

**Language policies on the ground:
Parental language management in urban Galician homes**

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Abstract

Recent language policy and planning research reveals how policy-makers endorse the interests of dominant social groups, marginalise minority languages and perpetuate systems of sociolinguistic inequality. In the Castilian-dominated Galician linguistic landscape, this study examines the rise of grassroots level actors or agents (i.e. parents, family members, and other speakers of minority Galician) who play a significant role in interpreting and implementing language policy on the ground. The primary focus of this study is to investigate the impact of top-down language policies inside home domain, it looks at how the individual linguistic practices and ideologies of Galician parents act as visible and/or invisible language planning measures influencing their children's language learning. However, these individual linguistic ideologies and language management decisions are difficult to detect because they are implicit, subtle, informal, and often hidden from the public eye, and therefore, frequently overlooked by language policy researchers and policy makers. Drawing from multiple ethnographic research methods including observations, in-depth fieldwork interviews, focus group discussions and family language audits with thirty-two Galician parents, this study attempts to ascertain whether these parents can restore intergenerational transmission of Galician and if their grassroots level interrogation of the dominant discourse could lead to bottom-up language policies.

Keywords: Galician, bottom-up language policies, family language policy, language management, bilingualism.

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Dedicated to my parents

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List of acronyms in alphabetical order:

ANP: Asociación de Nais e Pais (Association of Parents)

BNG: Bloque Nacionalista Galega (The Galician Nationalist Bloc)

CLP: Critical language policy

DDP: Decreto de Plurilingüismo (Decree of Plurilingualism)

EFLP: Ethnography of family language policy

ELP: Educational language policies

FLA: Family Language Audit

FLP: Family language policy

IGE: Instituto Galego de Estatística (Galician Institute of Statistics)

ILG: Instituto da Lingua Galega (Institute of Galician Language)

LNL: Lei de Normalización Lingüística (Law of Linguistic Normalisation of Galician)

LPP: Language policy and planning

PP: Partido Popular (People's Party)

PPdeG: Partido Popular de Galicia (People's Party of Galicia).

PSOE: Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Worker's Party)

PSdeG: Partido Socialista Obrero Español de Galicia (Spanish Socialist Worker's Party of Galicia)

RAE: Real Academia Española (Royal Academy of Spanish Language)

RAG: Real Academia Galega (Royal Academy of Galician Language)

SXPL: Secretaría Xeral de Política Lingüística (General Secretary of Language Policy)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Why study the role of human agency in language policy?

National language policy which is implemented from the top is perceived as official legislation designed to influence “people’s linguistic lives” (Shohamy 2006: 185). Until relatively recently, language policy and planning (henceforth LPP) research has centred mostly on state-run language policy formulation and planning programmes with some exception (such as Tollefson 1991, 2002, 2006; Ricento and Hornberger 1996; McCarty 2004; Ricento 2006; King et al. 2008; and Cassels-Johnson 2007, 2009, 2010). However, the role of the actors within this discourse, such as parents, students, classroom teachers and other members of civil society, for whom the LPP is designed and their role in the interpretation and implementation of LPP has tended to receive less attention from researchers (McCarty 2011; Cassels-Johnson 2013a; also see Chapter 2 for a literature review on language policy). In this regard, as Schiffman (1996: 119) points out, implementation of policy initiatives is almost always “the weakest link in the policy and planning process”.

Gaps between policy rhetoric and implementation of the same often leave many policies ineffectual (Romaine 2002; Schiffman 2006, 2013). Governmental policymakers advocating the use of minority languages in education, often lack the authority to reinforce them on the ground. Therefore, the aforementioned actors, if disillusioned with top-down language policies emanating from the state, may create their own language agenda and resist from the bottom-up (O’Rourke and Hogan-Brun 2013). This formulation of their own language agenda in the face of disillusionment with state policy is sometimes enacted within the family. The home-use of a language also facilitates its intergenerational transmission (Fishman 1991; Spolsky 2012b); top-down policies on the other hand tend to have less impact on this domestic use of language (Ó Riagáin 1997; Shohamy 2006). It has been argued that a decline in the intergenerational transmission of a language inside the family domain can be a significant marker of language loss (see Spolsky 2009; King et al. 2008; Caldas 2012; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014a; Soehl 2016). Although children and parents are the key participants in the family unit, grandparents, child-caretakers, siblings and close neighbours may also have a significant input on language maintenance in the home domain.

Since every individual within the family has his or her own linguistic practices and beliefs about language choice (see Ó Laoire et al. 2011; Ó hÍfearnáin 2013), one of the major aims of this study is to investigate the role of individual agency (such as individual parents) in the negotiation, interpretation and implementation of language policy on the ground. Agency, as Ahearn (2010: 32) describes it, is the “socioculturally mediated capacity to act”, that often emerges from the sociocultural framework in which it is perceived. Ahearn (2001, 2010) further notes that individuals often differ and amend the way they apprehend their own actions and those of others, authorising agency to different entities such as individuals, governments, fate and divinities over time or place. For instance, national level language policies may attribute power to a certain speech variety over others by labelling it as the standard language, “thereby both shaping and being shaped by the agency of individuals” (Ahearn 2010: 45).

In my study, the interaction between macro level language policy and individual agency will be studied in relation to Galician parents, who through their own linguistic behaviour can be seen to play a prominent role in the revitalisation and maintenance of Galician outside the school, particularly in the context of framing family language policy (henceforth FLP). Family language policy, as Fogle (2013a: 83) defines it, “refers to explicit and overt decisions parents make about language use and language learning as well as implicit processes that legitimize certain language and literacy practices over others in the home”. Research on FLP, therefore, can offer a valid description of “how languages are managed, learned and negotiated within families” and facilitate an overview of parental linguistic ideologies and language practices (King et al. 2008: 907). While investigating language policy in the domestic context, FLP essentially incorporates the significance and impact of economic, political and social structures in a given society (see Fogle 2013b; King and Fogle 2013; Curdt-Christiansen 2013a, 2014b; also see literature review on family language policy in Chapter 3).

Galician (also *Gallego* in Castilian or *Galego* in Galician) is a language variant of the western Ibero-Romance branch, spoken in Galicia, an Autonomous Community in the north-western part of the Iberian Peninsula, and in some areas of Asturias, León and Extremadura. It is also spoken among the Galician emigrants in the rest of Spain, United States, Latin America and Europe among others. Galicia has four provinces, namely A Coruña, Ourense, Pontevedra and Lugo (see Figure 1). The following maps point to the geographical location of Galicia in the Iberian Peninsula:



Figure 1. Locating the context (Source: Own elaboration of the map of Galicia and Spain. Maps available from: Map of Spain with Galicia highlighted, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galicia_\(Spain\)#/media/File:Localizaci%C3%B3n_de_Galicia.svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galicia_(Spain)#/media/File:Localizaci%C3%B3n_de_Galicia.svg) and Galician Provinces, available from: <http://www.slideshare.net/MANEIRO/provincias-comarcas-e-concellos-de-galicia-presentation>, accessed 27 September 2016)

In the Galician sociolinguistic context, “prestige” is afforded to the dominant language – Castilian (O’Rourke 2011a; Monteagudo 2012a; Formoso-Gosende 2013). Franco’s dictatorship (1939 – 1975) made the use of Castilian obligatory as the only language for administration, education and media. This marked an era of repression and discrimination for the Galician language and the region’s culture (Monteagudo 2009a; del Valle 2000). During this period, the use of Galician was mostly restricted to the home domain and to informal conversations. After Franco’s death in 1975, democracy was returned to Spain and the Spanish Constitution (1978) was written recognising Galicia as one of the Autonomous Communities of Spain, with Galician designated as the region’s “co-official” language. Later, in 1983, top-down language policy models were put in place in line with the Law of Linguistic Normalisation of Galician (*Lei de Normalización Lingüística*, hence LNL) to boost the use of this minority language in the public domain.

