier to become literate in a second language.

In this section of the chapter I will review the different types of bilingual education, together with their advantages and disadvantages, and also arguments in favour of and against minority language education.

4.2.1 Types of Bilingual Education

There are two models of bilingual education. The first is the transitional or assimilationist model, where bilingualism is not really encouraged, and the minority language is used only in the early years to make it easier for the child to adjust to existing educational demands. The second model is the pluralistic or maintenance model, which promotes linguistic pluralism. The minority language is used in both initial and later classes, and occupies an important position in the curriculum since it has low prestige outside the school, and must be supported strongly (Appel & Muysken 1987:65).

There are also immersion programmes for speakers of the dominant language, initially designed for English-speaking students in Montreal. Instruction is initially in the second language, and first language skills such as reading and writing are introduced later in the child's first language. Later still, the child's first language may be used as a medium of instruction for subjects such as geography and history. The teachers are bilingual, but only speak the second language in the classroom. Immersion programmes are voluntary, and should not be confused with submersion education in which compulsorily minority children are schooled through the majority language.

4.2.2 Formulating a Policy

Policy-makers should first consider what the real goals of bilingual education are. There are two conflicting goals: pluralistic and assimilationist (see section 4.2.1 above and Rubin 1983:10).

Spolsky (1977) discusses the factors which influence the choice of language for education, how long a particular variety is to be used, for what purposes and for what subjects, and by what people for what means in multilingual settings. He considers linguistic, sociological, political, economic, psychological, cultural, religious, and educational factors and constraints.

Linguistic factors: There are three possible linguistic outcomes for bilingual education programmes: language maintenance, language shift and language revival. In the case of maintenance, a decision must be taken regarding the functions for which a language is to be maintained. In the case of revival, a decision must be taken regarding the domains for which its use is intended. The language planning activity required can be determined according to these goals. The linguistic outcome is rarely the basic motivation for the programme.

Sociological factors: The social structure of society is reflected in the language patterns of a community, and when considering the relevance of this for bilingual education, the following should be examined: the degree of ethnic or other social integration in a particular community, the social status of the speakers of the various languages of both the students and other people connected with the school, and also the basic function of the school within the community. At a social level, the aims of a bilingual programme, as we have already seen, may ultimately be assimilation or pluralism.

Political factors: Political factors in bilingual education can be studied at various levels: international, national, regional, local or ethnic. For example, at a national level, bilingual education may be used with the aim of cultural assimilation to create one nation.

Alternatively, it may be used with the aim of cultural pluralism. There is a degree of overlap, then, between political and sociological factors.

Economic factors: One of the first economic factors which must be considered is who is to pay the costs of the bilingual programme. Costs incurred include teacher training, two sets of materials, and the costs associated with language planning and modernisation. There are both long and short term economic outcomes of bilingual education: in the long term, the preparation of children for employment; and in the short term, the school may be one of the main employers in a community.

Psychological factors: There are two types of psychological factors: those concerned with the students' learning process, and those concerned with attitudinal factors. Many studies have been carried out on the effect of bilingualism on the individual, especially to ascertain whether there were psychological advantages or disadvantages to being bilingual or receiving bilingual education. In terms of attitudinal factors, perhaps the main claim in favour of bilingual education is that it encourages the pupils' self-respect if their home language is respected by the school system.

Cultural factors: The terms bilingual bicultural, and bilingual multicultural draw attention to the fact that teaching in two languages alone is not enough. Respectively, they point to the fact that the cultures associated with each language must be recognised, and that it is possible to teach in one language and still recognise the other cultural groups in the community.

Religious factors: Religions are very often associated with a specific language, and religious pressure may or may not favour bilingual education.

Educational factors and constraints: Issues directly concerned with teachers, the curriculum and the educational aim should also be considered. These include the development of suitable curriculum material for the bilingual programme, teacher training and whether or not bilingual education benefits the student.

4.2.3 Advantages and Disadvantages of Bilingual Education

Most of the research carried out until the early sixties concluded that bilingualism was a linguistic handicap (Casanova 1991). However, in 1962 Peal and Lambert reported that bilingual children performed better than monolingual children in cognitive tests when other factors (sex, age, and socioeconomic status) were controlled. They put the negative findings of earlier reports down to a failure to distinguish degrees of bilingualism and control socioeconomic status.

There are problems when assessing bilingual programmes. The educational, social, linguistic, political, and economic situations differ from country to country, and from a methodological point of view, it is difficult to carry out studies since it may be extremely difficult to find a control group of monolingually educated students who match the experimental group in all aspects. The effects of the bilingual programme can only be understood in relation to the context of the programme.

In spite of the difficulties of assessing bilingual programmes, Appel and Muysken (1987:70-71) assert that the research literature generally maintains that bilingual education for linguistic minority children is positive in terms of first and second language skills, their other subjects, and also socially. However, they are cautious about the positive results of immersion programmes, pointing out that the children who take part speak a high status language and are from families with relatively high social-economic status. We should note that this is not the case in Catalonia, though. Appel and Muysken point out that children from disadvantaged linguistic minorities usually profit from bilingual programmes in which their first language plays an important role, while children from dominant social groups benefit from bilingual programmes in which the second language is used.

Studies by Paulston in 1974 and by Engle in 1975 found many interrelated social variables that affect literacy and second-language skills, and thus the success or otherwise of bilingual education programmes. These variables include social class and the self-image that the children have: if their self-image is negative, this is likely to be reinforced if they

have to learn the dominant group's language. Social class also affects the teacher's expectations of student performance, and teacher's expectations in turn have an effect on the student's learning. Another variable is the perceived usefulness of learning to read and speak a second language. There must at least be a felt need to communicate with another group, and the functions of the two languages in the community should be studied before policy is made about mother tongue or second language education (Rubin 1983). Another important variable is the teachers' preparation for their jobs. Other social factors should be taken into account, such as social identity, aspirations, and resources in both languages.

Some of the arguments put forward in favour of education in the minority language include the following: mother tongue education ensures that cognitive development will not be impaired and helps the development of the child's personality and a positive self-image; use of the mother tongue will reduce the cultural shock which minority children may experience at the transition from home to school; minority language education is necessary to develop the child's first language and in turn is necessary for the acquisition of the majority language; and cognitive skills are best acquired through the language one knows best, and then transferred to the second language. At a wider level, minority language education helps prevent forced linguistic and cultural assimilation of minority groups, and recognition of the minority language will help improve relations between the minority group and the rest of society (Appel and Muysken 1987:61-62).

Pattanayak offers the following arguments in favour of mother tongue education:

- (a) it offers equal opportunity to a large majority of people to participate in national reconstruction;
- (b) it gives greater access to education and personal development to a greater number of people;
- (c) it frees knowledge from the preserves of limited elites and by enabling greater number of people to interact with science lays the foundation for appropriate technology;

- (d) it demands decentralization of information and ensures free as opposed to controlled media; and
- (e) it provides greater opportunity for the political involvement of greater number of groups and thus is a greater defence of democracy. (Pattanayak 1986:12)

If economics is not concerned solely with growth in terms of GNP but also with social well being, then mother tongue education should be considered as a means of contributing to this.

The following arguments can be made against minority language education: the cultural identity and political and social unity of a country are best promoted through education in the majority language; majority language education for minority children will ensure a more positive socio-economic future; there may not be enough resources to organise minority language teaching for a variety of groups; the minority language cannot be appropriate for instruction since it is the language of a stigmatised group; and minority children may use a variety different from the standard minority language being used in school (Appel and Muysken 1987:62-63).

There is a possible further argument against minority language education, which is that minority language education keeps minority children in a disadvantaged position, which is beneficial for societies that need cheap labour forces. This is because the children do not develop competence in either the majority or the minority language, resulting in semilingualism. Because of their semilingualism, minority children under-achieve in school (Skutnabb-Kangas in Appel and Muysken 1987:63). First-language instruction could reduce access to jobs, advanced training, political and social power, and so on, especially for those who leave school with only primary education. In this case, mother tongue or minority language education effectively prevents the child learning the national or official language which is used in a wider context (Eastman 1983:86).

4.3 LITERACY

This section of the chapter is concerned with literacy. I will review some of the different approaches to literacy, before trying to establish the implications it has for wider sociolinguistic issues.

4.3.1 Approaches to Literacy

There are several approaches to literacy (see Barton 1994). One of these approaches, which has been influential in the design of reading programmes, is to treat literacy as a skill or set of skills. Another is to view literacy as a way to gain access to knowledge and information, via books and other written material. Barton, however, uses 'literacy' 'to cover new, broader views of reading and writing...' (1994:19), and asserts that the meaning of the term is being extended to also mean 'competent and knowledgeable in specialised areas' (Barton 1994:19), as for example its use in 'computer literacy', 'economic literacy', or 'film literacy'.

Literacy is more than a set of skills. Scribner and Cole carried out a study of the uses of literacy among the Vai of north-west Liberia. Initially they saw literacy as a set of skills but finally contend that literacy can only be understood in the context of the social practices in which it is acquired and used:

Instead of focusing exclusively on the technology of a writing system and its reputed consequences...we approach literacy as a set of socially organized practices which make use of a symbol system and a technology for producing and disseminating it. Literacy is not simply knowing how to read and write a particular script but applying this knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of use. The nature of these practices, including, of course, their technological aspects, will determine the kinds of skills ('consequences') associated with literacy. (Scribner and Cole 1981:236)

Shirley Brice Heath studied the way in which people in three Appalachian communities in the United States used reading and writing in the home, the community, and in the school. She drew attention to the contrast between 'what literacy can do for individuals' and 'what

individuals can do with literacy skills' (Heath 1980:123). This has been important in education, making educators think about reading and writing in both classroom activities and in the home and community.

For Paulo Freire, literacy teaching takes place within a social context. Adults who are unable to read and write tend to be amongst the poorest, least powerful and the oppressed. It is these inequalities which foster illiteracy, and Freire is aware that literacy can be used to domesticate or to empower.

There is a relationship between literacy and its environment, and literacy both influences and is influenced by its environment. There are several ways in which literacy is an 'ecological' issue: languages are disappearing throughout the world and whilst literacy may be one of the causes, it also has a role to play in changing this (see section 4.3.2 below); an ecological view emphasises diversity as a source of strength for particular languages and for languages in general; and communication technologies (such as satellite) are changing, possibly irreversibly, the balance of languages and cultures. Barton describes an ecological approach to literacy as follows:

Instead of studying the separate skills which underlie reading and writing, it involves a shift to studying *literacy*, a set of social practices associated with particular symbol systems and their related technologies. To be literate is to be active; it is to be confident within these practices. (Barton 1994:32)

In order to understand the role that literacy plays in society, we should also consider how it is restricted: '[a]ll societies control access to the written word in some way, because literacy involves information and idea transmission and is practised in a context where its uses may both maintain and challenge existing social institutions' (Barton 1994:75).

Literacy has developed in all societies to function only in specific contexts, for example, it may be restricted to religious uses, or administration, or external commerce. The different literacies in a given society exist in response to specific social practices, and therefore old literacies die and new ones are created. Restrictions may include book burning (before the advent of print, book burning could destroy ideas and knowledge for ever), opposition to literacy campaigns by governments and laws that affect literacy through restrictions on

copyright, photocopying, and so on. The distribution of literacy skills in any society is patterned by the social structure, and restrictions may take the form of access to education, jobs and the media. Writing may be more restricted than reading because it is creative and may express ideas and opinions which challenge social institutions.

4.3.2 Literacy and Language Preservation

The question of initial language literacy has been linked to the question of preserving, maintaining and supporting dying languages. Krauss (1992) distinguishes between moribund languages, endangered languages and safe languages. Moribund languages are likely to die within a lifetime since they are no longer being spoken by children. Endangered languages do not have official state support or a large number of speakers to make them viable - Krauss estimates that a language needs about 100,000 speakers to be safe. He calculates that only about 10 per cent of the world's languages are safe, and of these only four (English, French, Spanish and Arabic) are official languages in more than half of the countries of the world. Languages are disappearing throughout the world for a variety of reasons, ranging from what Krauss calls 'outright genocide' (1992:6) to assimilation and electronic media. Governments usually do not have much interest in protecting languages with few speakers, preferring standardisation in both education and official life.

Many of the moribund and endangered languages are not written down, but where a writing system for these languages does exist, little is written and in limited domains. Literacy may help slow down language death by giving a language status and widening its uses, but on the other hand, devising a written form for a language usually involves standardisation which itself can destroy variety within the language and question its very essence. Literacy in a vernacular language may be a step towards literacy in a language of wider communication, giving access to a wider range of cultures. It could also lead to assimilation, shift and abandonment of the minority language.

Writing a language down will not save it if people stop using it. To be protected a language may need speakers of a dominant language to learn it, people to write in it, and it may need a role in education.

4.3.3 Literacy and Identity

In the previous chapter I discussed the importance of language as an identity marker. In this section I hope to illustrate that literacy, too, has an important role to play in identity. We have established that literacy is not just a set of reading and writing skills, but is also closely linked to social practices. The studies I will refer to show that for many people literacy performs functions which are often connected with their identity.

Reder and Wikelund (1993) studied literacy amongst the indigenous population of the Seal Bay community in Alaska. Using Scribner and Cole's claim that literacy is socially organised activities in which the knowledge of reading and writing is applied for specific purposes, they distinguished three attributes of literacy practices: their technology, function and social meaning. The technology refers to the system of signs used for the messages, as well as the means of producing and distributing those messages. The function is the social purpose for which the activity is carried out. They use social meaning to 'refer to the complex of beliefs, attitudes and values associated with the activities in question' (Reder & Wikelund 1993:179). When Alaska was a Russian colony, literacy was in the Cyrillic script, and there were clear domains of influence for the literacy practices of the two institutions (the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian-American Company) which had introduced it. When Alaska was purchased by the United States in 1867, English was introduced. Although the initial difference between the two literacies, that is their different scripts, has ended, two systems of social meaning still remain in Seal Bay: Village and Outside. These two categories, however, are not fixed, rather '...the classifications are contextually-bound. What may once have been viewed as external to village life, part of the Outside realm, may later be (in villagers' eyes) incorporated into Seal Bay life and accepted as part of the Village realm' (Reder and Wikelund 1993:194). As we saw in the previous chapter, group boundaries (in this particular case Village and Outside) may persist over time, but the identity markers they enclose may change. It could

be argued, then, that literacy in Seal Bay is used to maintain boundaries, and is therefore connected to identity:

The enduring role of literacy as a vehicle for extending the vital contrast between these social meanings over time and material changes in village life is intimately linked to the maintenance of ethnic identity in Seal Bay. (Reder and Wiklund 1993:194)

Camitta (1993) carried out a three-year study of the writing of adolescents in Philadelphia. She found that for the adolescents in her study, writing was both a personal and social act, and again it was part of the process of identity-building:

Adolescents appropriate cultural materials and incorporate and transform them into their own written texts. They collaborate with other individuals in the construction of those texts. And they work out their identities against the experience of others through performance or publication of their texts. (Camitta 1993:243).

Weinstein-Shr (1993) studied the way in which native language literacy was used amongst the Hmong in the United States, focusing on the strategies two men used to adapt to life in the United States, including their uses of literacy. One of the men, Chou Chang, was 'a literacy and culture broker who used his language skills for surviving urban bureaucracy, as well as for creating new roles and relationships for himself in this new setting' (Weinstein-Shr 1993:279). The literacy activities of the other man, Pao Youa, provided 'a way of keeping himself and his community informed and connected with one another, with their traditions, and with their past and present' (1993:288). Both men use literacy to make connections, either within the family or clan, or outside it:

Pao Youa's literacy activities are directed inward to his family and clan, reinforcing his connection with his tradition and with his history. The documentation he engages in affirms old ties and keeps old connections vital to kin, to the past, and to Laos. Chou, on the other hand, uses literacy to reach outward, connecting with new kinds of resources, creating new relationships in a social world of Americans that Chou takes risks to explore. (Weinstein-Shr, 1993:289)

Literacy for Pao Youa is a way of keeping members of his community connected with each other and with their traditions, which is another example of literacy being used to maintain some sort of shared identity, to maintain group boundaries.

B. GALICIA

Language planning in Galicia comes under the control of the *Dirección Xeral de Política Lingüística* (the General Directorate of Language Policy) which is one of the departments of the *Consellería de Educación e Ordenación Universitaria* (Ministry of Education) of the *Xunta de Galicia*. The duties of the *Dirección Xeral de Política Lingüística* include the production and administration of the programmes for the teaching of Galician language in all non-university education, and approval of text books and other teaching material in Galician. *Política Lingüística* carries out Galician language training and improvement courses for staff in education and for civil servants. It promotes the use of Galician in public and non-public life and in the mass media, and promotes and organises conferences about Galician. It also produces teaching material to support schools. (See Xunta de Galicia 1992:23).

There are broadly two aspects of language planning in Galicia to consider: *normativización* (or corpus planning) and *normalización* (or status and acquisition planning). *Normativización* will be considered very briefly in this chapter, since Part II deals fully with the debate surrounding the Galician *normativa*. This half of the chapter, then, will concentrate on the normalisation aspect of Galician language planning. The general legislation referring to the status of Galician was reviewed in Chapter 1, and the debate surrounding Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution was discussed in Chapter 3. In this chapter, I will review the legislation relating to education and refer to the published literature and personal fieldwork. I will then attempt to ascertain to what extent the legislation which regulates the use of Galician in education is put into practice.

4.4 *NORMATIVIZACIÓN*

As we have seen, Galician has had an orthographic and morphological *norma* since 1982. In spite of this, there are still groups who contend that Galician should be written to a greater or lesser extent like Portuguese, rather than like these *normas*.