Whilst critically analysing the governmental LPP models designed for Galicia, Lorenzo-Suárez (2005) argues that these LPP models are built on erroneous conceptions about the linguistic vitality of Galician. These misconceptions have, according to many sources (see Monteagudo and Bouzada 2003; Regueira 2006; Monteagudo 2012e), contributed to an inaccurate analysis of the true numerical and territorial strength of the minority language favouring a low-intensity model of language policy with a strong focus on language policies in education. This emphasis has meant that language revitalisation initiatives have been considerably less in other

social domains. Additionally, the stakeholders of the ruling centre-right wing Government of the *Partido Popular de Galicia* (PPdeG), who had been in power almost uninterruptedly during the initial years (1981-1986 and 1989-2005) of LPP in Galicia, were seen to take very little interest in implementing their policy initiatives on the ground. According to some commentators (Monteagudo and Bouzada 2002; Losada 2012), this was mainly because they were seen to be more interested in preserving the status quo and not upsetting certain Castilian-speaking urban middle class of Galician society. The present Galician government which is also ruled by PPdeG since March 2009, maintains a strong centralist approach which is evident from their pro-Castilian discourses (see sections 4.2 and 4.3 of Chapter 4 for an elaborate discussion on the language policies in Galicia).

Almost all top-down language policy documents in the Galician sociopolitical context purport to achieve what is sometimes referred to as a “balanced or harmonious bilingualism” (Frexeiro-Mato 1997; del Valle 2000). In this idealised state of bilingual equilibrium, both Galician and Castilian would co-exist as official languages of the community without influencing or interfering with each other. However, after more than three decades of implementation of top-down LPP in Galicia, macro level sociolinguistic accounts continue to register a significant language shift towards Castilian, especially among the younger generations (see Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia/Seminario de Sociolingüística da RAG 1994, 1995, 1996; González-González et al. 2011; Instituto Galego de Estatística 2004, 2009, 2014). In 2010, the incumbent Galician government introduced changes to the existing language education policy through a new decree entitled *O Decreto de Plurilingüismo* (The Decree of Plurilingualism, henceforth DDP).

According to the government, this decree is primarily based on a survey carried out with Galician parents to know what the parents want in pre-school as a medium of instruction for their children. Although this new policy claims to ensure the continuation of Galician in primary and secondary schools along with Castilian, it allows the medium of instruction to be that of the children’s home language. There is a contrary and indeed quixotic element to this policy. Since Castilian has been and is the most widely spoken language in urban/semi-urban areas, a majority of Galician children tend to be brought up speaking Castilian by Castilian-speaking parents. Therefore, with the application of the DDP, Castilian automatically becomes the medium of instruction in the urban pre-primary education curriculum. Ultimately, this

present policy configuration towards language in education further constricts the conduits of access to Galician among pre-school students in urban/semi-urban arenas.

It is also important to note that ever since this top-down LPP was put into practice, the language shift in urban areas proportionally gained momentum (Loredo-Gutiérrez and Monteagudo 2017 in press). Children between the age group of five to fourteen years are directly affected by this language policy model. The macro data provided by the *Instituto Galego de Estatística* (Galician Institute of Statistics, henceforth IGE) in December 2014 reveals that the number of adolescents who never speak Galician increased by 17% in the last five years. As soon as this data was made public, DDP came under the critical scanner. Government stakeholders, such as the President of the *Xunta de Galicia* (Government of Galicia), Alberto Núñez Feijóo stated during a press release that the present top-down LPP is pro-Galician and by no means discriminatory towards the language. Whilst defending this language policy model, he further argued that it should be the family, and not the education system, which is responsible for intergenerational transmission of Galician. In his view, speaking Galician or Castilian is a question of individual choice. The Galician government's former Education Minister Jesús Vázquez Abad and Dario Villanueva, Director of *Real Academia Española* (Royal Academy of Spanish Language) echo the President's claim that "individual freedom of language selection in a bilingual society" is a justification, if not an exoneration of the incessant language shift to Castilian (see Hermida 2014; Álvarez 2014; La Opinión 2014). The above situation where government stakeholders make family members responsible for language loss further prompted me to study whether it is the individual agency of Galician parents that determines the intergenerational transmission of Galician or if there are larger social variables at play determining the fate of Galician.

As this study sets out to investigate the role of human agency (i.e. individual parents) and their interpretation of top-down language policy on the ground, the research design for this inquiry adopts an ethnographic approach. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) while elaborating the theoretical conceptualisation of language policy reject the top-down approach for evaluating a language policy, postulating that it does not offer a full description of LPP processes across macro, institutional (i.e. school, community, family) and interpersonal layers— layers which they describe as a metaphorical onion (Hornberger 2015). In this regard, the gap in the literature on

language policy interpretation and implementation can better be explained by slicing the onion ethnographically (Cassels-Johnson 2013a, 2013b).

For any ethnographic inquiry, comprehensive knowledge of the context is essential for the researcher (see Schensul and LeCompte 2013; Meyerhoff et al. 2015). My association with the Galician language community dates back to 2007 when I travelled to Ourense, a town in the south-east of Galicia. My preliminary interest was to reinforce my knowledge of Castilian. I observed that the use of Galician was sporadic in day-to-day communication. However, when asked about their language choice, the majority of my respondents provided inconclusive answers, which sparked my interest for further study. Later, I came back to Galicia in 2008 to carry out postgraduate studies, where I started learning Galician to achieve a better understanding of the sociolinguistic context of Galicia. My competence in the language has not only allowed me to gain access to the community, but also helped me to develop an emic or insider's perspective (Headland et al. 1990). According to Lett (1990: 130), emic constructs include "accounts, descriptions and analyses expressed in terms of the schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the native members of the culture whose beliefs and behaviours are being studied". In this regard, the insider's perspective can be considered for ethnographic research as it helps the researcher to form "theory" (Blommaert and Jie 2010) on the basis of empirical evidences. More discussion as my position as a researcher can be explored in section 5.2 of Chapter 5. The following section offers an outline of the main research questions that form the basis of this research.

1.2. Research questions

The principal aim of this inquiry is to investigate how state reinforced language policies work on the ground, particularly inside the home domain. This will lead us to an examination of top-down policy rhetoric and its implementation on the ground. As this will be studied in the Galician urban/semi-urban areas, one of the principal aims of this inquiry is to ascertain whether Galician parents' family language policies can restore the process of intergenerational transmission of Galician that can in turn create new generations of speakers and also if the pro-Galician parents' grassroots level interrogation of the dominant discourse could lead to bottom-up language policies of resistance. Additionally, this study will also take into account how the individual linguistic practices and ideologies of the Galician parents act as visible and invisible language planning for their children's language education. 'Invisible language

planning' that has been defined as non-governmental and spontaneous language planning for acquisition and use of a language (Pakir 1994, 2003) may work as a defence mechanism to the overt language policies introduced by the state (Seidlhofer 2003; Tannenbaum 2012). While parents can be considered the primary actors in invisible language planning, the role of children's peers, siblings, other family members and the media are no less important in this process. This will further direct us towards an examination of the essential macro level linguistic and non-linguistic variables. These include as socio-economic, socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-linguistic factors present in the Galician society influencing the ideological construct and revitalisation practices of Galician parents on the ground. The above areas of focus inform the study's secondary research questions which are as follows:

1. To what extent are Galician parents aware of top-down language policies?
2. What are their expectations from a top-down language policy? Does it impact on the home language choice for their children?
3. Do parents create visible and/or invisible language policies within the individual and/or family domain? If yes, what kind of strategies do they use individually and/or collectively to implement these policies?
4. What are the factors that are responsible for success or failure of these home language policies?

These above questions will lead us to an examination of various macro level sociolinguistic variables, such as language maintenance and shift, language choice, individual linguistic ideologies and above all, revitalisation practices of a minority language inside the home domain in a bilingual society such as Galicia.

For this study, I focussed on Galician parents from diverse occupational backgrounds, who have gone through the Galician education system since 1975 and experienced the aftermath of post Franco political regime's (1939–1975) language policies. These parents are the embodiment of language revitalisation strategies in Galicia since the early eighties, following Spain's transition to democracy and the inclusion of Galician in domains of use from which it was previously absent, such as education, public administration and the mass media. Traditional speakers of Galician have largely been represented as an aging rural based population with little or no formal training in the language (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013a). However, in contemporary Galicia, it is also important to adopt a more flexible, inclusive paradigm that takes into

account a middle-class and urban-based population that speaks both traditional and standardised varieties of Galician. As such, the target research samples of this study are Galician parents from urban/semi-urban backgrounds between the age of 35-55 years and from various occupations. Although the implementation of top-down LPP in Galicia started in the early eighties, the upper age-range of the sample ensures the inclusion of parents who have experienced the education system's transition from the Franco regime to Galician Autonomy. Data is drawn from fieldwork in five different areas of Galicia including Santiago de Compostela, Bertamiráns, Narón, Esteiro and Vigo. A detailed account of these research sites will be explored later in this Chapter.