The piece of legislation which deals directly with the question of the *norma* rather than the status or use of the Galician language is *Decreto 173 1982, do 17 de novembro, sobre a normativización da Lingua Galega*. The first article is as follows:

The agreement of the *Real Academia Galega* and the *Instituto da Lingua Galega*, approved in the joint session of both institutions which took place on 3 July 1982, which in its broad terms is included in the Annex of this Decree, are approved as the basic norms for the orthographic and morphological unity of the Galician language. (Author's translation, see Xunta de Galicia 1983:xvi)

The fourth article states that:

The norms approved by this Decree are obligatory in education in all centres of education in Galicia over which the Autonomous Community has competence and cover all areas and activities. (Author's translation, see Xunta de Galicia 1983:xvii)

Article six specifies that these *normas* should be used in all books and educational material, but according to article seven the *Xunta* can authorise publications which 'totally or partially' deviate from the *norma* approved by this Decree,

...bearing in mind reasons of a historic, educational, or similar, nature, and so long as they obey the criterion of respecting literary or other texts which were published before the present norms came into effect. (Author's translation, see Xunta de Galicia 1983:xvii)

The orthographic and morphological rules approved by the *Xunta* are the ones which are obligatory in all schools in Galicia. In fact, we could argue that these *normas* are only obligatory in the education system, since no mention is made of public administration, the

media, or any other domain. They are the *normas* which are most widely used in schools. However, in some schools other orthographies are taught. It should be pointed out that many teachers who use the official orthography criticise it for being basically Castilian orthography (see also Chapter 5, section 5.3) which, therefore, makes Galician appear to be a dialect of Castilian, and also for the fact that every year there are changes, causing confusion amongst students. On the whole, when *Reintegracionista* orthography is taught it tends to be the *mínimos*' orthography, rather than the *máximos*' one (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.2, for the differences between *mínimos*' and *máximos*' orthographies). Teachers may come into conflict with the authorities when using *máximos*', but not when *mínimos*' is used, because it is harder to detect. Some teachers believe that, as far as the *Xunta* is concerned, any conflict between teachers and students over orthography is 'beneficial' (Lourenzo, interview 1994). Some commentators believe that the Galician government is against Galician and wants to impose Castilian, and since any conflict over orthography is damaging for Galician, the *Xunta* does not interfere.

The differences between the various *normas* for Galician, the debate surrounding them and the sociolinguistic implications of the different tendencies will be discussed in Part II.

4.5 NORMALIZACIÓN IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

In this section I will review the legislation relating to the use of Galician in education and, with reference to interviews carried out with Galician teachers in the autumn of 1994¹, I will try to establish what the situation of Galician is within schools.

¹ In November 1994 I carried out interviews in Pontevedra with Galician teachers, mostly from secondary schools, but also from nursery and primary schools, a teachers' training college and from the university of Santiago de Compostela. It should be noted that Pontevedra is a very 'Castilianised' city, so the vast majority of the students are Castilian speakers, and in general the language most often heard in schools is Castilian. They probably all have the ability to speak Galician with varying degrees of accuracy and fluency, but the language they most often choose to use is Castilian. In more rural areas the use of Galician is likely to be much higher. However, given that there is a general movement of people away from rural areas to cities, and that there is a much stronger presence of Castilian in even the more remote areas of Galicia because of television in particular and the media in general, I believe the results from these interviews are valid as a projection of what could happen in the less Castilianised areas of Galicia in the future if these trends continue.

I will concentrate on education as one aspect of the 'normalisation' process for several reasons. Firstly, if knowledge of the language is one of the aims of 'normalisation' then one would expect Galicians to have access to courses, text books and so on in Galician, in order to be able to learn the language. Secondly, the use of Galician in education was prohibited under Franco, but it is now an official language in all levels of education, and a medium of instruction in some subjects. Its use within schools (in the classroom and by students outside the classroom) may be indicative of its progress in the 'normalisation' process. Thirdly, we saw in the first half of this chapter that literacy is not just a set of reading and writing skills but is also concerned with how those skills are used. Acquiring the basic reading and writing skills is a prerequisite for literacy, and education will undoubtedly have an effect on the literacy practices of students. Fourthly, it is an environment in which we can study the language use of young people who are the language's future. We noted in Chapter 2 that the use of Galician by the under-26 age group in non-rural environments is particularly low. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, education has a major role to play in helping to form the ideas and opinions of students and in creating national myths, and the attitudes towards Galician portrayed in teaching material and by teaching and non-teaching staff will inevitably have repercussions as far as the students' feelings for Galician, and Galicia, are concerned.

In terms of the structure of the departments within the *Xunta*, one can assume that the public bodies see some sort of connection between education and language planning: the *Dirección Xeral de Política Lingüística* of the *Xunta* is not structurally an independent department, but is one within the *Consellería de Educación e Ordenación Universitaria*. In fact, Sánchez Puga, Head of the Service of Plans, Programmes and Improvement, Language Policy (*Xefe do Servizo de Plans, Programas e Perfeccionamento, Política Lingüística*) asserts that most of the 'normalisation' work has been done in the education sector. In the non-university sector most of the work carried out over the last ten years has concentrated on training for teachers at all levels. He estimates that some 90% of teachers in primary and secondary education have taken the *cursos básicos de iniciación* (beginners' courses), about 80% the *cursos de perfeccionamento* (advanced courses), and that about 33% of teachers in the primary sector have specialised in Galician. He also points out that 'normalisation teams' are obligatory in secondary schools (interview 1994).

As far as teaching material is concerned, there are two *Ordes* from 1992 directed at publishing houses so that they produce educational material, especially in non-obligatory areas of education, and there is some economic help in this respect².

4.5.1 The Legislation Concerning Galician Education

We saw in Chapter 1 that the Spanish Constitution, the Galician Statute of Autonomy, and the Language Normalisation Law set out the legal status of Galician and its relationship with Castilian, together with the linguistic rights and duties of Galicians. We saw that Galician is recognised as an official language of the institutions of the Autonomous Community, of public administration and of public bodies. Castilian, as the official language of the Spanish state, is also official in these public bodies. We noted in Chapter 3 that many commentators see inequalities in the provisions made in the legislation for the languages of Spain.

Under the Language Normalisation Law, Galician is official in all levels of education (article 12). Children have the right to receive primary education in their mother tongue, and students cannot be separated for linguistic reasons into different schools or, except where educational needs make it advisable, into different classrooms (article 13). Galician language is a compulsory subject in all non-university levels, and the educational authorities guarantee that at the end of the period in which Galician is obligatory, students will have the same written and oral knowledge of both Galician and Castilian (article 14). Teachers and students at university have the right to the written and oral use of the official language of their choice (article 15). The *Xunta de Galicia* 'will regulate' the 'normalisation' of the use of the official languages in education (article 12.2) and together with the university authorities 'will manage' the means to make the use of Galician in university education 'normal' (article 15.2).

² The Xunta buys 10% of the print run of each book published in Galician, in the official *normativa*, to make it more economically viable to publish in Galician (normally 200 copies given that the print run is usually 2,000, with a maximum of 500 copies for children's books).

The *Decreto 135/83* states in its second article that in Galician language and literature classes and in Castilian language and literature classes, Galician and Castilian will be used respectively. In pre-school/nursery (*preescolar*) and in the first 'cycle' of primary education (*Educación General Básica*, or EGB) the teachers will use the pupils' mother tongue in class, making sure that pupils also acquire written and spoken knowledge of the other official language of Galicia. There was no further legislation regarding the use of Galician in education until 1988.

The *Orde do 1 de marzo de 1988* specifies which subjects are to be taught using Galician: in the middle and upper 'cycles' of EGB at least *Ciencias Sociais* (geography and history), and in BUP (*Bacharelato Unificado Polivalente*, studies leading to a qualification similar to GCSE in secondary school education), COU (*Curso de Orientación Universitaria*, course taken by students wishing to study at university) and *Formación Profesional* (or FP, vocational training at secondary school level), at least two of a selection of subjects will be taught in Galician (see Xunta de Galicia 1992).

Under the *Orde do 15 de xullo de 1991* and the *Orde do 24 de xullo de 1991*, each school has to produce a 'general plan' for the use of Galician each year which should include measures to encourage the use of Galician in school activities, and plans for training so that teachers, students and administrative staff can use Galician as much as possible. There should also be specific plans for teaching in Galician and for teaching different aspects of Galician culture. In the case of the schools affected by the *Orde do 24 de xullo de 1991* these plans are to be coordinated by a 'normalisation team'. Each school should have a 'normalisation team', headed by one of the teachers nominated by the Head Teacher, including three teachers, three students and a representative of non-teaching staff.

4.5.2. The Use of Galician in Schools

Given the above legislation, one might expect a reasonably even split in the presence of Galician and Castilian in education. However, the presence of Galician in education is generally very low. Rubal, Veiga and Arza (1992) carried out a study in which they divided Galicia into different zones to see what practices were in schools with regard to

the use of Galician. The town councils (*concellos*) of the seven main cities of Galicia were considered separately. Other councils were grouped into zones, bearing in mind geographic or administrative criteria such as their physical proximity, their morphological homogeneity, and their belonging to the same province, and also the size of the school population in each area. They distinguished eight levels of 'normalisation' in schools, ranging from a very 'feeble' presence of Galician as a medium of teaching (level one) to 'a presence of Galician with strong normalising potential' (level eight) (Rubal, Veiga and Arza 1992:40). Almost a fifth of the zones (18%) were in level one (Ferrol, Corunna, Lugo and Pontevedra). Overall they found that about four fifths of classes are taught only or mostly in Castilian, whilst only about one fifth are taught only or mostly in Galician. A greater presence of teaching in Galician is associated with state rather than private schools, and also with a rural rather than urban environment.

In 1986 only 8% of teachers in state schools in Galicia claimed they taught in Galician (Rubal in Souto 1994:45). This figure rose to 13.9% when teachers of Galician language and literature were included, a figure which is still very low, especially when it is compared to the relatively high proportion (55%) of teachers who say they are capable of teaching in Galician (Souto 1994:45-46). There is a contradiction in, on the one hand, the relatively high number of teaching professionals who say they are in favour of a greater presence of Galician in school and claim to be capable of contributing to this, and, on the other hand, the presence of Galician in the classroom which 'does not surpass the merely testimonial level' (author's translation, Souto 1994:46).

Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira (1993) also studied the use of Galician in schools. They found that there was a greater tendency amongst students to use Galician as age increased: for example, 11% of students in the 16 to 25 age group used only Galician with their friends during breaks, compared with 72.7% of those now over 60 (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:60). There was also a greater tendency to use Galician in schools in rural areas rather than urban areas. Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira (1993:62) found that Galician speakers use Castilian with teachers. For example, 67.9% of those who usually speak only Galician use only or mostly Castilian with teachers, and 83.5% of those who speak mostly Galician use only or mostly Castilian

with teachers. The tendency towards monolingualism in Castilian is particularly strong in the case of written language: 91% of those interviewed use only Castilian, whilst only 0.4% claim to write only in Galician. 97.5% of those who usually use only Galician write in Castilian in school (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:63). Students from the city show a preference for the use of Castilian in class (52.5%), whilst the majority of students from rural areas (51.7%) do not show a preference for either language, with 26.1% preferring Galician. 34.4% of those who use only Galician prefer Galician to be used in class, but again, the majority (53.8%) shows no preference for either language. When language preference in class is crossed with age, those who show least interest in Galician are in the 16 to 25 age group (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:64-65). Overall, though, there is a positive attitude to the use of Galician in school: when asked whether the use of Galician as the usual language in school was very bad, bad, neither good nor bad, good or very good, the majority (67.8%) said it was good or very good (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1993:69). However, as the figures above show, this favourable attitude does not translate into use of Galician in school.

The low presence of Galician in education is also confirmed by my fieldwork, the main conclusions of which are summarised below. I will refer to the use of Galician in primary and secondary education since Galician is a compulsory subject at non-university level and any directives made by the law apply to primary and secondary education. The use of Galician in the university sector is governed by the statute of each university.

From my fieldwork I can conclude that the number of mother tongue Galician-speaking children in cities is minimal, but that in some rural areas the majority of children may be mother tongue Galician-speakers. However, there are also Galician-speaking parents who speak Castilian to their children because they believe that as Castilian-speakers their children will have better economic prospects in life. Given that children have the right to receive primary education in their mother tongue and that many parents seem to be at least indifferent to Galician, this means that the only Galician that many primary school children in cities may receive is of the 'folklore' type, as found in traditional songs or poetry.

The ratio of hours in Castilian to hours in Galician in schools is heavily weighted to Castilian. Whilst the law is put into practice as far as the teaching of Galician language and literature is concerned, this is not always the case in the teaching of other subjects through Galician. As a result, some schools surpass the legal minimum, whilst others come nowhere near it (Ogando Valcárcel, interview 1994). Teaching other subjects through Galician is in practice the decision of the teacher concerned, a decision which is not helped by the fact that the authorities do not 'police' this, and that there may be few text books, and those that are available may be of poor quality. Some students, then, receive only the minimum three or four hours per week of Galician language and literature, making Galician seem more like a foreign language or one of a number of subjects. Not only are some teachers breaking the law by not teaching their subject in Galician, but they are denying some students the opportunity to develop linguistic skills in Galician within school, and this may be the only opportunity which some students have. We can speculate about the effect of this on language choice amongst students when not in class but within the school environment.

The language used by students within schools in urban areas is predominantly Castilian³, except in FP where the students are from more rural areas and from different social backgrounds to the students of BUP. However, even the FP students tend to use Castilian in the classroom itself. In Galician classes, students may speak to the teacher in Galician but to each other in Castilian (Rodríguez Rivas, interview 1994). The situation in school is compounded by the environment outside school, and vice versa. Television, radio, and written material are available in Galician, but there is far more available in Castilian: for example, four of the five television channels in Galicia are in Castilian. Even those children who live in remote areas in Galician-speaking families cannot escape the influence of television.

It is clear that in Galicia as a whole the ratio of Castilian to Galician within schools favours Castilian. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, there is inertia in society as a whole: as we have seen (Chapter 2, section 2.4.2), there are Galician-speaking parents

³ This was reported by all the teachers in secondary schools in Pontevedra who were questioned, with the exception of Mayo, who teaches in FP.

who use Castilian with their children⁴, and some parents prefer their children to learn English rather than Galician, believing that the former will be more useful to them.

Secondly, whilst the vast majority of the Galician language teachers work hard to encourage interest and enthusiasm for Galician amongst their students, I am not convinced that the same can be said of teachers as a whole. I am sure that there are teachers who use Galician to teach their subject, or at least allow students to express themselves in Galician in their classes, however I do not believe this is the general rule. The fact that the teachers in the 'normalisation teams' are usually Galician teachers, rather than teachers of other subjects, reflects apathy at the very least. In addition, the level of activity of the 'normalisation teams' varies from school to school: in some schools they are responsible for competitions and plays and so on, whilst in others they seem to be concerned only with what could be called the 'bureaucratic' aspect of school life (Rodríguez, interview 1994).

Thirdly, the authorities appear to do nothing to ensure that the law is put into practice. It could be argued that those in positions of power speak Castilian and are therefore not concerned about the use of Galician in schools (Rodríguez Rivas, interview 1994). Every year, schools have to submit a *memoria* (report) giving details of the use of Galician within the school⁵, and so it would seem that the authorities rely on self-regulation. The fact that the authorities are not interested probably produces more apathy amongst some teaching and non-teaching staff, creating a vicious circle. At a wider level, it perpetuates the inertia in society (Rodríguez Rivas, interview 1994).

As we saw in Chapter 3, one of the principal issues to have emerged from the interviews I carried out during the two research visits in 1994 was that the vast majority of people believe that there is no real interest on the part of the *Xunta* to 'normalise' Galician. This lack of will is reflected in the fact that the laws governing the use of Galician in education are not enforced, and yet education is one of the main areas of 'normalisation'. It is also

⁴ Commentators also pointed to this issue during my fieldwork (for example, Rodríguez, Riobo, and Rodríguez Rivas, interviews 1994).

⁵ Schools who do not meet the legal requirements receive fewer subsidies. Since the authorities do not monitor the situation it would, in theory at least, be possible to state in this document that the school carried out its legal obligations whilst in fact it did not (Ogando Valcárcel and Lourenzo, interviews 1994).

reflected in the inequality we have seen in the legal status of Galician and Castilian and in the vagueness of the vocabulary used in the legislation, and the lack of clear objectives for 'normalising' Galician (see Chapter 3).

In the next section I will attempt to ascertain how the use, or the lack of use, of Galician in schools may affect literacy in Galician.

4.5.3 Literacy

As discussed in the first half of this chapter, literacy is not just a set of reading and writing skills, but is also concerned with how people use those skills, and is connected with identity. In this section I will consider ways in which literacy in Galician is influenced in Galicia and what the possible effects of this may be.

From my fieldwork it is apparent that the language most often used in schools in non-rural areas is Castilian. This is because most of the students are mother tongue Castilian-speakers, but even those who are mother tongue Galician-speakers use Castilian once they are in the classroom.

We have seen that the legal requirement for the teaching of Galician language and literature is met, but that the legal requirement that at least two other subjects should be taught through Galician is not always met. Students may therefore acquire the basic reading, writing and oral skills in Galician language and literature, but not put these into practice in other subjects.

As for the availability of teaching materials in Galician, this varies from subject to subject, and the quality of the material available may leave much to be desired. There is undoubtedly more material available in Castilian. This is because the market for Galician books is limited, and if it is not economically viable to publish a book in Galician it simply does not get published. The only books which receive a subsidy from the *Xunta* are those

which are published in the 'official' *norma*. Other teaching material, such as audio-visual material, is limited, and in some subjects non-existent.

If we are to take a wider view of literacy and include audio-visual media, then outside the classroom the potential for students to develop literacy in Galician in these areas is limited because, quite simply, there is more audio-visual media available in Castilian than in Galician. For example, there are five Spanish language television channels available in Galicia (TVE1, TVE2, Antena 3, Tele Cinco, Canal Plus), whilst in Galician there is only one: TVG.

In this way, then, the literacy practices of students are influenced at two levels. Most obviously they are influenced by the *Xunta* in terms of both what material is available, and which subjects they allow to be taught in Galician. Castilian is an official language in education, too, and time conceded to Castilian is inevitably time taken away from Galician. The *Xunta* also affects students' literacy practices by influencing what is available outside the classroom, in terms of mass media, particularly television (the *Xunta* is responsible for TVG).