Drawing from ethnographic research tools, primary data was gathered from (I) field notes and observations from five research sites; (II) eighteen in depth semi-structured interviews; (III) two focus group discussions and (IV) family language audit with seven previously interviewed families. In this study, family language audit (henceforth FLA) can be described as a form of auto-ethnography involving observation checklists and various short self-recorded audio footages of parent-child informal interactions from the parents themselves (see Anderson 2006; Atkinson 2007; Curdt-Christiansen 2016). It has been used to validate the parental claims made about their everyday language use (a detailed discussion on these aforementioned research tools is further explored in the sections 5.1 and 5.2 of Chapter 5 of this thesis). Moreover, macro level sociolinguistic data was acquired through existing statistical databases, especially from the Sociolinguistic maps of Galicia directed by the *Real Academia Galega* (Royal Academy of Galician Language, henceforth RAG) since 1992 and *Instituto Galego de Estadística* (Galician Institute of Statistics, henceforth IGE) since 2003. These macro level databases helped to situate the current study within broader sociolinguistic trends. For additional information, I relied on Government websites, the media, journals and policy reports. The next section offers a short overview of the present day Galician sociolinguistic context.

1.3. The Galician sociolinguistic context: a present day perspective

Galicia's present day population is around 2,800,000; the total number of speakers of Galician is approximately three million including the population who speak it as a second language (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística*/National Institute of statistics 2014). According to the last sociolinguistic survey *Enquisa de Condicións de Vida das Familias* (Questionnaire on the Conditions of the Livelihood of the Families) carried out in 2013 by Galician Institute of statistics (IGE), around 98% of the total Galician

population claim to understand Galician and around 90% claim that they can communicate in Galician to varying degrees. Of the total Galician population, 41% reported to have Galician as their L1, which signals a drop of 22% in last ten years. By contrast, 31% of the total population claimed to have Castilian as their first language, which indicates an increase of 12% since 2003. Another 25% of the population stated that they were brought up speaking both languages. In relation to daily language use, in 2013, 31% of the population reported using only Galician. Comparatively, 26% of the total population use only Castilian and another 42% use both languages on daily basis.

The vulnerability of Galician is still largely attributable to an aging and rural-based population (Observatorio da Cultura Galega 2011a, 2011b). Until the first half of twentieth century, more than 90% of the Galician population lived in rural areas where Galician was the only language of communication; gradual emigration to urban areas since the mid-twentieth century has destabilised the rural demographic base of Galician (Rei-Doval 2007). As Castilian was already the predominant language in the cities, the process of language shift towards Castilian in urban territories seemed a *fait accompli* (Ramallo 2012).

Although conventionally monolingual in Galician, the rural areas of Galicia have also been experiencing a significant increase in the number of Castilian speakers for last two decades underscoring an incessant language shift (see Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia/Seminario de Sociolingüística da RAG 1994, 1995, 1996; Observatorio da Cultura Galega 2011a, 2011b; Instituto Galego de Estatística 2004, 2009, 2014). Sociolinguistic surveys carried out by IGE between 2003, 2008 and 2013 essentially support the aforementioned claim of language shift of Galician, recording a constant loss among the active users of Galician from 61% in 2003 to 51% in 2013 and a gradual increase of those who speak only Castilian from 38% in 2003 to 48% in 2013. As the above data demonstrates, there is a constant increase among Castilian speakers in present day Galician society. Concurrently, macro level data also registers a continuous loss among the Galician speakers, whether monolingual or bilingual, underscoring a seemingly inexorable language shift towards the dominant language, Castilian (Loredo-Gutiérrez 2015).

This language shift is more prominent among the age group between five to fourteen years (Silva-Valdivia 2010; Loredo-Gutiérrez 2016). According to IGE (2014)

data, children who communicate only or mostly in Castilian increased remarkably by 22% in the last ten years from 53% in 2003 to 75% in 2013. On the other hand, children who speak only or mostly Galician decreased 15% from 40% in 2003 to 25% in 2013. In a Castilian-dominated urban terrain, the impact of recent language policies on the vitality of Galician, therefore, merit further investigation. The following section offers a brief overview on the research sites where this study took place.

1.4. The setting: a sketch of the research sites

To collect primary data, fieldwork was carried out in five different areas of Galicia namely Santiago de Compostela, Bertamiráns, Vigo, Esteiro and Narón (a detailed discussion on how the fieldwork took place in each sites is discussed in Chapter 5). Although my research did not take place in the schools, in the beginning, I approached teachers to facilitate access to parents especially in Bertamiráns, Esteiro and Narón where I conducted only individual interviews with couples. To gain access to the research participants in Santiago de Compostela and Vigo, I relied on multiple gatekeepers and key informants. In ethnography, gatekeepers have been described as influential individuals including official or “unofficial leaders, managers, organisers, or simply busybodies” (O'Reilly 2009: 132) who facilitate access to the researcher to the group. Key informants, often considered as local experts, are individuals who possess a broader understanding of the research settings and share a longer relationship with the researcher than the rest of the participants (Schensul and LeCompte 2013). In the context of my research, I already knew a number of gatekeepers at most of the research sites due to my previous contact with the language community. When I started my fieldwork, these gatekeepers introduced me to several key participants. The following map of Galicia further contextualises the research sites where the fieldwork was conducted:



Figure 2. Map of research sites in Galicia (Source: Own elaboration of the provincial map of Galicia, available from: <http://www.slideshare.net/MANEIRO/provincias-comarcas-e-concellos-de-galicia-presentation>, accessed 27 September 2016)

a) Santiago de Compostela

Santiago de Compostela (henceforth Santiago) is the capital of Galicia with an approximate population of 95,800 (IGE 2014). Santiago presents an interesting research site because the area's sociolinguistic profile includes both monolingual and bilingual speakers of Castilian and Galician. It is important to note that although Castilian remains the dominant language in most urban territories and Santiago is no exception. At the same time, it is also important to note that ever since Galician was introduced in the education system, in media and in the public administration during early eighties, the prestige of the minority language changed. In this regard, a large number of the parents who reside in Santiago come from a wide range of professional backgrounds that include employees of the local government (*funcionarios* in Galician), employees of the University of Santiago de Compostela, small-scale entrepreneurs, bank employees and shop assistants among others and therefore, often use Galician at work. This makes Santiago de Compostela (henceforth, Santiago) more Galician-centric than other urban centres of Galicia such as Vigo or A Coruña. The sociolinguistic context of Vigo will be discussed in detail later in this section. I commenced my fieldwork in Santiago drawing on grassroots level contacts with several gatekeepers in the city gained during my period of residence from 2008 to 2012.