At another level, student literacy practices are also influenced by teachers. All students have at least minimal skills in reading and writing Galician, since they all receive the required Galician language and literature classes. However, given that whether or not other subjects are taught in Galician amounts to a personal decision of the teacher concerned, the opportunities for students to develop their literacy is partly determined by these teachers.

If the only contact that some students have with Galician during school hours is in Galician language and literature classes it must affect their perception of Galician to some degree. I would suggest that they would not view Galician as suitable for certain activities: for example, they may not view Galician as an appropriate language for science if they are taught science in Castilian. They may view Galician as just another subject at school, the same as they would view history or maths. One teacher commented that for his students, 'language' meant Spanish language, and then there was Galician language and English

language. In other words, they view Galician as something abstract and divorced from reality.

We saw in the first half of this chapter that literacy has an important role to play in terms of establishing group boundaries and identity. If Galician is seen as just another subject at school and, as Maceira Porto puts it, the students 'do not see it as something which is theirs' (interview 1994), then students are unlikely to use it in their relations with one another, that is, they are likely to see it as something which is divorced from themselves, rather than as an intrinsic part of themselves and their identity. By influencing the presence of Galician in schools, then, both the *Xunta* and teachers will have an effect on students' literacy and ultimately, therefore, on their identity. We have also seen that language and literacy practices are influenced through language planning, with political, social and economic consequences. Literacy may, therefore, be one of the factors to consider when trying to establish what the covert objectives of language planning in Galicia may be.

I believe that by providing the minimum hours in Galician in schools, the authorities appear to satisfy demands for Galician linguistic rights: Galician now has a presence in education, one of the many domains from which it was prohibited under Franco. However, by giving Castilian a presence, time and space is taken away from Galician. We have also seen that by not enforcing the laws about the teaching of certain subjects through Galician there are repercussions for the way students perceive Galician and for their literacy practices. If literacy has a role to play in identity then by influencing, or limiting, the literacy practices of Galician students, the authorities must be influencing or limiting their identity as well. In other words, some linguistic rights are given with one hand, whilst the other hand is covertly influencing (socio)linguistic practices and identity.

I have referred to some commentators who are clear that the real objective of co-officiality (of Galician and Castilian) and bilingualism is the assimilation of Galician by Castilian (see previous chapter). I would add that by influencing student perceptions of Galician and their literacy practices (and therefore their identity), education has a major role to play in the process of assimilation of not just Galician by Spanish, but ultimately of Galicians

by Spaniards. In other words, then, the education system is a way of helping to maintain the centre-periphery relationship between Galicia and Castile, thus limiting any nation-building process within Galicia and aiding the Spanish nation-building process. We could say that via education the Galician ‘imagined community’ is limited, whilst the Spanish ‘imagined community’ is supported and encouraged.

PART II

THE GALICIAN ORTHOGRAPHIC DEBATE

CHAPTER 5

THE GALICIAN MOVEMENT FOR *REINTEGRACIÓN*

The aim of this chapter is to give a broad outline of what the Galician Movement for *Reintegración* is, the rationale behind it, and the advantages and disadvantages. Details of the main *Reintegracionista* groups and the position they take with regard to the way they propose that Galician should be written will be given in the following chapter.

5.1 THE GALICIAN MOVEMENT FOR *REINTEGRACIÓN*

We have already seen that there are still groups who contend that Galician should be written to a greater or lesser extent like Portuguese, rather than like the *normas* which were approved by the *Xunta* in 1982. The tendency which follows the *Real Academia Galega-Instituto da Lingua Galega* (RAG-ILG) *normas* is known as *Independentista*, whilst the tendency which proposes writing Galician to a greater or lesser extent like Portuguese is known as *Reintegracionista*. They are also sometimes known, somewhat pejoratively, as *Isolacionista* and *Lusista*, respectively.

In order to understand the two main positions on the way that Galician might be written (that is, *Independentista* and *Reintegracionista*) it is necessary to refer back to the history of Galicia and Galician given in section 1.1.4 of Chapter 1.

The division of the old Galician Kingdom, the creation of Portugal, and the development of the Portuguese language form the basis of the two broad linguistic tendencies in Galicia today, *Reintegracionista* and *Independentista*. The *Independentistas* believe that the political division between Galicia and Portugal was accompanied by a linguistic division, such that Galaico-Portuguese gave rise to two separate languages, Galician and Portuguese. The *Reintegracionistas*, on the other hand, believe that Galaico-Portuguese in Galician territory stagnated under political and linguistic influence from Castile, whilst Galaico-Portuguese in Portuguese territory was able to evolve: they see Portuguese as the projection of what Galician would have been had it not been for Castilian influence. Thus, the *Independentistas* see Galician as an independent language, whilst the *Reintegracionistas* believe that Galician is a variant of Portuguese, which also has variants in Portugal, Brazil, and the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa.

As we saw in Chapter 2 (section 2.1.1), attempting to ascertain whether a linguistic variety is a language or a dialect is not without its difficulties, and often depends on factors outside the linguistic variety itself. The political and cultural division of Galicia and Portugal has influenced the perception of the language spoken in the two areas. On the other hand, due to the fact that they belong to the same state, Andalusian and Castilian, for example, use the same orthography, and this, together with a consciousness of common citizenry, means that Andalusian is believed to be a variant of Castilian. Carvalho Calero (1984:191) argues that if Andalusian was written in an orthography based on its own phonetics, the Andalusians would be aware of differences between their linguistic variety and Castilian and view theirs as a language not a dialect.

5.2 WHAT IS *REINTEGRACIÓN*?

Galician *Reintegración* is an attempt to 'reintegrate' Galician into its so-called original and natural environment, that is, into the Portuguese-speaking world. The principal justification for this put forward by *Reintegracionistas* is, as we have seen, that Galician is a variant of Portuguese, rather than an independent language. As such it should be written to a greater or lesser extent like Portuguese. *Reintegración* affects the way the language is written, not the way the language is spoken, that is, Galicians would not be required to speak any differently than they do at present.

Reintegracionistas point out that the Movement for *Reintegración* is a linguistic and cultural one, not a political one: linguistically and culturally Galicia is part of the Portuguese-speaking world, whilst economically and politically it is part of Spain. The *Reintegracionista* groups assert that they are linguistic groups only. At an organisational level they have no relationship with political parties, although at an individual level members of *Reintegracionista* groups may also be members of political parties. Henríquez Salido (President of AGAL, one of the *Reintegracionista* groups) points out that whilst some members of AGAL are also members of political parties, others are not, and is quite clear that 'the organisation is a non-party one. It is not linked to any political group' (interview 1994). Linguistic *Reintegración* could bring with it economic reintegration because Galicia and the north of Portugal are 'a common space within Europe', but at an organisational level AGAL's interest is linguistic-cultural *Reintegración* of Galician and no more (Henríquez Salido, interview 1994)¹. Brea (Secretary of the *Reintegracionista* group *Irmandades da Fala*), too, states that *Irmandades da Fala* has no ties with any other linguistic or political organisations (interview 1994). Whilst some sectors of Galician society think that *Reintegracionistas* wish to annex Galicia with Portugal, this is definitely not the case for the majority of *Reintegrationistas* (Marco, interview 1994). As Gil Hernández puts it:

¹ It may be worth noting, however, that the Vice President of AGAL is also a founding member of *Assamblea do Povo Unido*, which supports the independence of Galicia, and the creation of a Galician state.

We are not, therefore, nor do we want to be separatists nor do we question in principle the territorial and political unity of Spain, but we would like to debate within this democratic framework the linguistic and cultural organisation established with this third Bourbon Restoration. (Author's translation, Gil Hernández 1987b:53)

It is clear that, given the historical and cultural relationship between Galicia and Portugal, many people of whatever linguistic tendency would like to see more contact, including economic contact, between Galicia and Portugal². Although the groups which support linguistic *Reintegración* declare that it is a linguistic and cultural movement, I will argue in Chapter 6 that the different orthographies for Galician raise issues about Galicia's relationship with Spain, Portugal and the Lusophone community.

5.3 THE PRINCIPAL PROPONENTS, ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF *REINTEGRACIÓN*

We saw in Chapter 3 (section 3.5) that from about the middle of the nineteenth century there was a process of identifying Galicia as a nation with its own culture and identity. Historically, there are a few figures throughout *Galeguismo* who have supported the idea that Galician and Portuguese are the same language (for a brief discussion see Henderson, in press). Present-day supporters in the form of the principal *Reintegracionista* groups will be detailed in the next chapter in section 6.2.2.

The Regionalist Manuel Murguía supported the idea that Galician and Portuguese are the same language. Juan Valera published an article about the regional languages in which he asserts that Galician and Portuguese are the same language. Manuel Murguía replied to this article that he was 'in agreement with the first point; Galician and Portuguese are undoubtedly the same thing, and if there is any difference it is only in the vocabulary' (author's translation, García Pereiro 1978:364).

The *Nós* Generation identified the Galician spoken in rural areas as the authentic Galician, and saw the language as the fundamental element in the recuperation of the cultural

² This point emerged clearly from my fieldwork.

identity of Galicia. They saw a need to elaborate a standard variety, different from the colloquial variety, and saw Portuguese as a great help in this respect:

Although they did not formulate their proposal with precision, they all agreed on the necessity of moving closer to Portuguese, the language which represented the cultural variety of Galician, and it was there that they could solve the lexical gaps which Galician had through being reduced to a colloquial language. (Author's translation, Noia 1988:179)

For Viqueira, a member of the *Nós* Generation,

Portuguese is the son of Galician and between the two there are principally no more than phonetic differences which are not as great perhaps as those which exist between Andalusian and Castilian. (Author's translation, Viqueira quoted in Fernández 1979:490)

He proposed that Galician should be written like Portuguese:

Galician, being not a sister language of Portuguese, but a form of Portuguese (as is Andalusian of Castilian), has therefore to be written like Portuguese. (Author's translation, Viqueira quoted in Fernández 1979:490)

Viqueira sees advantages in using Portuguese orthography: Galician literature would be known throughout the world, and also

...it will make of our rural, isolated and poor language a universal language, of international value and an instrument of culture. It will also enable all Galicians to read Portuguese. (Author's translation, Viqueira quoted in Fernández 1979:492)

The fact that Galician literature and culture would become more widely known, and that Galicians would have access to material published in the Portuguese-speaking world are also cited today as advantages of *Reintegración*. There would be an increased interest amongst Galicians, Brazilians and Portuguese to know more about each other (Valiña Reguera 1987). The major advantage linked to this, however, would be that Galicians would realise that their language is not a minority language, but a world language, which is official or co-official in Galicia, Portugal, Brazil, the Portuguese-speaking countries of

Africa, and an official language of international organisations such as the EU and UNESCO, a language which by the year 2000 will have more than 200 million speakers (Fontenla 1987:63, Henríquez Salido, interview 1994, and see also Valiña Reguera 1987:331, Montero Santalha 1976:6, Arribe Dopico, Gil Hernández & Rábade Castinheira 1984:160). Galicians, then, would have two world languages (Spanish and Portuguese) at their disposal, with all the benefits that this would bring culturally and economically, at both a personal level and for Galicia as a whole. Belonging culturally to the Portuguese-speaking world and politically to Spain, Galicia would also have a role to play as intermediary between Portugal and Spain (Fontenla, interview 1994, Valiña Reguera 1987:331).

One of the most influential figures of the *Nós* Generation and of *Galeguismo* was Castelao, whose *Sempre en Galiza* is sometimes referred to as the ‘bible’ of *Galeguismo*. Fontenla Rodríguez maintains that today Castelao ‘would be what some pejoratively and without foundation call “a lusist” and since the existence of the *Acordo da Ortografía Simplificada* of Rio de Janeiro he would be “a unionist” or unifier’ (author’s translation, Fontenla Rodríguez 1989:13). I believe that it is certainly safe to say that Castelao would today support Galician *Reintegración*, as these quotes show:

Galician is a widely-spoken and useful language, because - with little variation - it is spoken in Brazil, Portugal and the Portuguese colonies.
(Author’s translation, Castelao 1977:43)

...fortunately our language is alive and flourishing in Portugal, it is spoken and cultivated by more than sixty million people who, for the time being, still live outside Spanish imperialism. (Author’s translation, Castelao 1977:232)

...half of our land, our spirit, our language, our culture, our life, our national being remained in Portugal... (Author’s translation, Castelao 1977:332)

More recently, Carballo Calero and the Portuguese teacher Rodrigues Lapa were supporters of Galician *Reintegración*. Carballo Calero was a member of the *Nós* Generation, a teacher and writer, and held the first chair of *Lingüística e Literatura Galega*

in the University of Santiago de Compostela. He advocated *Reintegración* as a means of safeguarding the future of Galician:

Isolationism with regard to Portuguese, which is historically a branch of Galician, can only lead to the blocking of the possibilities of expanding our language, which, reduced to a small number of speakers and writers, would not be able to successfully resist the pressure of official Spanish... A language as threatened as Galician can only survive by supporting itself on the other forms of the system, that is, by reintegrating itself into the lusogalaico system of which it is genetically a part. (Author's translation, Carballo Calero 1979:149)

Linked to Galician's survival in the face of pressure from Castilian, is the fact that *Reintegracionistas* view the RAG-ILG orthography as being too Castilianised. Figueroa, for example, argues that '[t]he present Government of Galician itself, the conservative AP, maintains a Castilian orthography for the Galician language, distancing it from written Portuguese and Brazilian...' (author's translation, Figueroa 1987:39-40). Marco believes that the 'official' orthography is essentially Castilian, with only minor changes such as the use of 'x' instead of 'j', and the velar 'n' for words such as 'unha' (Marco, interview 1994). Gil Hernández describes it as 'castrapo' and 'criollo' (creole) (interview 1994), and Fontenla as 'gallego macarrónico', neither Galician nor Castilian but '...a strange mixture which is becoming more and more separate from Portuguese, which is becoming less and less valuable to us as a language of international communication...' (Author's translation, Fontenla, interview 1994). Henríquez Salido argues that the RAG-ILG orthography is a subtle way of introducing 'o castrapo' because if Castilian was presented in a 'hard' way people would rebel, but if it was 'sold' as Galician they would not. Galician is becoming more and more 'decaffeinated', a 'light' Galician (Henríquez Salido, interview 1994). A Castilianised orthography, then, reinforces the idea which some Galicians have that Galician is really a dialect of Spanish, or a language which is not very 'useful'. The linguistic isolation of Galician from the Portuguese-speaking world makes it more vulnerable to Spanish, both in its social uses and its structure (Montero Santalha 1982:45). The eventual result of the Castilianisation of Galician would be its assimilation by Castilian. *Reintegracionistas*, then, see linguistic *Reintegración* as a way of 'reintegrating' Galician into its natural environment, and of 'cleaning' the language of Castilianisms. By

removing these Castilianisms and differentiating Galician and Castilian, they believe *Reintegración* will help to prevent the assimilation of Galician by Castilian.

The main Portuguese proponent of Galician *Reintegración* was Rodrigues Lapa, who in 1973 published 'A recuperação literário do galego' in *Colóquio Letras* in which he proposed the following:

the literary recuperation of Galician...can only be understood as a task of approximation to the forms of literary Portuguese. It originated from the premise, presumed to be indisputable, that the literary standard of Galician should necessarily be literary Portuguese. (Author's translation, Rodrigues Lapa, 1979:74)

He sees a close relationship between Galicia and Portugal:

Galicia is for us, the Portuguese, the forgotten older sister, who is known because she is similar to us, but who, except for the odd allusion by poets, is not given the importance she deserves. This sister, of common heritage, religiously safeguarded the oldest possession, a treasure which we should know if we want to understand Portugal. We came here with this objective: to explain to those listening that Portugal does not end at the banks of the Minho: it naturally continues, in the landscape, the language and the culture, as far as the Cantabrian coast. The same can be said of Galicia: it does not end in the Minho, but extends, gently, to the banks of the Mondego. In Coimbra we are, then, at the far end of the old Galicia, we are Galicians from this side of the Minho. It does not matter that the Galicia beyond the Minho lives under another flag; above all what matters is to recognise that we are really brothers and sisters, we belong to the same group of people. To create obstacles to this evident sisterhood seems to us an unpardonable error, one which, unfortunately, some Portuguese and Galicians have made. (Author's translation, Rodrigues Lapa 1979:27-28)

Supporters of *Reintegración* in present-day Galicia are a minority. However, the vast majority of Galicians have heard of *Reintegración* through the media and education, although they may not know exactly what it is. The principal *Reintegracionista* groups are *Asociación Sócio-Pedagógica Galega* (AS-PG), *Associação Galega da Língua* (AGAL), *Irmandades da Fala* and *Associação Sociopedagógica Galaicoportuguesa* (ASPGP). The differences between them will be discussed in the next chapter (section 6.2.2). The *Reintegracionistas* are active, publishing articles and journals and holding conferences,

obviously without support from the *Xunta*. As we saw in Chapter 4 on Language Planning and Education, teachers who support *Reintegración* may or may not teach *Reintegracionista* orthography. *Reintegracionistas*, as comments by them in previous chapters will have demonstrated, are largely excluded by the *Independentista* establishment. Some commentators report personal disadvantages of using *Reintegracionista* orthography and being known to be a *Reintegracionista*³. There are frequent statements that those who use *Reintegracionista* orthography are excluded from subsidies for publishing, failed in *oposiciones* (competitions for public sector jobs), and that as a *Reintegracionista* one is 'automatically excluded from practically everything' (Marco, interview 1994). On the other hand, those who produce books in *Reintegracionista* orthography in Galician contribute to the culture and as such should not be excluded. The *normativa*, some argue, is used as a way of attacking certain sectors, such as the nationalists, rather than attacking them directly (Fernández, interview 1994). Some teachers comment that their lives are made difficult because they are known to be *Reintegracionistas*: inspectors may be sent to their schools, or they are moved from one school to another. This, however, seems to be the case for those who teach *Máximos*' rather than *Mínimos*' orthography, because the latter is harder to detect (*Máximos* and *Mínimos* will be dealt with in the next chapter, section 6.2.2). When I attended a Galician course for foreigners, run by the *Dirección Xeral de Política Lingüística* of the *Xunta*, the *Instituto da Lingua Galega* and the University of Santiago, in July 1993, *Reintegración* was not mentioned even in passing. At the fourth conference of the International Association of Galician Studies⁴, held at Oxford University in September 1994, I was not aware of any *Reintegracionistas* being present. On the other hand, given the stalemate and tension between the two positions, I am not sure that *Independentistas* would be invited to or wish to attend conferences held by *Reintegracionistas*.

The principal disadvantage put forward against *Reintegración* by *Independentistas* is that Galicians would find their language more difficult to write, particularly since they are accustomed to writing Spanish in which spoken and written language correspond to each

³ This issue emerged from interviews conducted during my fieldwork.

⁴ This conference was organised by the Centre for Galician Studies (which was founded in 1992 by The Queen's College, Oxford, and the *Xunta*) in conjunction with the International Association of Galician Studies.

other. There are phonetic differences between Portuguese and Galician which would mean that in the case of reintegrated Galician, the spoken and written language would not totally correspond. Some *Reintegracionistas* (for example Portas and Marco, interview 1994), too, acknowledge that Portuguese orthography could prove to be difficult for Galicians (see Appendix C). However, whilst Portuguese orthography would no doubt be more difficult for Galicians than the current orthography, I do not believe that it would be significantly more difficult for Galicians to learn to write Portuguese than it is for the Portuguese and Brazilians, or for Andalusians to write standard Spanish (see also Valiña Reguera 1987 and Montero Santalha 1982).

The fact that spoken Galician would differ from written reintegrated Galician, and that Portuguese would be the written standard language leads some commentators to argue that Portuguese would be seen as the prestigious, or High, language and Galician as the Low language. To a certain extent I believe this would be true. We saw in Chapter 2 that Galicians generally have a low estimation of their Galician and that Castilian has traditionally had much more prestige than Galician. Since spoken Galician would differ from standard Portuguese, which would be the standard, Galicians would probably continue to hold their language in low esteem, at least in the short term. On the other hand, we have seen that one of the advantages put forward for *Reintegración* is that Galicians would see their language as a world language, and therefore it could be argued that in the long term they would view their variety more favourably.

Some commentators argue that if *Reintegración* took place Galicians would be more isolated from Spain (Vilela, interview 1994). We have already seen that *Reintegracionistas* believe the current *normas* leave Galician in a minority, dialectal position, whilst *Reintegración* would provide the opportunity for Galician culture to be known internationally. I have indicated above that the different orthographies for Galician raise questions about Galicia's relationship with Spain. As for Galicia being isolated from Spain, is it an incidental consequence of linguistic *Reintegración*, or is it an objective of a non-specified, non-linguistic agenda by some *Reintegracionistas* in their quest to 'clean' Galician of Castilianisms and perhaps in the process to 'clean' Galicia of Castilian political and economic influence? We should also remember that many commentators, as

we have seen, view Galicia as peripheral within Spain already, without *Reintegración* even having taken place.

Sánchez Puga describes the polemic over orthography as ‘so minimal’ that it has no importance whatsoever (interview 1994). I do not believe this to be the case. If *Reintegracionistas* are in a minority and if, more than a decade after the *Xunta*’s approval of the RAG-ILG *normas* the polemic is of no importance, why does one still sense much tension and animosity between the two main tendencies and why do *Reintegracionistas* speak of persecution? I will address the issues which I believe lie behind the *Independentista-Reintegracionista* debate in the second chapter of Part II.

I am in no doubt that it would be very difficult for *Reintegracionistas* to gain mass support for their proposals. This is because the *Independentista* orthography and view of Galician is supported by all the public institutions, the media and education, in short, the infrastructure of power.

CHAPTER 6

DIFFERENT ORTHOGRAPHIES, DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES

The previous chapter dealt with Galician *Reintegración* and its advantages and disadvantages. In this chapter I will attempt to ascertain what issues lie behind the Galician orthographic debate. In particular I hope to show how the 'imagined community' can be manipulated through changes in the way that a language is written.

6.1 WRITING REFORMS

In Chapter 3 we established that language and identity are intimately related, and we saw that print language played a major role in the creation of the 'imagined community', that is, in nation-building. In this section I will review some examples of script and spelling reforms which I believe illustrate that writing reform has implications beyond the 'technical' aspects of the writing system itself and that it can be used as a tool in nation-building.

6.1.1 Script Reforms

6.1.1.1 Turkish

In 1928, the Roman alphabet was introduced for Turkish, which had previously been written using the Arabic alphabet. The use of Arabic and Persian as languages of instruction in high schools was phased out the following year. Turkish script reform was

part of a larger cultural and political reform by which Kemal Atatürk set about Westernising Turkey and ridding the Turkish language of Arabic and Persian words and bringing the written language in line with the spoken language (Coulmas 1989:242).

There was also concern that the language should be modified so that it could cope with modern needs. Increasing state activities, such as education, meant that Turkish needed to be 'an all-purpose language, easy to learn and easy to understand' (Kushner 1977:56). What Kushner describes as the 'almost chaotic state of Ottoman orthography' (1977:56) meant that the written language was an obstacle to education and literacy: there was a diversity of ways of spelling, and a lack of conformity between pronunciation, orthography and the structure of the language. There are many more vowels in Turkish than in Arabic, and whilst Arabic distinguishes between long and short vowels, Turkish does not. Arabic vowels in their original form were not, therefore, appropriate for Turkish. The Arabic alphabet was portrayed as being unsuitable for the Turkish language, 'a strait-jacket preventing the language from unfolding its full potential' (Coulmas 1989:244). This was true only to some extent since the Arabic script could have been amended to suit Turkish better, but because of the issue of vowels and the association of the Arabic script with Islam, it might have been more difficult to implement than a new script. The Roman alphabet also needed to be adjusted to the phonology of Turkish, but there was no resistance on the basis of tradition.

The issue of script reform led to discussions about identity, particularly in view of the Arabic script's close association with Islam:

While most writers accepted the three different identities of 'Turk', 'Muslim' and 'Ottoman', the question was which one of the three should precede the other, and determine the nature of the language. It was a question of self-identity in general, as well as a question of the right character of the Ottoman Empire. (Kushner 1977:62)

Both those in favour of and those against script reform believed that language was the basis of a national culture and that it was essential in distinguishing different peoples. The reformers believed that since the concept of an independent Turkish nation had been

established, the language should be called ‘Turkish’. Hacı İbrahim Efendi was the principal advocate for the opposite view in the 1880s, he and his supporters believing that the language was ‘Ottoman’ rather than ‘Turkish’: the language may have originated as a Turkish language, but it had absorbed elements from Arabic, Persian, and some Western languages as well, so ‘Ottoman’ was a more appropriate term. Hacı İbrahim also defended Arabic as the language of Islam, and therefore part of the Turks’ identity. Arabic, then, was the religious and literary language of the Muslims in the world, and the bond between the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire.

Arabic was not only important as a language, but it was the center of ‘Arabism’...a cultural, religious and moral heritage from which the Turks could not detach themselves. Since ‘Arabism’ was an essential part of the Turks’ language and nationality...they were bound and forced to preserve it. (Kushner 1977:67)

The success of the switch from Arabic to Roman alphabet can be attributed to the low literacy at that time in Turkey, and to the fact that nationalistic arguments were emphasised over religious ones in the ideological discussion surrounding the change. Whilst not all elements of Turkish spelling have been completely resolved, the reform can be considered a success (Coulmas 1989:244).

Arabic, and therefore the Arabic script, then, were part of Turkish identity. The change to the Roman alphabet was part of the process of Westernising Turkey. Given the close relationship between language and identity, we could assume that the new script would help to foster a new Western identity, both in terms of the way the Turks saw themselves and in terms of how they were seen by others. In other words, we could argue that the change of script would have helped to create a new ‘imagined community’.

6.1.1.2 Japanese

Twine (1991) provides a thorough and interesting account of the reform of written Japanese.

One of the objectives of the Meiji leadership following its restoration in 1868 was to establish the authority of the state through the creation of a centralised bureaucracy. The Japanese language was to help in this. However, there were several issues which needed to be addressed. Firstly, the written language used by the country's leaders and intellectuals was difficult because it was rooted in the classical traditions of China and Japan. There were several styles, none of which was simple enough to be understood by all literate Japanese. A modern colloquial style, then, was needed. Secondly, there were many spoken varieties of Japanese, none of which was officially the standard variety. The dialect of Tokyo was widely understood throughout the country and was later chosen as the standard language. Thirdly, an orthographic reform was needed to rationalise the large number of Chinese characters, as was the adoption of punctuation. Punctuation to show phrasing within a sentence or paragraph was often lacking, there were no spaces to separate words, and paragraphing often did not exist.

There were three reasons why a simpler system was necessary: firstly, to disseminate new knowledge from abroad through education; secondly, to develop a modern communications network to disseminate information between individuals, government and other nations; and, thirdly, the electorate had to be addressed in a language they understood if political education and reshaping of government institutions along Western lines was to take place (Twine 1991:21-25).

After the victory of Japan in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and the upsurge of nationalistic feelings, the issue of language as a unifying force became important. Once again, we see the importance of language to identity and the process of nation-building:

Modernization of the language...came to be seen as an important element in fostering a spirit of national identity and unity, a factor contributing much to the sense of authenticity necessary to social cohesion in a developing power. (Twine 1991:217)

Several proposals were put forward for orthographic and script reform of Japanese. These included using the Western alphabet. Supporters formed the Romaji Club, which was officially opened in 1885, but it was divided internally, and disbanded in 1892, falling

victim to the backlash against the adoption of Western customs. Another proposal was to replace Chinese characters with Japanese phonetic script, or *kana*. However, given that Chinese characters had been the basis of written Japanese since the sixth century, they had become 'a value-laden cultural institution' (Twine 1991:226). Those who supported *kana* came together in 1881 and formed three support groups over eighteen months. In 1883 the three groups formed the Kana Club, but retained their differences and split into three factions within the parent club. A further suggestion was the modification of the existing writing system by reducing the number of characters used.

The option finally taken was to modify the existing script, by reducing the number of Chinese characters and supplementing them with *kana* script. It was also recognised that, in addition to its clarity, part of the reason for the success of the colloquial style in the West was punctuation which made it much easier for the reader to understand prose. Although not all European devices were adopted, by 1925 it had become a permanent feature in education and journalism.

6.1.1.3 Serbo-Croat

The debate about whether Serbo-Croat is one language or in fact two, Serbian and Croatian, is another example of the close relationship between language and identity.

Although the differences between Serbian and Croatian are mainly in terms of vocabulary, rather than in terms of grammar and pronunciation, many people who speak these varieties believe that they are separate languages. Serbs and Croats have different religious loyalties and different ethnicity, and see language as a marker of their respective ethnicities. This is reflected in the fact that Roman script is used for Croatian and Cyrillic script for Serbian.

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was created in 1929. There was to be linguistic and national unity: one state, one nationality and one language. Linguistic, cultural and religious differences were overlooked, and the country was organised into departments which cut across historic boundaries.

Franolic (1988) provides a thorough account of language policy in the former Yugoslavia. In 1921, Boranic published his first edition of *Orthography of the Croatian or Serbian Language*, which, according to Franolic (1988:9) was only used by Croats. In 1923, Belic published his *Orthography* for Serbian. Other Croatian orthographies were published in 1942 (*Etymological Writing*) and in 1944 (*Croatian Orthography*), in which Croatian was made as distinct as possible from Serbian.

After the Second World War, Yugoslavia was rebuilt on federal lines respecting ethnic, national and historical differences. The 1946 Constitution recognised four official national languages: Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian. However, in the 1950s, the idea of centralising Yugoslavia gained popularity amongst party officials, and in the 1963 and 1974 Constitutions, the nations and nationalities were not enumerated or recognised as legal subjects, although the principle of equal rights for them, including the right to use their languages, was set forth.

In December 1954, twenty-five Serbian, Croatian and Montenegrin writers and linguists drew up in Novi Sad ten points which were called the Novi Sad Resolutions. The participants called for a compromise between Serbian and Croatian orthographies, an agreement which ‘was reached under political pressure and in an atmosphere of fear’ (Franolic 1988:14). As a result of the agreement, a joint orthography was published in 1960. However, it contained Croatian and Serbian variants and it was therefore possible for Serbs and Croats to use the variant of their choice. Although it ‘represent[ed] “a first” in the sense that the orthography of the Serbs and Croats was compiled in a single book (two separate editions) it was primarily a *status quo* agreement’ (Franolic 1988:15).

Given that the capital of the former Yugoslavia was also the capital of the Republic of Serbia, and the Serbian variant was the one used in the federal administration and mass media, Serbian was in effect the standard state language. In 1967 a Croatian collective issued the ‘Declaration Concerning the Name and the Status of the Croatian Literary Language’. In this document they asked for amendments to the Constitution on two issues: firstly, equality of four, not three languages, that is Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian, and publication of all federal laws and acts in these four languages; and,

secondly, the use of Croatian in schools and the mass media in the Republic of Croatia. In the Declaration the Federal authorities were accused of imposing Serbian as the official state language and reducing the status of Croatian to that of a local dialect.

The issue of orthographic norms changing with the changing of political regime 'is indicative of the close relationship between language and politics in Yugoslavia' (Franolic 1988:12). The language issue, then, is linguistico-political, and Franolic sees in Yugoslavia a 'standing conflict between pan-Serbism and the opposing forces' (Franolic 1988:24). He also states that

The ideal of national unification passes through linguistic unification which is here in germ. In order to forge national unity and assure its consolidation, it is necessary to obtain, even by force, linguistic unity.
(Franolic 1988:26-27)

Serbian was in effect the official language and 'used for political ends as a cohesive force within the "nation-state" of Yugoslavia' (Franolic 1988:27).

Stojkovic (interview 1996) reports of her experiences as a Bosnian Serb living on the border of Croatia and Bosnia. Before the Civil War the Serbian used in Serbia in schools and newspapers was written in Cyrillic script, whilst for some other uses in Bosnia such as maps and road signs it was written in Roman script, with differences in spelling and vocabulary distinguishing it from Croatian. In Bosnia newspapers could be found in both scripts, but at an individual level most people used Roman script. When she was at school students were expected to know both scripts by the age of ten or eleven.

Stojkovic left the former Yugoslavia in 1992. She asserts that the use of Cyrillic for Serbian and Roman script for Croatian is much more clearly defined now and that before she left she was aware of a process of making Croatian more 'pure', more Croatian. She cites as an example the use of the word *glasati*, meaning to vote, during the 1990 Croatian elections. *Glasati* had been used by Serbs and Croats alike, and was not perceived to be either a Serbian or a Croatian word. However, one of the Croatian parties, HDZ (Croatian Democratic Community party), began to use the word *glasovati* as the Croatian form, and

when they won the elections this word became official and the only acceptable form. In the newspapers during this period there was also a process of ‘purifying’ the Croatian language, of using more ‘Croatian’ vocabulary, which was accompanied by small vocabulary lists of new words on the penultimate page. At an individual level the use of script is also clearly defined along ethnic lines: Stojkovic’s family, for example, only use Cyrillic script. We could argue that what we see, then, is a process from above of creating and shaping separate identities through the use of the two scripts, which is also taken up at the individual level. Of the use by individuals of either Cyrillic or Roman script, Stojkovic says ‘privately people are making a statement by choosing one or the other’ (interview 1996). In other words, we could argue that different scripts are used to create and reinforce different identities and help to create different nations or ‘imagined communities’.

6.1.2 Spelling Reforms

The previous section illustrates that the script, and also the vocabulary, a language uses is often seen by people to be an integral part of their identity, and that the script can be used as a tool in an attempt by the state to help to build the nation. The examples in this section show that orthography, too, is connected to identity.

6.1.2.1 American English

The idea of a national culture which developed after the American Revolution was a response to worries about the future of the American Republic (Bynack 1984:99).

[Noah Webster] was one of the first proponents of the idea of a unified national culture after the Revolution, and in that idea he saw the potential basis of a stable republic, immune to the causes of decline. (Bynack 1984:99-100)

As early as 1787 Webster began to have doubts about democratic politics. He saw a gap between democratic ideals and democratic realities, and his explanation of this was that republican political institutions could not in themselves prevent the evils that attended

democracy. He concluded that Americans needed a national culture which would help them live together.

Webster's interest in the establishment of an American national culture developed as he pursued his work on the establishment of a national linguistic standard. He was greatly influenced by Michaelis's *Dissertation on the Influence of Opinions on Language and of Language on Opinions*. Michaelis believed that a national language cut across social, political and economic lines and that a language could influence thought and the behaviour of citizens.

The spelling reform brought about in North America by Noah Webster was '[t]he most successful such project which is also the most successful modification of the spelling of English ever put into practice...' (Coulmas 1989:252). However, his most radical proposals, which would have diverged greatly from the British standard, were not adopted, and his reforms did not prove to be the reforms often called for to make English more systematic. 'American spelling is no significant improvement over the English norm, but it is what Webster wanted it to be: a symbol of a separate national identity' (Coulmas 1989:253).

6.1.2.2 Spanish

Whilst the proposed removal of the ñ from the Spanish alphabet was not actually put into practice, I believe that it is worth including this example because it illustrates the strength of feeling behind any proposed change to written language.

What was perceived as a threat to the Spanish alphabet came from the European Community, which proposed eliminating ñ from computer keyboards sold in Spain. There were three royal decrees in 1985 which obliged computer manufacturers to include ñ on their keyboards and printers (Llewellyn 1991). This made it difficult for foreign manufacturers to sell their computers in Spain, violating the right to the free circulation of goods in the EC. The EC proposals were an attempt to end restrictions on the sale of keyboards.