In Santiago, I was interested in investigating whether this educated middle class sector of the population use Galician outside their work domain- at home. In Santiago, I conducted individual interviews with one family and four families took part in the focus group. These parents send their children to two co-operative funded pre-primary schools, *Raiola* (literally, Ray of Sunshine) and *Escola Semente* (literally, School of Seeds) offering immersion programmes in Galician. Three of these families took part in the family language audit. It is also important to note that *Escola Semente* was created as a bottom-up reaction to and dissatisfaction with ‘The Decree of Plurilingualism’ from a pro-Galician sector of population; their discourse of resistance and collective effort resulted in the formation of a parents’ association, *Asociación Semente* (literally, Association of Seeds). I chose these schools also with the aim of understanding how, in a Castilian dominated urban landscape, the actions and decisions of the pro-Galician sector including parents, teachers and other members of the civil society take the form of a cooperative mobilisation, creating bottom-up discourses of resistance to the top-down language policy.

b) Bertamiráns

Bertamiráns is the capital of the municipality of Ames with a population of around 7,000 (IGE 2014). It is just 10 km away from Santiago (see figure 2). The majority of the population in this small township work in Santiago and a large number of parents are employees of the local government or *funcionarios*. During my fieldwork, I came to know that the majority of the population of Bertamiráns were actually from different parts of Galicia and also from outside Galicia. Both Castilian and Galician are used in day-to-day communication in the area. I selected the area of Bertamiráns firstly because of its sociolinguistic profile with both monolingual and bilingual parents and secondly, since the majority of parents who take their children to the primary school of Bertamiráns are government employees and as a part of the legal stipulation of top-down LPP, they are expected to use Galician at work. Therefore, like Santiago, I was interested in their interpretation of top-down LPP and language practices within the home domain. Individual interviews were conducted with four families at Bertamiráns and two families participated in the family language audit.

c) Narón

Narón is a municipality next to Ferrol (see figure 2) with a population of around 38,000 (IGE 2014). Ferrol is a coastal town in the province of A Coruña in northern-

western Galicia. Ferrol has one of the major army headquarters in Spain leading to interstate migration from other parts of Spain, making Castilian the vehicular language of this city. In Narón, I conducted my research in a pre-primary school called *Avoaescola* (literally, Grandmother's School) offering an immersion programme in Galician. Initiated in September 2013, this private pre-primary school is funded by a pro-Galician co-operative called *Galiza co Galego* (literally, Galicia with Galician). The very existence of this school is a result of bottom-up reactions to and dissatisfaction with 'The Decree of Plurilingualism' from the pro-Galician sector of the population; their discourse of resistance and collective effort resulted in the formation of a co-operative entitled *Galiza co Galego* (literally meaning Galicia with Galician). I chose *Avoaescola* with the aim of understanding how, in a Castilian dominated landscape such as Narón, the actions and decisions of a pro-Galician sector take the form of cooperative mobilisation creating bottom-up discourses of resistance to the top-down LPP. One couple was interviewed from Narón.

d) Vigo

The city of Vigo is located in the south-west of Galicia (see figure 2). With a total population of around 295,000 (IGE 2014), is the largest metropolitan area in the Autonomous Community of Galicia. Vigo and its surrounding metropolitan area can be considered the heart of the Galician economy as it is the home to a range of industries including fishing, automobile, shipyards, and auxiliary industries. Since the late twentieth century, Vigo became the fastest growing industrial region in Galicia attracting migrants not only from other parts of Spain, but from various countries of South America and European Union making Castilian the vehicular language of this city (Ramallo 2010; O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013b). It is important to note that the population of this coastal city has increased thirteen times in last hundred years due to immigration (González-Pascual and Ramallo 2015: 52).

At present, 45% of immigrants are of South American origin, while 39% of the migrant population came from different areas of the European Union. Recent macro level sociolinguistic data confirms that most of the families residing in Vigo are Castilian speaking; in terms of language use, only 1% of children between 5-14 years speak Galician, while 76% use only Castilian for day-to-day communication (IGE 2014). Although 27% of the total population of the city claims to have both Castilian and Galician as mother tongues, in practice they use more Castilian than Galician

(González-Pascual and Ramallo 2015: 55). I chose Vigo as a place for a focus group with the intention of understanding how, in a Castilian-dominated urban landscape, the individual actions and decisions of the pro-Galician parents can create bottom-up discourses of resistance to the governmental language policies inside the home domain. Four families took part in the focus group discussion in Vigo.

e) Esteiro

Esteiro is a coastal town in the south-west of Galicia with a population of around 2500 (IGE 2014). Among all the aforementioned areas, only Esterio can be considered to have a rural setting compared to the other places located in urban/semi-urban Galicia. The majority population of Esteiro and adjacent areas use the sea as their major resource for fishing and seafood processing. There is also a seafood processing factory in the town. I selected Esteiro especially for its sociolinguistic profile. Unlike Santiago, Vigo, Narón and Bertamiráns, where Castilian is the language of wider communication, Galician is the language used by the majority of people living in Esteiro (IGE 2014). Hence, I was interested in finding out about parental expectations of top-down LPP in a predominantly Galician speaking landscape. Individual interviews were conducted with three families from Esteiro. The next section offers an outline of the upcoming chapters of this dissertation.

1.5. Structure of the dissertation

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. As the primary focus of this study is to investigate the impact of state reinforced language policies in the family domain, the current introductory chapter has commenced with a discussion on the significance of human agency in LPP discourse. As this will be studied in the Galician context, this chapter provided a brief overview of the present day Galician sociolinguistic situation which is followed by a geo-political sketch of each of the research sites where this multi-sited ethnographic investigation took place. The following paragraphs offer a description of the structure of this dissertation.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 help to set the scene. These chapters not only offer a critical appraisal of already existing literature in language policy and planning research, but also highlight the questions that previous research in the field did not answer. Since I aim to look at how parental linguistic practices and ideologies act as visible and invisible language planning for their children's language education, the pivotal focus

of my discussion in the first two chapters of the literature review section are on how language policies work in the domains of school and home. Chapter 2 entitled “Language policy and planning: A critical perspective” commences with an overview of the discipline of LPP research which is followed by a discussion of how languages are planned at a macro level. Then, following the doctrines of critical theory (see Habermas 1975, 1986; Bourdieu 1991; Foucault 1991, 2008), the next sections offer an account on how these macro level LPP goals attempt to control individual’s language choices and practices in everyday communication. To conclude, there is a discussion on how bottom-up language policies are created at the grassroots and how individual agency participates in it.

As every individual within the family has his or her own linguistic practices and beliefs about language choice, this thesis seeks to investigate the role of individual agency in appropriation, interpretation and implementation of state reinforced language policy inside family domain. Chapter 3 entitled “Speakers as stakeholders: Role of parental agency in framing bottom-up LPP” commences with a brief account on the development of family language policy (FLP) as an independent research area. This is followed by an appraisal of FLP as a semi-planned and jointly developed endeavour, as every family member including parents, children, siblings, grandparents, child-caregivers, children’s peers and close neighbours offer a significant input into framing home language policies. As this thesis centres on the role of parents as stakeholders of FLP, the following section underscores the impact of parental agency in the appropriation and implementation of top-down LPP inside family domain. To conclude, there is a short overview on the role of children’s agency in the negotiation and execution of the policy at home domain.

Since the interaction between macro level language policy and individual agency will be studied in relation to Galician parents, Chapter 4 “Linguistic culture and LPP in Galicia: Crisis and aftermath” looks at the “linguistic culture” of Galician society as LPP, whether top-down or bottom-up, is essentially based on the linguistic culture of a speech community (Schiffman 1996). “Linguistic culture”, as Schiffman (2006: 112) describes it, is the “sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious strictures, and all the other cultural ‘baggage’ that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture”. This will lead us to an examination of the essential macro level linguistic and non-linguistic variables such as socio-political, socio-cultural, socioeconomic and sociolinguistic factors present in

Galician society influencing the ideological construct and revitalisation practices of Galician parents at the grassroots. Relatedly, this chapter will also offer a brief overview of the sociolinguistic history of Galician as a means of contextualising existing debates related to language policies since the outset of Galician Autonomy.

Drawing on multiple ethnographic research methods including observations, in-depth fieldwork interviews, focus groups and family language audits with several Galician parents, Chapter 5 “Ethnography of family language policy: A methodological approach” discusses the methodological design of this inquiry. It commences with a discussion underlining the importance of ethnography of family language policy as an effective research method to understand bottom-up LPP in the home domain followed by a detailed account of the research tools used for data collection. The next section is dedicated to data organisation and management. Thematic analysis has been used for the analysis of the collected data since it is a useful tool to analyse personal experience narratives. These are gaining popularity in the field of LPP research for they offer first person insights into the processes of language learning, maintenance and shift (Pavlenko 2008). Hence, the final section of this chapter offers an account of thematic analysis discussing the pros and cons of this method.