Llewellyn tells us that '[t]he Spanish Royal Academy of Language went into emergency session yesterday as an army of academics and writers rallied to defend their language' (1991), and Debelius (1991) states that the EC proposal 'provoked a near-revolt in the literary world'. Family names would have to change, and the name of the country itself, España, would change. Both Llewellyn and Debelius ask why the Portuguese and the French were allowed to keep the cedilla, but Spain should lose its ñ.

Spanish, of course, did not lose the ñ, but the example shows how strongly people feel about how their language is written, and how closely ñ is associated with Spanish and Spain. No doubt loss of the ñ would have been seen as a serious blow to Spanish identity.

However, Spanish did lose ch and ll as separate letters. In April 1994 the Tenth Conference of Spanish Language Academies approved the proposal of the *Real Academia Española* to use universal Roman alphabetical order and remove ch and ll as separate letters in dictionaries, placing them instead within c and l respectively. This was largely in response to pressure from the EU to make translation easier. A report to the Commission had said that 'a language which does not adapt all its resources to a universal system and which does not facilitate its automatic translation will become a second-rate language within the EU' (author's translation, Altares 1994).

The motion was passed by 17 votes in favour, one against (the Academy of Ecuador), and three abstentions (the Academies of Uruguay, Nicaragua and Panama). Paraguay's representative was absent. Many words from Latin America begin with ch, ll and ñ, and the Latin Americans 'saw the shadow of United States cultural imperialism behind the modifications' (author's translation, O'Toole 1994). Teachers of Spanish grammar used to explain that ch, ll and ñ 'make our alphabet different from that of other languages and therefore distinguish us from other people, for example, the English' (author's translation, O'Toole 1994). I would argue, then, that the removal of ch and ll takes away some of the distinguishing features, or identity markers, of the Spanish-speaking world.

This part of the chapter shows, then, that people attach great importance to how their language is written. We have seen in previous chapters that language is an important

component of identity, and so we could assume that the way a language is written is not only part of what we could call the identity of the language, but also part of the identity of the people who speak it. This means, as the examples above illustrate, that written language can be manipulated as a way of influencing identity, as a way of helping to create the nation. We have already seen that print language is an important factor in the creation of the 'imagined community'. Given that the way that a language is written is part of people's identity and can be used for political ends, we could also assume that the way that a language is written is a factor in the creation of the 'imagined community'. The implications of this for the Galician orthographic debate will be discussed in the following sections, beginning with an overview of the *Reintegracionista* groups.

6.2 GALICIAN REINTEGRACIONISTA GROUPS

In this section I will take a brief look at the history of written Galician and Galician orthographies, and outline the different orthographic positions of the *Reintegracionista* groups. The principal differences between the various *Reintegracionista* orthographies and the *Independentista* orthography are given in Appendix C.

6.2.1 History of Galician Orthographies

As we saw in Chapter 1, Latin forms the basis of the Galician language, and by the eighth century we can consider Galaico-Portuguese and Latin to be two languages. The first texts written in Galaico-Portuguese appeared in the twelfth century, and in the medieval period lyric poetry in Galaico-Portuguese was known throughout the Iberian Peninsula. At the end of the medieval period, Galician language and literature entered a period of decadence. This was due to the Galician nobility being substituted by nobility from outside Galicia, or assimilated to the Castilian crown, administrative positions being occupied by non-Galician functionaries, the absence of a Galician bourgeoisie to defend the interests of Galicia and Galician, and the use of Castilian by the Church. Although Galician continued to be the oral language of most of the population of Galicia between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, it was not written, and this period is known as the

'séculos escuros' (literally, 'dark centuries'). From the *Rexurdimento* in the nineteenth century Galician was written once again.

The *Real Academia Galega* was founded in 1906 in Corunna, and one of its main objectives was the establishment of a standard language. The only project which was directed towards this end was the elaboration of a dictionary, which was abandoned in 1928. The *Seminário de Estudos Galegos* (SEG) was founded in 1923, and its principal objective was the study of all manifestations of Galician culture. Within the SEG there was a *Sección de Filoloxía*, which elaborated some orthographic norms which were officially approved by the SEG in 1933.

More recently, the *Real Academia Galega* approved their *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma galego* in 1971. These were followed by other *normas* of the *Instituto da Lingua Galega*, edited in three volumes by the *Secretaría de Publicaciones* of the University of Santiago de Compostela (*Galego 1*, *Galego 2* and *Galego 3*). The *Bases prá unificació das normas lingüísticas do galego* were published as a summary of meetings which took place in the *Instituto da Lingua Galega* between December 1976 and June 1977 between teachers, writers and linguists.

In May 1980 the *Normas ortográficas do idioma galego* were published in the *Boletín Oficial* of the *Xunta*. These *normas* had been elaborated by a linguistic commission, headed by Ricardo Carballo Calero, which included members of the *Real Academia Galega*, the *Instituto da Lingua Galega* and the Department of Galician of the University of Santiago. These *normas* were also published in a leaflet edited by the *Consellería de Educación e Cultura* of the *Xunta*, but destroyed before public distribution. These orthographic *normas* were 'presented as experimental and as a consequence, something which can be improved upon' (author's translation, Santamaria Conde 1985:144). It was intended that the process of normalisation itself should lead the Galician language to one of the possible indicated options, and the norms recognised, for the first time, the historic or traditional Galician orthography and favoured harmony and permanent dialogue towards orthographic unification. The Commission envisaged a future reorganisation of Galician orthography so that, with time, one or other of the options (traditional or modern) could be

recommended. As we have seen, the RAG-ILG *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma galego* were approved by the *Xunta* in 1982. And these *normas* excluded the *Reintegracionista* or 'historic' option (Santamaria Conde 1985:145). As we saw in Chapter 4, under the *Decreto 173 1982* on the *normativización* of Galician, these *normas* are obligatory in all schools in Galicia under the control of the Autonomous Community, and all teaching material should use them. It does not state that these *normas* are obligatory for other domains.

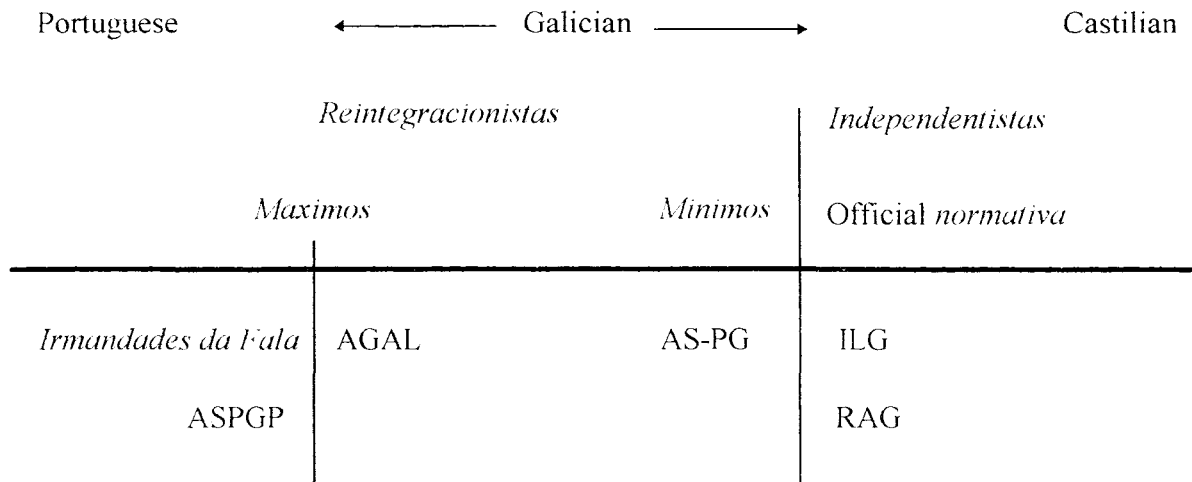
There are, as we have seen, groups who contest the official *normas*, not only because they believe that Galician should be written to a greater or lesser extent like Portuguese, but also because they believe they were unjustly 'imposed': the *Reintegracionista* groups were excluded from the orthographic process. Casares was part of the commission which drew up the official orthography. The *Real Academia Galega* and the *Instituto da Lingua Galega* were the only official organisations and at that time it did not make sense to invite private institutions to participate. Casares received notice from some of the *Reintegracionistas* that they wished to take part, and had a conversation with a group of them intending to take their points to the *Real Academia Galega*, but in the end he did not because, he asserts, they did not 'represent' anyone, only themselves (Casares, interview 1994). The exclusion of the *Reintegracionistas* by the *Real Academia Galega* and *Instituto da Lingua Galega* has left much bad feeling amongst *Reintegracionistas*.

6.2.2 The Main *Reintegracionista* Groups

According to the orthographies they use, the *Reintegracionista* groups can be divided into what are sometimes referred to as the *mínimos* and *máximos*. Although the *mínimos* consider Galician to be a variety of Portuguese, the orthography they use does not differ a great deal from the orthography used by the non-*Reintegracionistas*, or *Independentistas*. There are two positions adopted by the *máximos*: AGAL uses an orthography which is substantially Portuguese, but which maintains the minimal differences peculiar to Galician; *Irmandades da Fala* and ASPGP adopt the orthography used in the Portuguese *Acordo Ortográfico*, which proposes a simplified, standard orthography for the

Portuguese-speaking countries. The principal differences between the orthographies are given in Appendix C.

The different linguistic positions of the *Independentistas* and *Reintegracionistas* can be represented diagrammatically as follows:



AGAL - Associação Galega da Língua
 AS-PG - Asociación Sócio-Pedagóxica Galega
 ASPGP - Associação Sociopedagógica Galaicoportuguesa
 ILG - Instituto da Língua Galega
 RAG - Real Academia Galega

Figure 6.1: Diagrammatic Representation of the Orthographic Positions (Based on a diagram discussed in an interview with A Gil Hernández 1994)

6.3 THE LUSOPHONE COMMUNITY

We have already seen that language is important in the process of building identity and a sense of community, and that print language is important for the process of building the ‘imagined community’ and the nation. In section 6.1 above we saw that the way language is written has implications for identity and the ‘imagined community’. If this is the case, then we might expect the *Acordo Ortográfico* to have had some influence in reinforcing the Lusophone community. If this is so, this will have implications for the Galician

Reintegración movement, given that the *Acordo Ortográfico* is the orthography used by *Irmandades da Fala*, one of the *Reintegracionista* groups. This section will concentrate on the role that the Portuguese language plays in reinforcing the Lusophone community.

6.3.1 The Status of Portuguese within the Lusophone Community

Portuguese is spoken in Portugal, Brazil, and the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Cape Verde), which are also known as PALOP (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*). Given that 'the Portuguese presence has practically disappeared' (Do Couto 1991:114) in Macau, Timor Leste and Goa, discussions of the Lusophone Community will be limited to the PALOP, Brazil and Portugal.

The status of Portuguese varies between the countries in which it is spoken. It is not the majority language in any of the PALOP (Do Couto 1991:114), and having Portuguese as the official language is perhaps the only factor which applies equally to the PALOP, Portugal and Brazil (Garcez 1995:153). In the PALOP Portuguese is the only official language of education and government, but has limited currency. Garcez (1995:154-155) identifies two groups of PALOP countries according to size of population and economy, and the status of Portuguese in relation to other languages. One group is Angola and Mozambique where Portuguese is challenged in most domains by various African languages. However, Portuguese is the language of government and schooling and the language of wider communication since there are no common local creole languages. It is spoken mainly in urban areas and as a lingua franca. Around 25% of the population of Mozambique uses Portuguese, but no more than 1.2% consider it to be their mother tongue. The situation in Angola is likely to be about the same, but a sizeable group takes it as their mother tongue. In both these countries 'the sociolinguistic situation...is complex, and the status of Portuguese is unstable' (Garcez 1995:155). The other group Garcez identifies is Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe where Portuguese is challenged by creole languages: the prominence of the creoles is unquestionable in spite of the fact that the respective governments have maintained Portuguese as the sole official language (Elia

1989:39). In these countries some see the standardisation of the creoles for official adoption as necessary. Finally, Garcez sees Guinea-Bissau as a borderline case in that it shares features with Angola and Mozambique and has its own creole (1995:154).

The situation of Portuguese in the PALOP is very different from its situation in Portugal and Brazil where it is universally spoken and widely written and read. The economic situation, too, is very different: Brazil's population (146.15 million, see Garcez 1995:153) and economy is much larger than all of the other Portuguese-speaking countries combined, and Portugal's economic strength is in its EU membership (Garcez 1995:153-154). Portugal and Brazil are the only two countries with strong commitments to Portuguese language renovation. Given their economic situations, the PALOP, on the other hand, are politically disadvantaged in debates about the Orthographic Accord and are willing to accept whatever Portugal and Brazil decide with respect to the future of the Orthographic Accord:

PALOP language planners cannot prioritize Portuguese corpus planning when they are still struggling with status planning issues in a scenario of extremely limited economic resources. After all, Portuguese was chosen as the official language because of its advantages as a fully standardized language. (Garcez 1995:155)

6.3.2 The *Acordo Ortográfico*

Garcez (1995) provides a thorough account of the history of the *Acordo Ortográfico*. Portuguese has been recognised as a separate language since the fifteenth century, but dictionaries and grammars did not appear until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The 1990 Orthographic Accord is really an accord between Brazil and Portugal, since 'the PALOP can hardly afford to get involved in this debate' (Garcez 1995:156).

Both Portugal and Brazil have language academies: the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon (ACL) was founded in 1779, and the Brazilian Academy of Language and Literature (ABL) in 1896. They are the principal bodies which have dealt with regulation of Portuguese orthography.

In 1904 Gonçalves Viana published his *Ortografia Nacional*, a plan for spelling reform which he had started in 1885. A slightly revised version of this orthography, 'the New Orthography', was promulgated by the government in 1911. No attempt was made to consult the ABL or Brazilian government about the orthography (Garcez 1995:157).

The ABL adopted the New Orthography in 1915, but revoked this decision in 1919. This reflects 'domestic disagreement in Brazil concerning Portugal's "linguistic imperialism"' (Garcez 1995:157). In 1923, there were diplomatic efforts for discussions between Portugal and Brazil, and political changes in Brazil meant that ABL signed a minor agreement with ACL in 1931. This agreement became law in both countries, but 'nobody seems to have taken it very seriously' (Castro 1987:xi).

ACL published its *Vocabulário Ortográfico* in 1940, and ABL published its *Pequeno Vocabulário Ortográfico* in 1943, but 'neither the government offices nor the press took any notice of these documents' in Brazil (Bueno 1967:278). The Brazilian government's decision that official documents should be written according to the 1931 agreement, and ABL's attempt to produce a joint *Vocabulário Ortográfico* with ACL, which resulted in the Spelling Reform of 1945, led to further debate over orthography.

The Spelling Reform of 1945 was drawn up in Lisbon by representatives of both Academies, and promulgated by the Portuguese government. In Brazil it was never approved by the legislative body at the time because reaction to it was negative due to use of accents based on European Portuguese pronunciation. Thus, ABL's 1943 *Pequeno Vocabulário Ortográfico* became the orthographic norm for Brazilian Portuguese, whilst in Portugal the 1945 Reform was adopted. The Brazilian orthography was simplified in 1971 and has since remained unchanged. In Portugal, the norm was slightly changed in 1973.

Efforts to unite the orthographies have periodically been made. In 1986, representatives from the PALOP, Portugal and Brazil were called for a meeting at ABL in Rio de Janeiro and the resulting document ('Analytical Bases of the Simplified Orthography of the

Portuguese Language in 1945, Renegotiated in 1975 and Consolidated in 1986') became known as the Orthography Accord.

The 1986 Accord met with negative reaction in Portugal, and so the agreement failed. ACL revised the 1986 Accord in 1988, which was analysed by the National Council for the Portuguese Language or CNALP (a body of language experts set up by the government). The CNALP found shortcomings in the 1988 Accord and recommended it be changed before it could be accepted. In October 1990, the same representatives who had drawn up the 1986 Accord met to draw up a revised version of the 1986 and 1988 Accords, incorporating some of the CNALP suggestions. The Accord was signed on 16 December 1990 by representatives of the governments of the seven Portuguese-speaking countries (PALOP, Portugal and Brazil), and by observers from Galicia. The 1990 Accord was approved by the Portuguese government on 4 June 1991, but is yet to be voted on in Brazil.

The 1990 Accord deals with three main areas:

It regulates certain aspects already in use but which had not been specifically mentioned in previous orthographies. It introduces a series of 'double orthographic standards', ie, it makes it a rule that two spellings are acceptable for the same word depending on which 'cultivated spoken norm' is represented (Portuguese or Brazilian). Finally, it introduces a few actual changes in spelling. (Garcez 1995:159-160)

The principal spelling reforms are concerned with the use of the hyphen, accents, and the silent consonants which are spelled only in European Portuguese.

6.3.2.1 Arguments For and Against the *Acordo Ortográfico*

Garcez (1995) refers to some of the arguments made against and in favour of the Accord in a series of articles in the magazine of the Portuguese newspaper *Expresso* on 1 June 1991, in the Brazilian newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* on 24 January 1993, and in the Brazilian scientific publication *Ciência Hoje* in September 1993.

The Portuguese and Brazilian language Academies sponsor the Accord. Antônio Houaiss is the main supporter of the Accord in Brazil. He is a diplomat and scholar, and was Brazil's Minister of Culture from 1992 to 1993. He supports standardisation and renovation of scientific terminology so that Portuguese can maintain its status as a language of culture. José Sarney, the former President, and José Aparecido de Oliveira, the former Minister of Culture and Ambassador to Portugal, are also supporters. In Portugal, the most prominent supporters are Pedro Santana Lopes, the Minister of Culture, and Mário Soares, the President.

Garcez (1995) divides opinion about the Accord into those who believe that an accord is not necessary, and those who feel that it is at least desirable. Whitaker Penteado believes that the 1990 Accord does not serve the interests of Brazilian speakers of Portuguese, and Santos and Perini believe that by allocating resources to the Accord, attention is diverted from the real needs of Brazil in terms of culture and education. Others believe that there are actually two languages involved and that no agreement can change this, that is, they believe an accord is impossible.