The following two chapters are dedicated to the presentation and discussion of the collected data. Ethnography, as an inductive science, often uses case studies for data presentation where the researcher applies “case analyses to demonstrate theory” (Blommaert and Jie 2010: 12). As such, Chapter 6 entitled “Parents as policy-makers: Role of individual agency in creating bottom-up LPP in contemporary Galicia” offers a detailed overview of individual language policies of each parent from three families underlining their beliefs, attitudes, latent ideologies and the decisions they make about language use and the reasons for doing so in urban and semi-urban sociolinguistic contexts of Galicia. Additionally, Chapter 7 titled “Contesting the conventionalising of Castilian: Parental language management in urban Galician homes” continues to explore parental language decisions or “management” at home domain. In language policy research, language decisions or ‘management’ refers to conscious and explicit efforts made by actor(s) who maintain(s) or intend(s) to exert control over the subjects in a specific context to modify their language behaviour (Spolsky 2009). Since parents are the *in situ* language planners in home, language management at the family level refers to the choices and attempts that parents make to maintain a language or languages. Based on a thematic analysis of the collected data from fifteen families, this

chapter further underlines how the above factors influence parental language management in Galician urban/semi-urban homes. Lastly, in the concluding chapter (Chapter 8), I sum up the analysis and put forward the questions for further research.

1.6. Conclusion

As discussed earlier in this chapter, this thesis sets out to investigate the role of human agency (i.e. individual parents) and their interpretation-implementation of top-down language policies in the family domain. As the principal aim of this inquiry is to look into how individual linguistic practices and ideologies of the Galician parents act as visible and invisible language planning for their children's language education, the succeeding chapter offers an overview on language policy and planning as an independent research domain in sociolinguistics including a discussion on how languages are planned at both macro and micro level.

Chapter 2

LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING: A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1. Introduction

Language policy, in its primary sense, can be understood as any conscious decision or choice made about language(s) by certain actors such as the state and/or individual (Spolsky 2009); in other words, it is “an act of prioritisation, namely the relative ranking of languages (...) by their respective importance according to certain criteria such as efficiency or symbolic value” (Peled 2014: 302). Along somewhat similar lines, language planning refers to a set of essential measures taken within language policy to act on linguistic communication of any specific community (see Schiffman 2013; Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 2003; Baldauf 2006). Although these two notions complement each other, they are not exactly identical. It is also important to note that there is no absolute agreement between scholars whether language planning leads to language policy or the other way around (see Studer and Werlen 2012; Hornberger 2006; Cassels-Johnson 2013b). In any case, as Darquennes (2013: 12) argues, it does not “prevent planning measures from influencing already existing language policies in the short or in the long run”. Therefore, such a research paradigm, as Fettes (1997: 14; cf. Hornberger 2006, 2015) suggests, would better be described as “language policy and planning” (henceforth LPP). This line of research primarily investigates various types of policy making and planning actions (i.e. status, corpus, acquisition and prestige) across different processes (i.e. formation, interpretation and negotiation) at various levels (i.e. national, community or institutional and individual); these terms will be explained in detail later in this chapter.

As I aim to look at how parental linguistic practices and ideologies act as visible and invisible language “planning” for their children’s language education, the pivotal focus of my discussion from now on will be on how language policies work in the domains of school and home. Therefore, this review commences with a brief overview of the discipline of LPP research. It is followed by a discussion on how languages are planned at a macro level. The following section will offer an account on how these macro level LPP goals attempt to control the individual’s language choice and practices in everyday communication. To conclude, there will be a discussion on how bottom-up language policies are created at the grassroots.

2.2. The field of LPP research: situating the study

Even though the emergence of the notion “language planning” in European contexts dates back to the Napoleonic era in France where the state authorities decided to select a single language to manage its multilingual army, LPP research only emerged as an independent academic discipline immediately after the Second World War (see Wright 2012; Jernudd and Nekvapil 2012; Cassels-Johnson 2013b for a chronological development of the LPP paradigm). The post Second World War period experienced a decolonization of most of the European colonies leading to the emergence of several new nations in Africa, South and Southeast Asia. There was a need for autochthonous national languages under one nation – one language model and many newly formed nation states replicated the same models of linguistic homogenisation as those imposed on them through colonization (see Nekvapil 2011; Baldauf 2012; Ricento et al. 2015).

This early LPP scholarship, termed by Ricento (2006) as the “Neoclassical era” (1950-90), was centred mostly on resolving the language problems of these emerging post-colonial nations through developing macro level frameworks of language policy (see Cobarrubias and Fishman 1983; Fishman 1974; Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta 1968; Rubin and Jernudd 1971 for an elaborate discussion on early LPP scholarship). However, later researchers in the field, influenced by the canons of critical theory (see Habermas 1975, 1986; Gramsci 1971; Bourdieu 1991; Foucault 1978, 1982), started questioning these macro level language policy frameworks. They criticised the previous LPP researchers and policy makers for ignoring the role of human agency in top-down LPP processes (see Tollefson 1991, 2006, 2014; McCarty 2011) and also for turning a blind eye to the socio-political contexts in which these languages are planned (see Ricento 2006; Ricento et al. 2015; Cassels-Johnson 2009, 2013a, 2013b).

Significantly, these aforementioned studies clustered as “Critical Language Policy” research, explained how the policy makers defend the interests of dominant social groups who are motivated by the will to assert and protect their own socio-political and economic interests, marginalise minority languages and perpetuate systems of sociolinguistic inequality (see Ricento 2006, 2015; Ball 1993, 2006; Tollefson 2002, 2013, 2015; Martin-Rojo 2010, 2015). For instance, top-down policy makers only very rarely consult the minority language speakers themselves or the minority language policy is almost always commodified and often used as a resource to further the objectives of the middle-class elite (also see Ricento and Cassels-Johnson 2013;

Ricento et al. 2015; O'Rourke and Hogan-Brun 2013). In the Castilian-dominated Galician linguistic landscape, as stated in section 1.1 of Chapter 1, policy makers since the outset of the Galician Autonomy (1981) have often been accused of developing language policies based on an inaccurate analysis of Galician's factual numerical and territorial strength (Lorenzo-Suárez 2005, 2009). Although the policy rhetoric sets the goal of achieving what has been referred to by some commentators as "balanced or harmonious" bilingualism (Loureiro-Rodríguez 2007), top-down policy stakeholders maintained a non-interventionist approach while implementing policy initiatives on the ground because they were interested not in disappointing certain Castilian-speaking urban middle class of Galician society. One of the significant effects of this approach was that even after three decades of seemingly pro-Galician LPP, contemporary macro level sociolinguistic data continue to register significant language shift towards Castilian especially amongst the younger generation of Galicians (see sections 4.3 and 4.4 of Chapter 4 of this thesis for an elaborate account on this).

While analysing policies, Critical Language Policy (henceforth, CLP) researchers pay more attention to issues of power, ideology, hegemony, dominance, and social structure in a society and the policies are evaluated by their effect on changing the existing social structure. Therefore, this approach puts forth a politicised and critical understanding of language policies as a mechanism of power; individuals, in this regard, who can be seen to be at the bottom of the power structure are constrained by such ideologies that rule institutions at all levels including state, religious organisations, schools and family (Ricento and Hornberger 1996; Tollefson 2013, 2015). However, critical approaches should not be considered as impeccable; according to Kvietok-Dueñas (2015: 22), CLP research tools may "risk minimizing the potential of language policies for advancing social-justice oriented goals as well as individuals' agency in negotiating diverse types of policies, which is why combining lenses with a focus on both structure and agency" becomes necessary for a more effective understanding of LPP processes.

In the same vein, while investigating the role of LPP actors (such as individual parents) in their negotiation, interpretation and implementation of top-down LPP inside Galician homes, this thesis attempts to establish a connection between the larger social structure and human agency on the ground through the lens of LPP. However, parents' micro level LPP decisions such as what language(s) to speak at home or what not to and the reasons that determine their language choice cannot be studied in isolation.

This is because state driven macro level language policies are often designed to address and regulate social structures and home language choices as well as practices are essentially influenced by the family's perception of those macro social structures (see Spolsky 2009, 2012b; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014a, 2014b; also see section 3.2 of Chapter 3). In this regard, the following section offers a brief overview on how LPP is developed at the macro level.