On the other hand, there are those who believe that a single spelling for the Lusophone community is desirable, but they disagree about how this should be achieved. Some defend the 1990 Accord as it is in order to reach an agreement once and for all, others believe that as it stands the 1990 Accord is not suitable.

Those who drew up the Accord, the ABL and ACL, and the Portuguese government, argue that a unified orthography will bring more prestige to the language and the Lusophone community internationally. Gama Kury, a Brazilian grammarian, states that '[i]t would be a merely political agreement, not a linguistic one' (quoted in Garcez 1995:164).

6.3.3 The *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*

Portugal, Brazil and the PALOP are to give official status to their shared language by creating a Lusophone commonwealth (Wise 1995). This Community of Portuguese Language Countries (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*, or CPLP) is to be constituted at a summit meeting in Lisbon in 1996. Ostensibly, the countries involved are to gain more cultural, diplomatic and economic influence as a group than they have individually. However, this can be seen as 'a belated effort by Portugal to assert a cultural influence that is increasingly under threat in its former colonies' (Wise 1995), in other words, it is Portugal that seeks to gain more influence.

Cultural ambiguity is increasing in the Portuguese-speaking countries. We have already seen that in the PALOP native African languages and creoles are spoken in addition to Portuguese, and in the case of Mozambique, for example, it is also challenged by English-speaking nations that dominate its trade and by English-speaking neighbours. Not only this, but other commonwealths challenge Portugal in its former colonies: Mozambique, for example, was upgraded from observer to full member of the English-speaking Commonwealth in October 1995. In their attempts to attract aid and support, these poor countries 'are clearly not above playing one sphere of influence off against another in the hope of accruing greater benefits' (Wise 1995).

It can be argued that the driving force is likely to be Portugal's attempt to find a more influential international role based on its language and culture, as well as the African nations' belief that they will benefit (see Wise 1995). However, Portugal's limited resources will restrict its possibilities. More than three-quarters of the world's Portuguese speakers are Brazilian, and it could be argued that Brazil intends to use the CPLP to strengthen the position of Portuguese, and also its own influence, in Latin America. Rather than reduce rivalry between Portugal and Brazil, having a shared language could in fact increase rivalry between them for contracts in Angola, which is rich in oil and waiting to be rebuilt after decades of conflict (Wise 1995). I will argue below in section 6.4.1.1 that the potentially influential role for Portugal within the CPLP represents an alternative to its peripheral role within the EU.

6.3.4 Lusofonia

In this section I wish to explore to what extent *Lusofonia* is helping to create a feeling of community, or 'imagined community', amongst the Portuguese-speaking countries.

The fact that in 1986 representatives of the seven Portuguese-speaking countries came together to discuss the orthography and other problems related to the use of the language 'undeniably constituted the first public recognition of this reality which is being constructed' (author's translation, Cristóvão 1990:9). Resolving issues about language and culture is necessary for other enterprises:

And without diminishing the importance, or even urgency of the tasks in other fields, issues relating to language and culture must be resolved, with priority, because they are the means and the basis for other projects.
(Author's translation, Cristóvão 1990:10)

In September 1988 the participants at the *I Encontro Internacional da Lusofonia*, in Madrid, defined *Lusofonia*. They recognised that the concept of *Lusofonia* could not have the same connotations when applied to the PALOP as when applied to Portugal, Brazil and Galicia because of the 'realidade' of each country (Fontenla 1992-93:22). The participants also noted that '[t]he building of *Lusofonia* is not only a linguistic matter, but more than this, it demands the consideration of social, political, cultural and ideological issues' and that 'Lusofonia is a linguistic space of intercultural dialogue, the concept, as such, is still being defined' (author's translation, Fontenla 1992-93:22).

The debate about *Lusofonia* really began in 1986 with the *Acordo Ortográfico*. *Lusofonia* is a way of encouraging cultural, scientific and technical exchange amongst the PALOP, Portugal and Brazil and of encouraging 'inter and intra cultural dialogue, the mutual knowledge of cultural and educational experiences, of common projects in the area of technology, of education and of cooperation between Lusophone countries' (author's translation, Fontenla 1992-93:24).

One of the ways in which a feeling of community could be encouraged between Portuguese-speaking countries would be through joint business ventures. In recent times bodies have been set up to encourage economic interest between Lusophone countries, such as the *Associação Portuguesa para o Desenvolvimento Económico e a Cooperação*, the *Fundação Luso-Brasileira para o Desenvolvimento do Mundo da Língua Portuguesa*, the *Associação de Supervisores de Seguros Lusófonos*, and the *Clube de Empresários do Brasil*, based in Lisbon. This demonstrates that there is consciousness within the business world that there is much that can be done to develop economic relations between Lusophone countries:

It seems to us more than obvious that the potential for cooperation at the level of individuals within this space is greater than that which each of the countries will have through agreements signed with other nations of different cultural expression. (Author's translation, Bustorff 1994)

Hilário Matusse, a journalist from Mozambique is enthusiastic about the CPLP and refers to 'the priority of rebuilding the PALOP, in which Portugal and Brazil, as older brothers, will be able to take on a decisive role, in the areas of education and investment' (author's translation, Martins 1993).

There have been suggestions of a Lusophone Parliament and University, for example at a meeting of members of the Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon in December 1993 (see Martins 1993). However, the Brazilian journalist Hermano Alves points out that whilst a university is an excellent idea in the long term, there are more pressing needs such as the creation of a 'Development Bank to avoid the plundering of resources of our countries by international bodies like the International Monetary Fund' (author's translation, Alves in Martins 1993). He has serious reservations about a common parliament, which does not seem viable whilst restrictions against foreigners entering Portugal affect Brazilians.

Throughout the series of articles published in *Jornal de letras, artes e ideias* on 14 December 1993 and 22 June 1994 there is a definite sense of community amongst the Portuguese-speaking countries. Manuela Aguiar, a Portuguese member of parliament,

believes that the *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* is important for Portugal because 'it is everything the European Community cannot be. The latter is a geographic destiny, the former is a community of language, blood and affection' (author's translation, Aguiar in Martins 1993).

In the first section of this chapter we saw how changes in script and orthography can be used to help construct the nation or the 'imagined community'. I believe that the discussions in this section show that *lusofonia* is not restricted to the issue of orthography but has social and political implications for the countries concerned. The word 'construção' (construction) has been used several times in connection with *lusofonia*. With the setting up of the CPLP and the possible future acceptance of the *Acordo Ortográfico* by all Portuguese-speaking countries, what we may be witnessing is the construction of a Lusophone 'imagined community'.

6.4 THE GALICIAN ORTHOGRAPHIC DEBATE

This section will deal with the Galician orthographic debate from both the Portuguese and Galician perspective. In order to understand the Portuguese position on Galician *Reintegración*, it is necessary to look at Portugal's historic relationship with Iberia and its colonies, and its present relationship with Europe and Galicia. I will then attempt to link the above discussions about changes in written language, the *Acordo Ortográfico* and the 'imagined community' to the Galician orthographic debate from the Galician perspective in order to establish what I believe to be the sociolinguistic issues behind the debate about how Galician should be written.

6.4.1 *Reintegración* from the Portuguese Perspective

6.4.1.1 Portugal, Iberia and Europe

In order to understand the Portuguese position on Galician Reintegration today, it would be helpful to consider ideas about Portuguese identity and Portugal's place in Iberia in the

nineteenth century (see Freeland 1995 and in press). In order to do this we should refer to two metaphors which were prevalent in this period.

Firstly, there was a tendency in the nineteenth century to think of society as an organism, in which the nation is born, grows to maturity, and then enters a decline. Whilst Portugal in the 1870s appears to be relatively secure, the intellectuals of the period are obsessed with national decadence and see Portugal in decline. The causes of decline are partly internal and organic, 'the exhaustion of a small nation that overgrows itself in its maritime empire' (Freeland 1995:207), and partly external in that creative energy is stifled by a centralising monarchy and repressive church.

Secondly, there was a tendency to view the world in terms of messianic expectation, with the implications of death, resurrection and the second coming of Christ. This centred on King Sebastian's defeat in 1578 and Portugal's invasion by Philip II of Spain in 1580. During the Spanish occupation which lasted until 1640, the nation waited for the return of the messiah, King Sebastian. The restoration of 1640 failed to restore Portugal's glory, which implies that the nation 'is still awaiting the "great man" or the idea that will bring about its resurrection' (Freeland 1995:207).

Three relationships are important to Portuguese identity in the nineteenth century: Portugal's relationships with Spain, Britain, and the African colonies. Spain was the traditional threat to Portugal's independence, and this threat was revived with proposals for Iberian union. Portugal's relationship with Spain is linked to the organic life cycle. For Oliveira Martins 'Portugal is an "organic" part of the "body" of the Iberian Peninsula and, by implication, unviable once separated from the larger organism' (Freeland in press). For Oliveira Martins

[Portugal] lacks clear definition based on natural territorial boundaries, or, in relation to Galicia, based on ethnicity and language. The country was created by the personal ambition of barons and princes, from bits and pieces...of neighbouring kingdoms, especially Galicia and León. (Freeland in press)

There is a contradiction in Oliveira Martins in that, on the one hand, he argues that Portugal is part of the Iberian Peninsula yet, on the other hand, he recognises that Portugal had an independent life cycle. Drawing in this case from physics, rather than the more usual source of biology, Oliveira Martins believed that Iberia exerted a force similar to gravity, which made it difficult for Portugal to pull away. However, Lisbon and the voyages of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries acted as a counterforce, which allowed Portugal independence. For Oliveira Martins, then, the capture of Lisbon by Afonso Henriques¹ is part of the process of birth, after which Portugal evolves and reaches a period of vitality in the voyages of discovery, and then dies. In the late nineteenth century, the process of decadence is at a stage from which a new organic structure may evolve, a common peninsular form rather than an independent Portugal (Freeland 1995:209-212).

Another aspect to the Spanish threat was Portugal's size: at a time when large nations were forming (Italy and Germany), and Germany had invaded France, Darwin's principle of survival of the fittest seemed to be at work. This had implications for Portugal's future in the Peninsula. Alliance with Britain was the traditional defence against absorption by Spain, however, this in itself restricted Portugal's autonomy. One possible solution was to develop the African colonies. Portugal had been created out of conflict between two 'others', that is, Spain and Islam. Portugal's origins were in the north with Galicia, and it was formed by a drive from north to south in pursuit of the 'infidel', a pursuit which continued into north Africa and which would logically seem to continue with further expansion into Africa. This strengthened the sense of divine mission² and the idea that being Portuguese encompassed a colonising role, providing broad justification for developing the African colonies. Portugal's African colonies eventually became independent in 1974 and 1975.

¹ Afonso Henriques became Count of Portugal after he and his supporters defeated his mother, Teresa, in 1128. He began to use the title of King because of his victory over the Muslims at Ourique (25 July 1139). The title of King Afonso I was not formally conceded until 1179 when he placed Portugal under the protection of the Holy See. He captured Lisbon in October 1147, and when he died in 1185, the Portuguese frontier was established on the Tagus.

² According to a foundation myth invented in the sixteenth century, on the eve of the battle of Ourique Christ appeared to Afonso Henriques, promising him victory and an independent kingdom.

In terms of Portuguese identity in the contemporary period, since the revolution of 1974 ‘...Portuguese writers and intellectuals...have embarked on a national soul search, a sort of collective meditation on national identity’ (Almeida 1994:156). However, few authors deal directly with the issue of Spanish-Portuguese identity, ‘because a direct confrontation of both countries’ common identities is almost a taboo in Portugal’ (Almeida 1994:157). The taboo can be traced back to the Restoration years when, as we saw above, Portugal recovered independence after sixty years of Spanish rule in 1640. On the other hand, old misgivings between the two countries are gradually receding, and there are regular meetings between politicians and cultural exchanges. Spain and Portugal realise that they may be in a better position to face competition from Europe if they act together. Tourism between the two is booming and trade between them trebled between 1985 and 1989 (Brassloff 1991:31). Spain is Portugal’s second largest supplier after West Germany and France, and Spain’s exports to Portugal in 1989 were ‘higher in value than those sent to the whole of Latin America’ (Brassloff 1991:31). Portugal’s exports to Spain also increased in 1989. On the other hand, though, there is concern in Portugal because large multinationals tend to centre their activities in Spain and consider Madrid to be the capital of the Iberian Peninsula. If this trend continues, Portugal could be left with only sales and possibly not even the manufacture of goods, and Spain dominant in advertising, marketing and information technology (Brassloff 1991:31). This, then, would seem to link contemporary economic and business practice with Oliveira Martins’ consideration that Portugal and Spain are part of the single body of the Iberian Peninsula.

We should also consider Portugal’s relationship with Europe and its position in the European Union (see Brassloff 1991). Portugal is in a peripheral position, not just geographically, but also historically, economically and psychologically. This is a cause and consequence of Portugal’s preoccupation with the Atlantic and empire since the fifteenth century, of delayed industrialisation, and of the isolationist policy characteristic of much of the twentieth century (Brassloff 1991:25).

Physically, Portugal is in the extreme south-west of Europe and distant from the centre of the EU. There is also what Brassloff (1991:27) refers to as ‘mental’ peripherality to contend with. This is not just from within Portugal, but also from outside:

when the Brussels bureaucrats and researchers worked out the prospects for European integration implied by the Single European Act and the creation of a 'European domestic market', the countries like Portugal and Greece were hardly mentioned, and the quantitative results presented were not much more than simple extrapolations from the data for the 'core' countries. (Brassloff 1991:27)

We saw above in section 6.3 that there is a process of creation of a Lusophone community, through both the *Comunidade dos Países da Língua Portuguesa* and the *Acordo Ortográfico*. We have seen that this 'is a belated effort by Portugal to assert a cultural influence that is increasingly under threat in its former colonies' (Wise 1995). We could argue, therefore, that it is an attempt to keep its former colonies 'within the fold', as it were, in the face of challenges from native African languages and creoles, and the Commonwealth and *La Francophonie*. Given that Portugal is peripheral in the European Union and there are concerns about Portugal's future commercial position within an Iberia where Madrid is increasingly seen as the capital, I would argue that the CPLP and *Lusofonia* represent an alternative to the European Union, where Portugal could be a driving force rather than a periphery. However, given Brazil's economic strength and strength in terms of the number of speakers of Portuguese, we should ask whether in the long term Portugal would lag behind Brazil in the Lusophone community, rather than lead from the front.

6.4.1.2 Portugal and Galician *Reintegración*

Given that Gallaecia extended into what today is northern Portugal, there are cultural ties between the Galicians and Portuguese. Indeed, many Galicians recognise that in terms of language and culture they are closer to the Portuguese than they are to the Castilians. We have seen that there has been an increase in commercial contact between Spain and Portugal. There has also been more commercial and economic contact in recent years between Galicia and northern Portugal, and commentators in both Galicia and Portugal would like to see this contact developed further. Fontenla, for example, believes that contact should extend to the whole of Portugal, rather than being restricted to the north (interview 1994).

The balance of the increase in commercial relations between Galicia and Portugal is in Galicia's favour (Azevedo & Nascimento Rodrigues 1994). Thanks to the close cultural, linguistic and social links between northern Portugal and Galicia, a new region is being created in the EU which Fraga Iribarne, President of the *Xunta*, refers to as 'espaço luso-galaico' (in Azevedo & Nascimento Rodrigues 1994). Some of the projects between the two include the modernisation of the bridge between Tui and Valença do Minho, the Braga-Valença section of the motorway between Valença and Porto, and an agreement for the transmission of programmes from *Radio Televisión de Galicia* to the north of Portugal. Fraga denies that Galicia is closer to Portugal than to Madrid since the integration of Spain and Portugal into the EU, stating that Galicia can benefit from both relationships:

At present, Galicia can use both advantages - of being part of Spain and, at the same time, of its natural relationship, which comes from its traditional similarity of language and culture with Portugal. This is a great advantage for both sides. (Author's translation, quoted in Azevedo & Nascimento Rodrigues 1994)

It was mentioned above that traditionally Spain has ignored Portugal, and that Portugal has tended to view Spain with misapprehension and distrust. I believe there is still more than an element of this in the relationship between Portugal and Galicia. At a popular level, 'gallego' and 'portugués' can both be used as insults in Portugal and Galicia respectively. This may partly originate from the traditional distrust of Portugal towards Castile, and also from the fact that Portuguese workers in Galicia and Galician workers in Portugal tended to be in low-paid and low status jobs. Some commentators (Henríquez Salido and Yus Respaldiza, interview 1994) believe that the negative attitudes towards the Portuguese are generated from above (although they do not state whether this is from Spain or Galicia). Maceira Porto (interview 1994) believes that behind these insults is a fear which is 'induced' from Castile. This fear stems from the fact that from Oporto northwards, Galicia and Portugal have close cultural links, and a fear that Galicians might 'go over to the other side' (author's translation, Maceira Porto, interview 1994). Other commentators do not believe that the attitude and mentality of Galicians towards Portugal will change because no action is taken by the authorities to change attitudes, particularly in school. In fact, the strategy of ignoring Portugal can be seen as fundamental to the centralising

policies of the Spanish state. If Galicians were given access to Portuguese culture, it could be argued, their prejudices would break down (Iriarte Sanromán, interview 1994).

The relationship between Galicia and Portugal, particularly in terms of the traditional fear and misapprehension, have repercussions for Galician *Reintegración* from the Portuguese perspective. On the whole, the Portuguese do not know about the Galician Movement for *Reintegración*. Da Rocha Valente believes that this is a lack of knowledge rather than a lack of support, caused by a lack of communication (interview 1994). The Portuguese tend to view Spain as united and do not want to 'interfere' in Spain. Generally, then, it is only in intellectual circles that people know about Galician *Reintegración*, but by no means everyone within those circles is aware of the issue. The majority of those who do know about *Reintegración* believe that it is a Galician problem and that it is the Galicians who have to find a solution.