2.3. Defining language policy and planning: overt and covert

Macro level or national language policy is often perceived as official legislation designed to influence "people's linguistic lives" (Shohamy 2006: 185). While outlining the intentions of a national language policy, Corson (1996: 141) states:

Language policy identifies the nation's language requirements across the range of communities and cultural groups that it has; it surveys and examines the resources available; it identifies the role of language in general and individual languages in particular in the life of the nation; it establishes strategies for managing and developing language resources as it relates all of these to the best interests of the nation through the operation of some suitable planning agency.

Macro level language policies also purport to determine the functional relationship that languages share in a given society. Although state and nationalist sentiments play an important role in the networking of languages in a bilingual society, the community and the individual should also be equally important in the above process (McCarty 2004, 2011). In this regard, all the languages of a country are not used by all its communities and certainly all the languages of a community are not used by all its members. However, every country or ethnic or linguistic group often comes across highly explicit predicaments and generally accepts policies resulting from negotiations amongst particular pressure groups (Tollefson 2015; McCarty 2011; Cassels-Johnson 2013b; Ricento et al. 2015).

A language policy may be overt or explicit; in the case of overt language policies, it is manifested through official documents declaring certain language(s), official or national or both which secure the use of the language(s) at every sphere of the society including education, administration and mass media among others. But this is not always the case; even if there are no explicit language policies, there will always be covert or implicit ones incorporating the cultural premises about language(s),

various codes of practices about correctness and about the ‘best’ way to talk or write (Schiffman 1996: 148). Therefore, there is no such thing as ‘no language policy’ because there is always at least an implicit policy in place (Fishman 1991, 2006). Implicit language policies that are practiced at the grassroots are often difficult to detect for they are subtle, informal, unstated, unwritten, *de facto*, latent and often hidden from the public eye (Shohamy 2006), thus escaping academic documentation or research. Significantly, outcomes of language policies, whether overt or covert, as Schiffman (1996, 2006) notes, are almost always based on the “linguistic culture” of a community; “linguistic culture”, as Schiffman (2006: 112) describes it, is the “sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious strictures, and all the other cultural ‘baggage’ that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture”. Micro or grassroots level language policies and planning efforts are, therefore, influenced by several external forces, such as politics, nationalism, culture, religion and/or society, and by different individuals in a variety of professional and personal roles validating the claim that desired outcomes in LPP require “much more than a set of top-down decisions” (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 82). Keeping this complexity of LPP domains in mind, Ricento and Hornberger (1996: 402) compared the LPP process with a metaphorical onion whose multiple layers of LPP—composed by multiple agents, levels and processes. While the outer layers of the LPP ‘onion’ stand for macro level policy processes, the interior layers represent policy accommodations at the grassroots, discourses of resistance, interpretations and negotiations that take place in daily life.

Language policy domains whether macro (national), meso (community and institutional) or micro (individual), as Spolsky (2004: 7) identifies, include three interrelated, albeit distinguishable, factors: (1) language practices of the members of a speech community; (2) the value ascribed to its languages and linguistic varieties or the “linguistic culture” of a speech community and (3) management or the exercise of authority to plan the language practices of members in the speech community. Language practices refers to the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up a community of individual’s linguistic repertoire (Spolsky 2004: 5). This further relates to the Haugen’s (1971) notion of ecology of a language which he defines as the study of the interactions between any given language[s] and its context. Research on linguistic ecology often starts with a particular geo-political context, instead of a particular language (see Voegelin 1964, Voegelin et al. 1967). In this regard, language

practices underscore observable behaviours, explicit language related decisions and choices that take place inside a language community. In other words, it underlines what people actually do with language(s) in everyday life. Similarly, in the context of family, children's language acquisition depends to a large extent on the language practices to which they are exposed (see Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014a, 2014b, 2016, Lanza 2007; King et al 2008; also see section 3.2 of Chapter 3). For instance, in the context of my research many parents often complained about their children's linguistic competence in Galician, without recognising the fact that they rarely speak the language at home (see case examples from Chapter 6 and 7 for contextual interpretation on this).

Linguistic culture, as stated before, can be considered as one of the main driving forces in a language policy as it underscores the value ascribed by the community members to its languages and/or linguistic varieties (see Blommaert 2006a, 2006b; Schiffman 2013; Ricento et al. 2015). Although the initial models for examining the ideological aspects within LPP were developed by Cobarrubias (1983) and Ruiz (1984) among others, this line of research received a momentum with the emergence of CLP paradigm. CLP researchers (see Ricento and Hornberger 1996; Ricento 2000; Tollefson 1991, 2002) have pointed out that early LPP scholarship (1950-90) portrayed language planning as “an ideologically neutral act” and dedicated their research to reveal “the explicit and implicit language ideologies that shape language planning and policy processes and documents” (Cassels-Johnson 2013b: 111-112). Linguistic or language ideologies are, as Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 57) defines:

(...) sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use; with a greater social emphasis self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group and the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests; and most broadly as shared bodies of common sense notions about the nature of language in the world.

These beliefs or ideologies shape a speech community's consensus on what value to apply to each of the languages or language variables that make up its repertoire (Spolsky 2004: 14). Language beliefs, ideologies and assumptions about what kind of

linguistic order can be useful for a community or nation's development, as they often direct language planning goals. In other words, they can be considered as the “language policy with the policy-maker left out” (Spolsky and Shohamy 2000: 4).

Language ideologies, therefore, are the bridge between linguistic and social factors, and they do so, as has been described in the CLP tradition, to fulfil the interest of particular pressure groups, especially for those who are in a socially dominant position (see Kroskrity 2000; Schieffelin et al. 1998; Blommaert 1996, 2006b; Woolard 2016). In this vein, the state which is considered to be a significant representative of the public sphere and “coextensive with public authority” (Habermas 1986: 30), is not only responsible for creating and implementing top-down LPP, but injecting it to the public domain through various Ideological State Apparatuses (Althusser 1971) such as schools, media and the configuration of the family itself. According to Althusser (1971), governmental or non-governmental organisations such as the school, religious institutions, family and mass media can be termed as ideological state apparatuses, which are not necessarily under the state's control, are often used to perpetuate top-down ideologies. In this regard, every individual is always already ideologically controlled by the state. This hegemonic nature of linguistic ideologies, for instance, is evident through the “standard language” ideology, what Lippi-Green (1997: 64) describes as “a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language, which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but *which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class*” (my italics).

In the Galician context, although the standard variety was initially well received by the majority of the population as the legitimate variety (see González-González 2001; Monteagudo and Bouzada 2003; Monteagudo 2012e) since 1981, the bottom-up discourse questioning the authenticity of standardised Galician often becomes prevalent even after three decades of linguistic normalisation (see O'Rourke and Ramallo 2015; Ramallo 2010, 2013; also see section 7.2.4 in Chapter 7). According to recent macro level sociolinguistic data (see IGE 2014), more than 50% of the Galician population consider the standard variety as something “artificial” and far from being the “authentic” Galician they speak in everyday life. One of the reasons behind this bottom-up contestation is that the standardisers of Galician, while normalising the language, borrowed extensively from the written documents of early nineteenth century literary elites who used to speak Castilian instead of Galician as their first language

(see Ramallo and Rei-Doval 2015; Monteagudo 2003, 2004; also see section 4.2 of Chapter 4 for more discussion on the language standardisation process of Galicia).

It is also important to mention here that the standard language ideology is often merged with the notion of “national language”, as every national language is officially recognised, therefore, receives government protection and in a majority of cases, goes through the standardisation process (see Shohamy 2006; Spolsky and Shohamy 2000). In this regard, among all the social variables that shape linguistic culture, nationalism or the nationalist ideology can be considered as the most influential one (see Fishman 1968, 1972, 1991, 2006; Schiffman 2006; Wright 2004, 2012; Blommaert 1996, 2006a). Fishman (1972 cited in Anipa 2012: 234) conceptualises the nationalist ideology as an “ethno-cultural ideology with major political outcomes” and “nation” as an independent “political-territorial unit, which is largely or increasingly under the control of a particular nationality” (Fishman 1972: 5). While theorising nationalism, Benedict Anderson (1991: 6-7) defines the idea of ‘nation’ as an imaginary concept which is often politically and culturally constructed:

The nation is an *imagined political community* – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* because *the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives an image of their community (...)*. Finally, it is imagined as a *community* because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may occur in each, *the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship*” (My italics).

He also emphasises that the political and cultural bodies of the society, perceived as stakeholders, often make people “imagine” that they share general beliefs, knowledge, attitudes and identify a community as having similar views and sentiments to their own. In other words, nationalist ideologies can be exploited by policy makers and/or by nationalist groups as a controlling mechanism since it expects every individual to use the national language to display their loyalty towards their nation (Wright 2012: 64).

Furthermore, history, archaeology and heritage can also be used as tools to underpin these nationalistic discourses (see Fishman 1972; Nic Craith 2002, Dicks 2000; Graham 2002; Langfield et al. 2009; Smith 2006). Heritage which is closely linked with identity (Nic Craith 2010), is defined as a politico-cultural process of recalling/forgetting (Urry 1996; Peckham 2003). As Graham et al. describe (2000:

258), “heritage may represent the dominant ideological discourse, but that also ensures that it can become the focus of alternative meaning for those who dissent”. Therefore, what qualifies as the nation’s heritage and what is not depends very much on the ideologies of the ruling class elites who endorse the knowledge that heritage is about a common national inheritance and ancestry. For instance, since the nineteenth century, the construction of Galician nationalist identity centred very much on the discourse of Celticism (see section 4.4 of Chapter 4 for more contextualised discussion). This discourse is closely linked to the Renaissance movement in Galicia (*Rexurdimento* in Galician). It was initially propagated by a small circle of nationalist intellectuals who believed that Galicia had a Celtic origin (González-García 2007) and as such should be recognised as a Celtic nation. The concept of Celtic identity is often associated with people who speak one of the recognised Celtic languages (Dillon and Chadwick 1973; Evans 1977). Although there is strong archaeological evidence of the existence of the Celts in Galicia, no Celtic language has been spoken in Galicia since the ninth century AD (Berresford-Ellis 2002). Yet, these renaissance authors took up the “imagined” discourse of Celticism to contest and, at the same time, exclude themselves from the dominant discourse of Hispanic identity. Even in modern times, a section of Galician nationalists continues to use this discourse of Celticism as a counter-hegemonic strategy from the ground to preserve their Galician identity (see Case study 3 in Chapter 6).

The above discussion further underscores that linguistic ideologies are not only about languages; they, essentially comprise social, historical and cultural conceptions about personhood, nationalism, religion, politics, moral ethics and value among others which together shape the linguistic culture of a community, family and/or an individual. In this regard, at the meso and micro level, language ideologies are evident through the actual language practices of the community members or individuals- what they think about language, both explicitly and implicitly, and in the language choices they make (Lanza 2007; Woolard 2016). On the other hand, at the macro level, they are often visible through policy rhetoric and/or official declarations from the government (see Cassels-Johnson 2013b; Ricento et al. 2015). Relatedly, another significant element that shapes linguistic culture is community members’ attitude towards a particular language or linguistic varieties which, as Dyers and Abongdia (2010: 119) claim, are often “shaped by pervading ideologies in any given society or community of practice”. Therefore, in a language revitalisation context, changing language attitudes and

ideologies are often considered as the main goal of a LPP as they have a direct influence on language behaviour (Baker 1992; O'Rourke and Hogan-Brun 2013).

Language attitudes have been described as “unconscious, subjective and personal by nature” (Dyers and Abongdia 2010: 121) which are often “associated with two human desires: the desire for personal gain and the desire to be accepted by others” (Kembo-sure and Webb 1999: 120). Whereas language ideologies are often determined by larger groups of people such as members of a speech community or family, attitudes are mostly maintained by individuals. In the family context, for instance, individual parents often transmit their ideologies through their “language choices in interaction and hence socialize their children into this ideology (...)” (Lanza 2007: 61). In this regard, every individual gradually becomes familiar with certain ideologies towards language(s) present in their environment as soon as they are born. However, individuals have the option of “either accepting the dominant ideologies or resisting them, and shaping their own attitudes towards languages” (Dyers and Abongdia 2010: 121). It is also important to note that the sociolinguistic environment and life-experiences of an individual often play a significant role in determining his or her language attitude. Dyers (1997: 29) further underscores that “strong positive or negative emotions experienced by people when they are forced to make a choice between languages in a variety of situations or are learning a language” leading to positive, negative or unbiased attitudes towards particular languages.

In the Galician sociolinguistic terrain, for instance, Franco's dictatorship (1939 – 1975) made the use of Castilian obligatory as the only language for administration, education and the media; this marked an era of repression and discrimination for the Galician language and culture (see Monteagudo and Casares-Berg 2008; Formoso-Gosende 2013). Additionally, from the early sixties, the Galician economy started changing from an agricultural based economy to a service-based economy due to growing industrialisation, causing a gradual migration from poverty ridden rural areas to urban domains where Castilian was already the language of privilege (Rei-Doval 2007; Gugenberger et al. 2013; O'Rourke 2014). This facilitated a clear linguistic division in urban Galicia between a numerical minority, but socially dominant Castilian-speaking elites and a numerically potent but socially marginalised Galician-speaking population relocating from the rural areas (see Beswick 2002, 2007; Murado 2008). Relatedly, the strong centralist-nationalist pro-Castilian ideology of the Franco regime which considered the use of Galician as something unpatriotic, rustic and often

treated it as a “dialect” of Castilian, aggravated the pressure on Galician speakers in the urban areas to switch to Spanish. With language being a distinguishing factor, many Galicians, embarrassed and derisive of their own identity would gradually deny being *galego* due to the negative connotations associated with the language and accept the national identity of being *español* (see Loureiro-Rodriguez 2008; Formoso-Gosende 2013; O’Rourke 2011a). This lived-experience had an impact on the language attitude of the Galician-speaking population of the time as many of them stopped speaking the language to their children (also see Section 4.2 of Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion on this).

Apart from linguistic culture, the third component that shapes a language policy is “language management” underlining the specific acts that manage and manipulate different types of language behaviours at all levels of LPP (Shohamy 2006: 53). Yet, the actual language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than in management. For instance, irrespective of governmental policies and management, a language may be used in a speech community for certain specific language practice contexts. Examples of language management include situations when these practices are governed by some external authority or taught overtly by the teacher (Spolsky 2004). As Spolsky (2004: 222) further elaborates, “Unless the management is consistent with the language practices and beliefs, and with the other contextual forces that are in play, the explicit language policy written in the constitution and laws is likely to have no effect on how people speak (...)”. Therefore, language policy can be seen as a combination of linguistic culture and language management or planning. In this line, it can also be argued that every individual has his/her own language policy as everyone “has a repertoire of linguistic practices and has beliefs, however unconscious or poorly articulated, about language and its usage and some individuals may, and frequently do, consciously seek to affect the linguistic behaviour of others” (Orman 2008: 40). How linguistic culture of individual parents impact home language management and practices will be discussed in detail in the following chapter (see section 3.2 of Chapter 3; also see case studies from Chapter 6 and 7 for more contextualised examples from my dataset). The following section offers an overview on the top-down language planning process demonstrating how meso level organisations such as school or community organisations are influenced by the government and attempt to gain a hegemonic control over people’s linguistic lives through language planning measures.

2.4. Language planning

Top-down language planning, as stated in the introduction, is often linked to “the critical evaluation of language policy” (Fettes 1997: 14). While language planning mechanisms provide standards of rationality and effectiveness, the role of language policy is to examine “these ideas against the actual practice in order to promote the development of better (more sophisticated, more useful) language planning models” (ibid). Language planning is often directed by or gives way to “the promulgation of language policy(s)” (Kaplan and Baldauf 2005: 958). Language planning could therefore be perceived as a deliberate attempt to influence the function, structure or acquisition of languages or language variety within a speech community often undertaken by some organisations (i.e. Governments or NGOs) and in some social situations by the speakers of the community (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 2003; Baldauf 2005a, 2005b). In this vein, the family as a micro social unit with its own norms of speaking, acting and believing influences individual’s language planning decisions (see Lanza 2007; Schwartz and Verschik 2013b). While parents are considered the primary actors in home language management or planning, the role of other family members, school and the media is no less important in this process (see section 3.2 and 3.3 of Chapter 3; also see case studies from Chapter 6 and 7 for more contextualised examples from my dataset).