6.4.2 The Galician Perspective: Different Orthographies, Different Communities

We have already seen that more than a decade after the *normas* for Galician were sanctioned by the *Xunta*, there is still debate between the *Independentistas* and *Reintegracionistas* about how Galician should be written. Not only is there a broad split between *Independentistas* and *Reintegracionistas*, but there are also different orthographies put forward by the various groups within the *Reintegración* movement, as we have seen. In Chapter 4 we saw that one should distinguish between overt and covert goals in language planning. The *Reintegracionista-Independentista* debate is ostensibly a debate about Galician orthography. What I wish to propose is that the covert debate is one about the creation of different 'imagined communities' according to the different orthographies used.

We have seen that the Galician language is an important part of Galician identity, that is, it is part of the group boundary for 'us', the Galicians. However, according to whether *Independentista* or *Reintegracionista* orthography is used, the language within the group boundary 'us', and therefore within the group boundary 'them', will either be Galician or

Portuguese (for a brief discussion see Henderson, in press). Thus the orthographic debate raises questions about the identity markers within the group boundaries ‘us’ and ‘them’.

The ‘imagined community’ is fundamental to the debate between the *Reintegracionistas* and *Independentista*. As we have seen, language is an important component of identity, and print language is particularly important in creating the ‘imagined community’ because it allows speakers of different varieties of a language to understand each other via print (see Anderson 1983 and section 3.1.1 of Chapter 3). If this is so, we could say that in the Galician case different types of national consciousness would be created according to the different orthographies. In the case of the *Reintegracionista* orthography, speakers of the Galician variety of Portuguese would become aware of other speakers of Portuguese, creating a national consciousness which included other Portuguese-speaking nations. In the case of the *Independentista* orthography, speakers of one variety of Galician would become aware of speakers of other varieties of Galician, creating a Galician national consciousness. We have seen in this chapter that changes in the way a language is written can have repercussions for the construction of the nation and for the nation’s identity. We have also seen that the *Acordo Ortográfico* is a device which may help to reinforce a feeling of community amongst the Portuguese-speaking countries. I would therefore argue that different orthographies will help create different ‘imagined communities’.

We could argue that the *Independentista* orthography helps to construct a group of ‘us’ which includes only Galicians, and that the ‘them’ group would therefore include both Spain and Portugal. On the other hand, we could argue that the *Reintegracionista* orthography would help to construct a Galician group of ‘us’ which included Portugal and possibly the other Portuguese-speaking countries. ‘Them’ would therefore include Spain, but not Portugal. Given that the *Reintegracionistas* believe that the official orthography is too similar to Castilian and will eventually lead to the assimilation of Galician by Spanish for them the *Independentista* view of ‘us’ includes Spain.

We could further argue that different ‘imagined communities’ could be constructed within the *Reintegracionista* camp according to which one of the *Reintegracionista* orthographies was used. If the *Acordo Ortográfico* was used, Galicia would see itself as part of the

Lusophone community, along with Portugal, Brazil and the PALOP. If the orthography of AGAL was used, Galicia would see itself as a member of the Portuguese-speaking world, although perhaps a slightly 'distanced' member which maintained its differences through differences in the written language. The *mínimos*' orthography might perhaps leave Galicia somewhere between the Lusophone 'imagined community' and an independent Galician 'imagined community'.

It is the *Independentista* orthography which is most widespread in schools (see Chapter 4, section 4.4). Where *Reintegracionista* orthography is used it is usually the *mínimos*' rather than the *máximos*' orthography. Given the importance of written language and education as a means of identity and community-building, I would argue that education in Galicia is helping to create an independent Galician 'imagined community' rather than one which includes Portugal. This is reinforced by the apparent strategy of ignoring Portugal in both schools and in society as whole.

Where *mínimos*' orthography is used in schools, the authorities do not usually take action in spite of the fact that it is against the law. Many commentators, as we have seen, speak of a lack of will to 'normalise' Galician on the part of the *Xunta*, and it may well be that any orthographic disputes are seen as 'beneficial' in that they create confusion for students and harm the 'normalisation' process. We have also seen that the teaching of other subjects through Galician is often a matter of choice for the teacher concerned, and there is no 'policing' of this by the authorities.

Galicia's relationship to the Lusophone community raises interesting issues. Although not officially recognised as a part of the Lusophone community, representatives from Galicia signed the 1990 *Acordo Ortográfico* as observers. This not only has implications for Galicia, but also for the Spanish state, as well as for the Lusophone community. Wise (1995) suggests that the PALOP see the CPLP as a way to access extra financial help. If Galicia was part of the CPLP, would it, too, be eligible to receive funds for development? If so, this could lead to conflict with the Spanish state. Given the relationship between

language and identity, if Galicians saw themselves, or were seen by others, as speaking Portuguese, this could raise questions about the identity of Galicians: would they be considered Galician, Spanish, or Portuguese? In the case of Galicia being considered a part of it, the Lusophone community would expand, however slightly, its influence in Europe, and more particularly, gain a foothold in Spain. In Europe, then, *Lusofonia* could lead to potential conflicts of identity: Portugal as a peripheral member of the EU or as a stronger member of the CPLP, and Galicia as a part of Spain or a member of the Lusophone community. If Galicia and Portugal were both seen to be part of the same linguistic community and, through a shared orthography, had a sense of ‘imagined community’, this could, in the long term, lead to proposals for Galicia and Portugal to form some sort of political unit, perhaps within a federation of Iberian states, or as a region within the EU.

The Galician orthographic debate, then, has implications far beyond the apparently innocuous question of how Galician should be written. Different orthographies, I have argued, would create different ‘imagined communities’, and in turn would raise issues about the relationship Galicia has with Spain, Portugal, the EU and the Lusophone Community.

CONCLUSIONS

My aim in this thesis was to establish what sociolinguistic issues might lie behind the orthographic debate (between the *Independentistas* and *Reintegracionistas*) in Galicia. This necessarily included reviews and discussion of the theoretical issues involved: the phenomena arising from situations of language contact; identity, the processes of nation- and state-building, and the relationship between (linguistic) minorities and the state; and language planning and education. In each case I linked the situation in Galicia to the theory, and included where appropriate issues raised during my fieldwork in Galicia and Portugal. Many points relating to these issues have been discussed in the appropriate chapters, and I will therefore limit myself here to the principal issues which lie behind the orthographic debate in Galicia.

We have seen that although the *Xunta* approved an orthographic and morphological *norma* for Galician in 1982, there are groups who believe that Galician should be written to a greater or lesser extent like Portuguese, rather than according to these *normas*. The division of the old Galician Kingdom, the creation of Portugal, and the development of the Portuguese language form the basis of the two broad linguistic tendencies in Galicia today. The *Independentistas* believe that Galician is an independent language, whilst the *Reintegracionistas* believe that Galician is a variant of Portuguese, which has other variants in Portugal, Brazil and the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa.

We have also seen that whilst Galician is now being used in domains from which it was previously absent (for example, the media, public administration, education), it is losing speakers in its traditional strongholds. There are Galician-speaking parents who use Castilian with their children, and whilst Galician language and literature are taught at school, Galician is not always used as the medium through which other subjects are taught. The use of Galician among young people in urban areas is particularly low. Paradoxically, Galicians see the Galician language as a key element in Galician identity. Since Galician

was proscribed from many domains and Galicians had to adopt Castilian in order to advance economically and socially, we may assume that this is part of the process of Galician becoming a private rather than public marker of identity. The movement of people from rural to urban areas where they encounter a greater presence of Castilian, and the growth of the media and the fact that there is a greater range and quality of Castilian media available, means that Galician is likely to continue losing speakers to Castilian. Add to this the fact that in many schools Galician seems more like a foreign language than a native one, and I would argue that Galician has an uphill struggle ahead just to maintain its current position.

Reintegracionistas see *Reintegración* as a way of halting the decline of Galician. They argue that Galicians would realise that theirs is not a minority language but a world language, and with two world languages at their disposal, Galicians would have economic and personal advantages. The *Independentistas*, on the other hand, argue that this is an attempt to impose Portuguese in Galicia, and that Galicians would find it difficult to write their language.

We have seen that although Galician is now co-official with Castilian within Galicia, and that this is undoubtedly a major step forward after the proscription of the Franco period, many commentators question the nature of the legal status and rights accorded to Galician in the legislation (see Chapter 3). In addition, an issue which was raised time and again in my fieldwork by commentators of all political and orthographic persuasions, was the perceived lack of will of the *Xunta* to 'normalise' Galician. In view of this, then, it could be argued that presenting Galician as an independent language (through the *Independentista* orthography) may, in fact, keep Galician in more of a low-prestige position than it would have as a variety of Portuguese, because it is a minority language in a minoritised position, rather than being a variety of a world language.

One of the principal issues which emerges throughout this thesis is that language plays an important role as an identity marker and in creating a sense of belonging or 'groupness'. Of course, language is not the only marker of identity, but it is perhaps the most salient, and immediately differentiates 'us' from 'them'. In addition, we have seen that language,

and particularly print language, has an important role to play in the creation of a sense of belonging to a community, in particular in the creation of the 'imagined community'. I believe that it is this, that is, the role that language plays in identity and in the creation of the 'imagined community', which lies at the heart of the orthographic debate.

I argued in Chapter 6 that different orthographies would allow for the creation of different 'imagined communities'. The *Independentista* orthography would help to create an independent Galician 'imagined community', whilst the *Reintegracionista* orthography would help to create a Galician 'imagined community' which formed part of the Portuguese-speaking world. We have seen that there is also a process of creating a Lusophone 'commonwealth', the *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*, or what we may wish to call a Lusophone 'imagined community'. This might be aided by the *Acordo Ortográfico*. We have seen that *Irmandades da Fala* and ASPGP support the use of the *Acordo Ortográfico* for Galician (representatives from Galicia signed the *Acordo* as observers), and I would argue that the adoption of this orthography for Galician would help to make Galicia part of the Lusophone 'imagined community'. The debate over orthography can therefore be seen as a debate over the creation of different 'imagined communities'.

Given the close relationship between language and identity, the use of different orthographies for Galician also raises questions about the identity of the Galicians. Use of a *Reintegracionista* orthography would mean that the Galicians would see themselves and be seen by others as part of the Portuguese-speaking world, whilst use of the *Independentista* orthography means that the Galicians see themselves and are seen by others as part of a Galician-speaking world, which is politically part of the Spanish state. In other words, different orthographies for Galician could help to create different identities, and so the orthographic debate can also be seen as one about identities: are the Galicians Galician, Spanish or Portuguese? This in turn raises issues for the Spanish state: Galicia is politically and economically part of the Spanish state, but if it was linguistically and culturally seen as part of the Portuguese-speaking world (through *Reintegracionista* orthography), would this eventually lead to calls for some sort of political union with Portugal, or for Galicia to be a part of the *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*?

We can also view the orthographic debate within the centre-periphery model. We have seen that language, and in particular print language, is important in the process of building the nation or the 'imagined community'. Having an official, written language means that Galicia has the potential to build its own nation or 'imagined community', and we have seen that since the middle of the last century there has been a process of identifying Galicia as a nation (see Chapter 3). On the other hand, since the marriage of Isabel and Ferdinand there has also been a process of building a Spanish nation-state, aided by an official language of state, that is, Castilian. As we have seen, it is the nature of the centre to try to keep the peripheries within the nation-state. We could argue, then, that the lack of equality between Castilian and the other languages of the Spanish state which we have seen in the legislation, together with the apparent lack of will of the Spanish *Partido Popular*, which forms the *Xunta*, to 'normalise' Galician is part of the process of the centre keeping the peripheries within the nation-state of Spain. The official view in Galicia of the relationship between Galician and Portuguese is that whilst they have a common history, the political division of Galicia and Portugal was accompanied by a linguistic division, such that Galician and Portuguese are two separate languages. The *Reintegracionistas* are in a minority position within Galicia: *Reintegracionistas* report that they receive no subsidies and as we have seen many report disadvantages to being known to be *Reintegracionista*. In addition, support for *Reintegración* amongst Galicians is low. However, it should be borne in mind that the *Independentista* view of Galician is supported by the political and institutional structures in Galicia. Taken together we can view all these elements as part of the same process: an attempt by the centre to prevent Galicia from breaking away to the Lusophone community.

One of the objectives of this project was to establish the level of support for Galician *Reintegración* in Portugal. We have seen that it is only within intellectual circles in Portugal that people are aware of *Reintegración*, but by no means everyone within these circles is aware of the issue. Those who do know about Galician *Reintegración* tend to view it as a matter for the Galicians to resolve, but I am not convinced that this should be taken as a lack of support: many Galicians and Portuguese recognise that linguistically and culturally there are strong links between them. However, as we noted in Chapter 6, there has traditionally been suspicion of Spain in Portugal.

I have argued that the different Galician orthographies would help to create different 'imagined communities'. Research into the building of the Lusophone community amongst the Portuguese, the Brazilians, and the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa will be relevant to this debate, especially in light of the move by Portugal to establish a 'commonwealth' of Portuguese-speaking countries. Of particular interest will be to monitor the way that a shared language and orthography (through the *Acordo Ortográfico*) may help to build a feeling of community, or 'imagined community', amongst the countries concerned, and this will also provide a test for my proposal that orthography and 'imagined community' are linked.

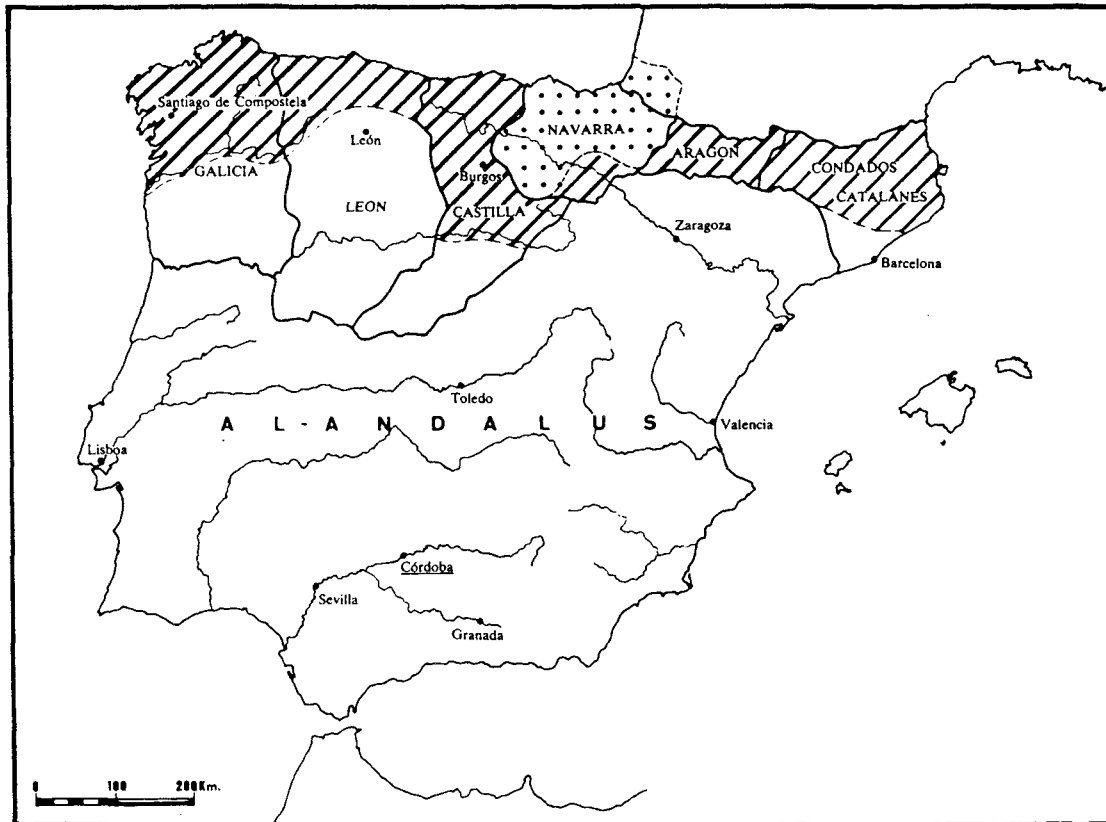
Of concern also will be the extent to which the Galicians continue to take part, as observers or otherwise, in any such project for building a Lusophone community, and continuing contact with the Galician *Reintegracionista* groups will help to provide a way of monitoring Galicia's participation or otherwise in the Lusophone community.

APPENDIX A

MAPS

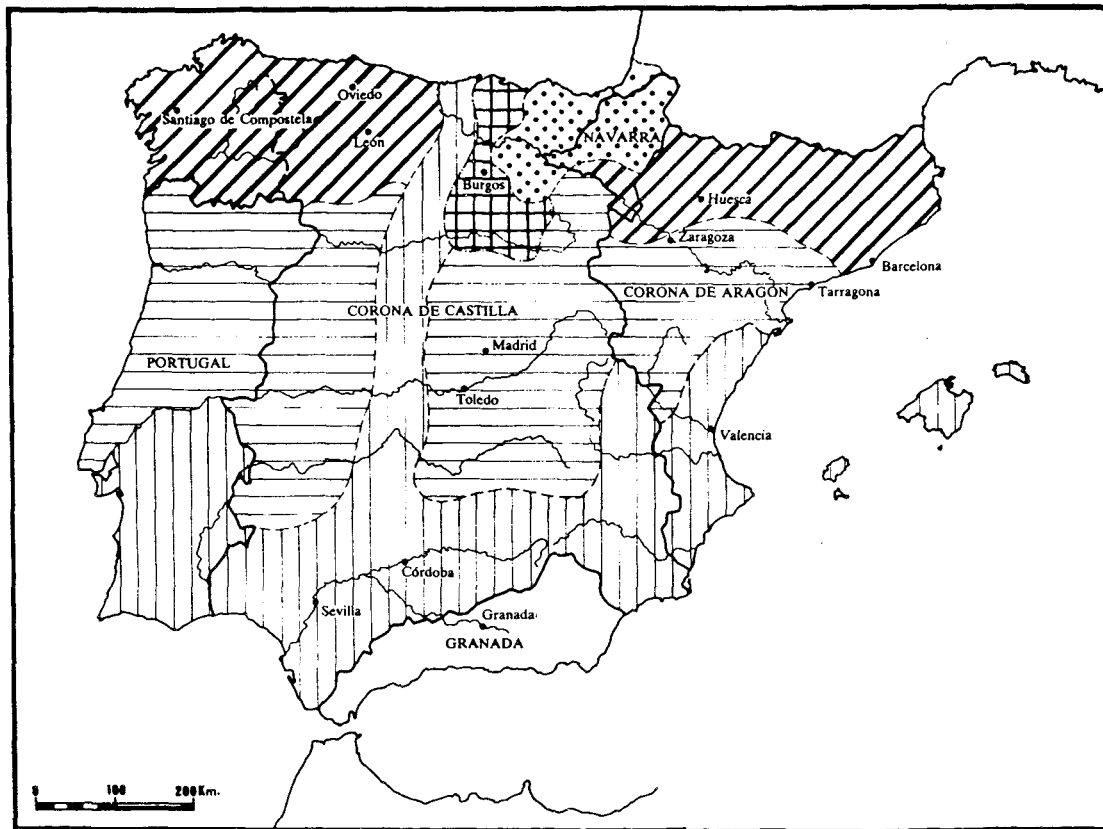
The Provinces and Cities of Galicia.


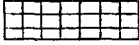
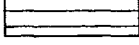
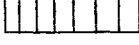
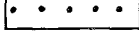




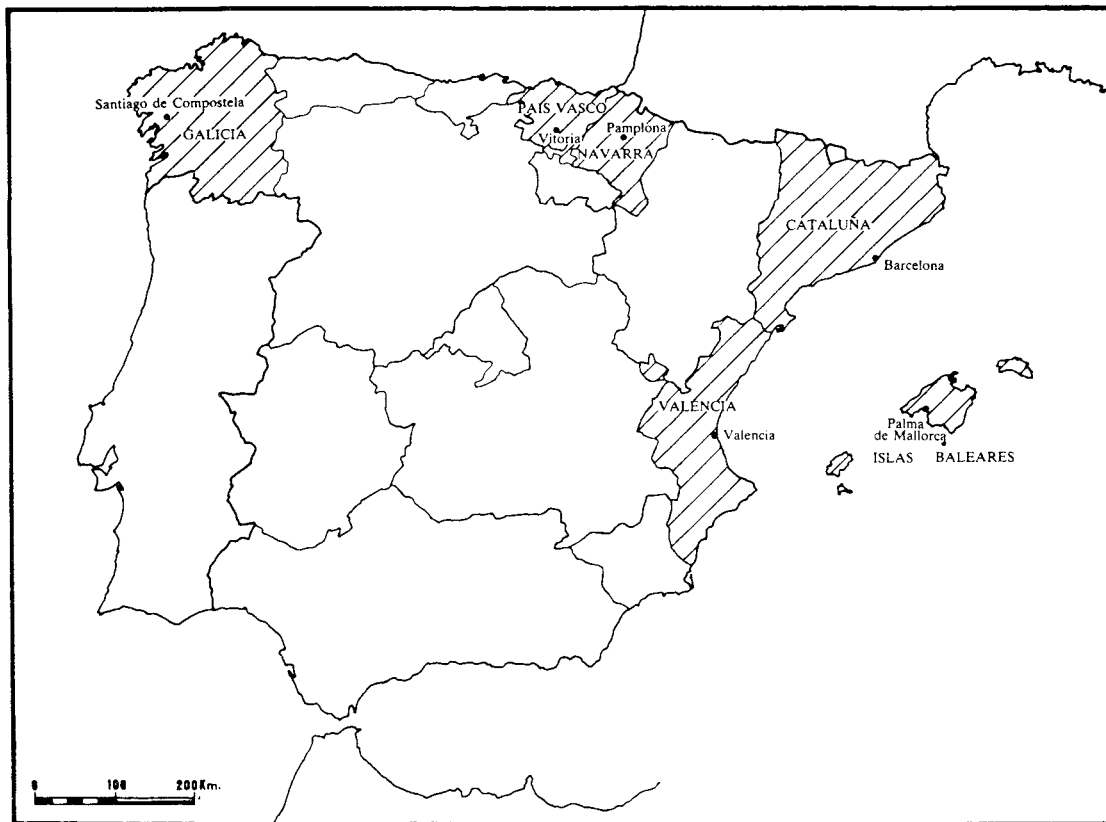
- limits of the Christian kingdoms in 1065
- ▨ linguistic nuclei
- • • • • Basque

The Peninsula in the middle of the eleventh century. The new linguistic nuclei: Galician, Asturian-Leonese, Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan.
 (Source: Siguan 1992:327)



- limits of the five kingdoms in the middle of the thirteenth century
-  neo-Latin linguistic nuclei
-  original area of Castilian
-  expansion of the Romance languages until the thirteenth century
-  expansion during the thirteenth century
-  Basque

The expansion of the neo-Latin languages in the Peninsula: Galicia, Castilian, Catalan. (Source: Siguan 1992:328)



The Autonomous Communities with their own language. (Source: Siguan 1992:329)

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEWS CARRIED OUT BETWEEN JANUARY AND MARCH 1994:

XELA ARIAS

Translator, Edicións Xerais

ANGELO BREA

Secretary, Irmandades da Fala

CARLOS CASARES

Editor, Galaxia

Writer

HENRIQUE COSTAS

Teacher of Galician Language, University of Vigo

JOSE DE AZEVEDO FERREIRO

Member of Irmandades da Fala

Professor of History of the Portuguese Language and President of the Instituto das Letras, University of the Minho, Braga

CAETANO DIAZ

Deputy Editor, *O Correo Galego*

CEFERINO DIAZ

Member of Galician Parliament, PSdeG-PSOE

XOSE FERNANDEZ

Responsible for the area of Santiago de Compostela, Bloque Nacionalista Galego

LUCIANO FERNANDEZ DE SANMAMED SAMPEDRO

Teacher of English, Escuela Oficial de Idiomas, Pontevedra (written comments)

JOSE LUIS FONTENLA RODRIGUEZ

President, Irmandades da Fala

MANOLO FORCADELA

Writer

Teacher of Galician Language and Literature, Instituto de la Guia, Vigo

SOCORRO GARCIA CONDE

Member of Language Normalisation Team, Council of Santiago de Compostela

PILAR GARCIA NEGRO

Member of Galician Parliament, Bloque Nacionalista Galego

ANTONIO GIL HERNANDEZ

Member of Irmandades da Fala

Member of AGAL

Secretary of Associação de Amizade 'Galiza-Portugal'

LUIS GONZALEZ BLASCO ("FOZ")

Vice President of AGAL

Founding member of Assamblea do Povo Unido

Director of Studies and teacher of Galician Language and Literature, Instituto Xelmírez I, Santiago de Compostela

MARIA DO CARMO HENRIQUEZ SALIDO

President of AGAL

Professor of Spanish Language, University of Vigo

ALVARO IRIARTE SANROMAN

Member of AGAL

Assistant of the Department of Portuguese and teacher of Spanish, University of the Minho, Braga

MARIA XOSE JAMARDO CURROS

Mesa pola Normalización Lingüística

OSCAR LOPES

Professor of Portuguese Language (retired), University of Oporto

MARIA MACEIRA PORTO

Teacher of Galician Language, Escuela Oficial de Idiomas, Pontevedra

AURORA MARCO

Member of AGAL

Professor of Didactics of Galician Language and Literature, Maxisterio, Santiago de Compostela

ORLANDA MARINA DE NOBREGA CORREIA

Member of Irmandades da Fala

Head of Department of English and North American Studies, University of the Minho, Braga

MARIA HELENA PAIVA

Teacher of History of the Portuguese Language, University of Oporto

ENCARNACION PAZOS PEREIRA

Teacher of Galician Language, Escuela Oficial de Idiomas, Pontevedra

MANUEL PORTAS

Member of the Asociación Socio-Pedagógica Galega

Head Teacher and teacher of Galician Language, Instituto Xelmírez I, Santiago de Compostela

MARIA ROSA DA ROCHA VALENTE

President in Portugal of Irmandades da Fala

Teacher of Angolan Literature, University of the Minho, Braga

XOSE SANCHEZ PUGA

Head of Service of Plans, Programmes and Improvement, Language Policy Department, Xunta de Galicia

GUILLERMO ROJO

Professor of Spanish Language, University of Santiago de Compostela

JOSE VIALE MOUTINHO

Writer

Journalist, *Diario de Noticias*, Oporto

MARIO VILELA

Teacher of Portuguese Language, Centre of Linguistics, University of Oporto

CARLOS YUS RESPALDIZA

Teacher of Galician Language, Escuela Oficial de Idiomas, Pontevedra

INTERVIEWS CARRIED OUT IN NOVEMBER 1994:

ADELAIDE MARIA COUTO LOPES

Lawyer, native Brazilian living in Pontevedra

XOSE HENRIQUE COSTAS GONZALEZ

Teacher of Galician Language and Literature, Maxisterio, Pontevedra, and at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Vigo

MARIA JESUS ENGUIDANOS FLOREANI

Teacher, Centro de Educación Infantil "Os Campos", Monteporreiro, Pontevedra

RITA ENGUIDANOS FLOREANI

Teacher of Galician Language, Instituto de Bacharelato Valle-Inclán, Pontevedra

MARIA XESUS FERNANDEZ LOPO

Teacher of Galician Literature, Instituto de Bacharelato Valle-Inclán, Pontevedra

MARISOL FERNANDEZ MONTOTO

Teacher of English, Escuela Oficial de Idiomas, Pontevedra

Mother of Adriana, age 5, (at Colexio Atlántico), and Martín, age 2, (at creche)

FRANCISCO GARCIA

Teacher of English, Escuela Oficial de Idiomas, Pontevedra

Father of thirteen-year-old boy (at Instituto Sánchez Cantón) and ten-year-old daughter (at Colegio Xunqueira 2)

ANA MARIA GARRIDO BARROS

Teacher/Proprietor of El Abeto nursery school, Pontevedra

MANUEL GONZALEZ GONZALEZ

Teacher of Romance Linguistics, University of Santiago de Compostela, and Director of the Instituto da Lingua Galega

JOSE LUIS GONZALEZ RAJO

Head Teacher, Colexio Público Manuel Vidal Portela, Pontevedra

MANUEL LOURENZO

Teacher of Galician Language, Instituto de Bacharelato Torrente Ballester, Pontevedra

MARIA MACEIRA PORTO

Teacher of Galician Language, Instituto de Bacharelato Sánchez Cantón, Pontevedra

REIS MAYO

Teacher of Galician Language and Literature, Instituto Politécnico, Pontevedra

RAMON MENDEZ SANDE

Teacher of Galician Language, Colegio (EGB and BUP) Sagrado Corazón,
Pontevedra

VICTORIA OGANDO VALCARCEL

Teacher of Galician Language and Literature, Instituto de Bacharelato Valle-Inclán,
Pontevedra

XAN RIOBO

Teacher of Galician Language and Literature, Instituto de Bacharelato A Xunqueira
1, Pontevedra

VICENTE RODRIGUEZ

Teacher of Galician Language and Literature, Instituto de Bacharelato A Xunqueira
1, Pontevedra

XOAN XOSE RODRIGUEZ RIVAS

Teacher of Galician Language and Literature, Escuela Oficial de Idiomas,
Pontevedra

INTERVIEW IN MARCH 1996:

LEPSA STOJKOVIC

Bosnian Serb living in Southampton

APPENDIX C

PRINCIPAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ORTHOGRAPHIES

The following are some of the main differences between the various Galician orthographies. For full details see Asociación Sócio-Pedagóxica Galega (1980), Associação Galega da Língua (1985), Xunta de Galicia (1983) and Diário da República (1991).

The following abbreviations apply:

ILG - Instituto da Língua Galega

RAG - Real Academia Galega

AS-PG - Asociación Sócio-Pedagóxica Galega

AGAL - Associação Galega da Língua

IF - Irmandades da Fala

ASPGP - Associação Sociopedagógica Galaicoportuguesa

The Alphabet

ILG-RAG	AS-PG	AGAL	IF
a	a	a	a
b	b	b	b
c	c	c	c
ch			
d	d	d	d
e	e	e	e
f	f	f	f
g	g	g	g
h	h	h	h
i	i	i	i
		j	j
			k
l	l	l	l
ll			
m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n
ñ	ñ		
o	o	o	o
p	p	p	p
q	q	q	q
r	r	r	r
s	s	s	s
t	t	t	t
u	u	u	u
v	v	v	v
			w
x	x	x	x
			y
z	z	z	z

Articles

Definite Article:

All use **o** (masculine) and **a** (feminine). It is in combination with prepositions that differences occur.

prep a + article	ILG-RAG	AS-PG	AGAL	IF
o	ó/ao	ao	ao	ao
a	á	á	à	à
os	ós/aos	aos	aos	aos
as	ás	ás	às	às

Indefinite Article:

Indefinite Article	ILG-RAG	AS-PG	AGAL	IF
masculine sing/plur	un/uns	un/uns	um/uns	um/uns
feminine sing/plur	unha/unhas	unha/unhas	umha/umhas	uma/umas

Use of ll/lh and ñ/nh

Phonetic value /l̥/ and /ɲ/

ILG-RAG	AS-PG	AGAL	IF
ll	ll	lh	lh
ñ	ñ	nh	nh

Use of g, j and x

Phonetic value /ʃ/

ILG-RAG	AS-PG	AGAL	IF
x	x	g (+e, i) j x	g (+e, i) j x

Use of c, ç and z

Phonetic value /θ/ or /s/ in areas with 'sesseo'

ILG-RAG	AS-PG	AGAL	IF
c (+e, i) z (+a, o, u)	c (+e, i) z (+a, o, u)	c (+e, i) ç (+a, o, u) z (+a, e, i, o, u)	c (+e, i) ç (+a, o, u)

Use of b and v

For ILG-RAG, the use of b and v depends on etymology, rather than on pronunciation.

Accents

ILG-RAG	AS-PG	AGAL	IF
acute	acute	acute	acute
		grave	grave
		circumflex	circumflex

Use of Tilde

Neither ILG-RAG nor AS-PG use the tilde. AGAL recognises that the tilde is used 'in the Portuguese and Brazilian varieties of our language (but not in the Galician one)', and that '[i]t is the written characteristic (apart from the morpho-phonetic) which at present most differentiates our writing from the Luso-Brazilian...' (author's translation, AGAL 1985:104). For AGAL, the Portuguese ending -ão corresponds to the Galician -am or -om.

ILG-RAG	AS-PG	AGAL	IF
-ción	-ción	-çom	-çãõ
-sión	-sión	-som	-sãõ

Both geographical and social variations can be distinguished in Galician. Three main linguistic blocks can be identified according to their phonetic and morphological features: the western, central and eastern blocks. Within each of these blocks areas with specific features can be further distinguished. The western block comprises the western parts of the provinces of Corunna and Pontevedra and, in addition to morphological features, is characterised by *seseo* (the use of /s/ instead of /θ/), and by *gheada* (the substitution of /g/ or /ɣ/ by /ħ/). The central block consists of the eastern parts of the provinces of Corunna and Pontevedra and almost all of the provinces of Lugo and Orense. Whilst *gheada* penetrates into this block, there is no *seseo*. The eastern block consists of the eastern parts of the provinces of Lugo and Orense and also the western parts of the provinces of Asturias, León and Zamora.

In addition, there are two main social varieties of Galician. One is almost exclusively oral and used by the majority of the Galician-speaking population. The other variety corresponds to standard Galician, and is used in the written and oral mass media and by Galician-speakers who are literate in Galician.

The most noticeable orthographic differences and their relationship to the phonology of Galician are highlighted below:

/θ/ and /s/

/θ/ and /s/ are distinguished in most of Galicia, except in areas of *seseo* (see above). In the ILG-RAG orthography /θ/ is represented by either c followed by e or i (for example, *cinco* and *cocer*) or z followed by either a, o or u (for example, *cazar*, *cazo* and *azul*). When followed by a, o or u, c is pronounced /k/. In AGAL's orthography, /θ/ is represented by c, z and additionally by ç. As in the ILG-RAG orthography, c is followed by e and i (for example, *convencer* and *fácil*). However, z can occur with a, o u and additionally with e and i (for example, *rezar*, *juízo*, *azul*, *dizer* and *reduzir*), and ç occurs with a, o and u (for example *força*, *almorço* and *açúcar*). In IF/ASPGP's orthography, /θ/ is represented either by c followed by e and i (for example, *conceito* and *dicionario*) or ç followed by a, o and u (for example, *força*, *espço* and *açúcar*). For those already literate in Spanish the ILG-RAG

use of c and z to represent /θ/ presents no difficulty since this phoneme is represented orthographically in the same way in Spanish. On the other hand, the use of c, ç and z by AGAL, and c and ç by IF/ASPGP, would be more complicated. It may be worth noting that in Portugal the phonetic value of c (with e or i) and ç (with a, o or u) is /s/.

/ʃ/

/ʃ/ is represented by x in the ILG-RAG orthography, whilst in AGAL and IF/ASPGP's orthography it is represented by g (with i or e), x or j. ILG-RAG's use of one grapheme for the phoneme /ʃ/ undoubtedly reflects pronunciation more accurately.

-ción, -çom and ção

AGAL and IF/ASPGP use the suffixes -çom and ção respectively instead of the -ción suffix used by ILG-RAG. In my experience, -ción more closely represents the pronunciation of Galician-speakers in urban areas and, of course, those who use normative Galician and are literate in Galician.

Overall, as we have seen in the relevant sections of the thesis, the ILG-RAG orthography is more accessible for Galicians than the *Reintegracionista* orthographies, and this point is even conceded by some *Reintegracionistas*. In addition, the ILG-RAG orthography more closely represents the accents of those from urban areas (whose speech, it could be argued, is more Castilianised), whilst *Reintegracionista* orthographies are probably more representative of older, rural Galician-speakers.

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