Top-down language planning has been described as a widespread, time-consuming and prolonged process that may also take place at macro, meso and micro levels (see Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 2003; Baldauf 2006). The practice of language planning goals can broadly be divided into four types (see Baldauf 2005a) including status planning (about society); corpus planning (about the language), acquisition planning or language in education (about learning) and prestige planning (about image):

2.4.1 Status planning: This language planning goal underscores the social use of a determined language in a given society considering how many languages function as a national/ official language, a community language or as a school subject (language of education) in a bi(multi)lingual society. It is often a “political decision” (Cooper 1989: 32). Status planning may be a government endeavour or it may take place at a community level. The status planning goals relate either to the policy planning considering the status standardisation (officialisation, nationalisation and proscription) or to cultivation planning

giving specific importance to the revival, maintenance, interlingual communication (international and/or intranational) and spread of languages (also see Haugen 1983).

- 2.4.2 Corpus planning: It takes into account the linguistic goals of a determined language by modifying or standardising the orthography, syntax, lexicon, morphology, pronunciation and spelling. In this regard, it is more about the form of the language. Revitalisation of a language essentially incorporates language purification, often involving the removal of external/foreign lexical influences or maintenance of the classical forms and lexicon of the given language. Even though the technical linguistic skills are essential to reach corpus planning goals, the social aspects of the language are no less important for a successful corpus planning (see Cooper 1989; Clyne 1997).
- 2.4.3 Acquisition planning: This language planning perspective is explicitly related to language teaching and learning focusing on user-related learning decisions which are necessary for planning language education programmes. The educational policy planning approach centres on the form a language learning programme that takes into account access to education policy, teaching personnel policy, curriculum policy, teaching-learning methods and material policy and evaluation policy among others. Additionally, cultivation planning often focuses on language teaching functions including shift, maintenance, re-acquisition of a minority language. Language in education planning through the school system, as noted by several LPP researchers (see Ingram 1990; Baldauf and Ingram 2003), may appear as one of the major components of language change.
- 2.4.4 Prestige planning: It has a receptive or value function which regulates “how corpus and status planning activities are acted upon by *actors* and received by *people*” (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 50 italics in original). In other words, the goals of prestige planning centre on the intellectualisation and promotion of a given language. A language may receive promotion through official/governmental organisations, institutions, various pressure groups or by individual endeavours. Cultivation planning can be done by expanding the domain of language use at the intellectual level such as the language of science, language of professions, language of high culture and language of the law among others. Prestige planning is essential for a successful language policy and planning in a given society (Ager 2001, 2005).

Language in education planning or what Cooper (1989) termed as “acquisition planning” can be considered as an outcome of status planning and corpus planning while prestige planning works more as a motivational factor (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 2003). It is also important to mention here that although this above integrative framework can be utilized as a pedagogical tool to understand the scope and sequences for language planning, Baldauf (2005a: 959) warns the policy makers to not to take the framework literally since LPP is very much context dependent and most of the modern societies are heterogeneous in nature.

One of the pivotal aims of language education policy and planning is to achieve literacy in formal educational settings (Ingram 1989; Liddicoat 2004). Therefore, what becomes a real challenge for top-down policy stakeholders in acquisition planning is to define and facilitate choices that are relevant to the needs and interests of every individual. However, the success of meeting these top-down LPP goals, as Kaplan and Baldauf (2005: 1014) argue, depends mostly on policy decisions made by teachers, the courses of a study, the materials and the resources available. For instance, in Galicia, since the beginning of Autonomy (1981), all language policy models were developed with a strong focus on the educational sphere to achieve the goal of “balanced bilingualism” through bilingual education programmes, leaving the minority language with little scope for revitalisation in other social domains (see Monteagudo 2012a, 2012e; Nandi 2016a). During the first phase (1981-2004) of Galician LPP, although the legal stipulation was that a minimum of one third of subjects of the school curriculum should be taught in Galician, in practice many schools, particularly urban schools where Castilian was already a predominant language were not fulfilling the stipulated legal obligation (Monteagudo and Bouzada 2002; Sanmartin-Rei 2010). This aforementioned gap between policy rhetoric and its exercise in educational settings favoured a low-intensity model of language policy having a negligible impact on the linguistic culture and actual language practices of the community (Formoso-Gosende 2013). It is also important to note that the majority of my respondents are an outcome of this aforementioned LPP. As this study aims to look at how Galician parents’ linguistic practices and ideologies act as visible and invisible language planning for their children’s language education, my discussion in the following section will centre on how the education system can be used as a part of LPP mechanism.

2.5. Language education policies: school as an LPP mechanism

It has been argued that language education policies often serve as the key instrument for manipulating and imposing language behaviours (Tollefson 1991, 2006, 2013; Shohamy 2006). This is because it correlates between the politicised decisions about languages and their usage in education and society (also see Cassels-Johnson 2013a; Martin-Rojo 2010, 2015; Johnson and Cassels-Johnson 2015). In this regard, language policy can be considered as one form of language governmentality (Pennycook 2010; Cassels-Johnson 2013a, 2013b). Language governmentality, as Pennycook (2006: 64) defines it, can be understood in terms of “how decisions about languages and language forms across a diverse range of institutions (law, education, medicine, printing)”, through a variety of devices (books, rules, assessments, articles, corrections) control “language use, thought, and action of different people, groups, and organizations” (ibid). Pennycook’s (2006) understanding of “language governmentality” is essentially based on Michel Foucault’s concept of “governmentality” (see Foucault 1972, 1977a, 1978, 1980, 1991, 2000). The semantic correlation between the terms of governing (*gouverner*) and various forms of thought (*mentalité*) underscores that it is impossible to gain deeper insights into the network of power relations “without an analysis of the political rationality underpinning them” (Lemke 2002: 50; cf. Foucault 1978, 1991, 2000). Foucault argues that human activity is rule-governed, in part, through a range of discursive practices stemming from institutions, teaching, social relationships, strategies of communication and knowledge exchange which make certain ways of talking, being, and acting “normal” (Cassels-Johnson 2010: 62).

Foucault (1978: 93) argues that “power” is an asymmetrical network of relations which does not exclusively reside with the state or within their policies, but instead power is everywhere, like a web. He further notes that “power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives” (Foucault 1980: 39). Even though Foucault never offers any clear explanation about the origin of power, he essentially recognises that it is much easier to detect who does not have power (Foucault 1977b: 213). Along somewhat similar lines, Martin-Rojo (2015: 2) underlines that power “is not only experienced but it is also exercised in a myriad of social encounters in which participants have to define who has access to the management of power resources and technologies”. As power operates through agents

or regimes that disseminate this power through a knowledge/power nexus (Foucault 1991), it can be argued that schools operate at the behest of the government as disciplinary institutions that turn human beings into subjects through power discourses (Foucault 1972). According to Foucault (1982: 787):

(...) an educational institution: the disposal of its space, the meticulous regulations which govern its internal life, the different activities which are organized there, the diverse persons who live there or meet one another, each with his own function, his well-defined character-all these things constitute a block of capacity communication-power. The activity which ensures apprenticeship and the acquisition of aptitudes or types of behavior is developed there by means of a whole ensemble of regulated communications (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signs of obedience, differentiation marks of the "value" of each person and of the levels of knowledge) and by the means of a whole series of power processes (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the pyramidal hierarchy).

In the Galician context, for instance, Castilianisation of schools during the Franco era had a negative impact on the language vitality of Galician, as many Galicians were fed this ideology that speaking Galician is “unpatriotic” and “rustic” (O’Rourke 2011a, 2014; Monteagudo 2012e); many of them stopped speaking the language altogether (also see section 4.3 in Chapter 4 for more details on this).

Therefore, of all the language policy domains, school can be considered as one of the most important (Spolsky 2004; Cassels-Johnson 2004, 2007). In centralised education systems, educational language policies (henceforth ELP) often serves as an important tool to create *de facto* language policies at educational institutions. It decides which language(s) are to be taught, at what age, for how long, by whom, to whom and by what means (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003: 217). The following figure presents a graphic view of how different actors manipulate educational language policies at different levels:

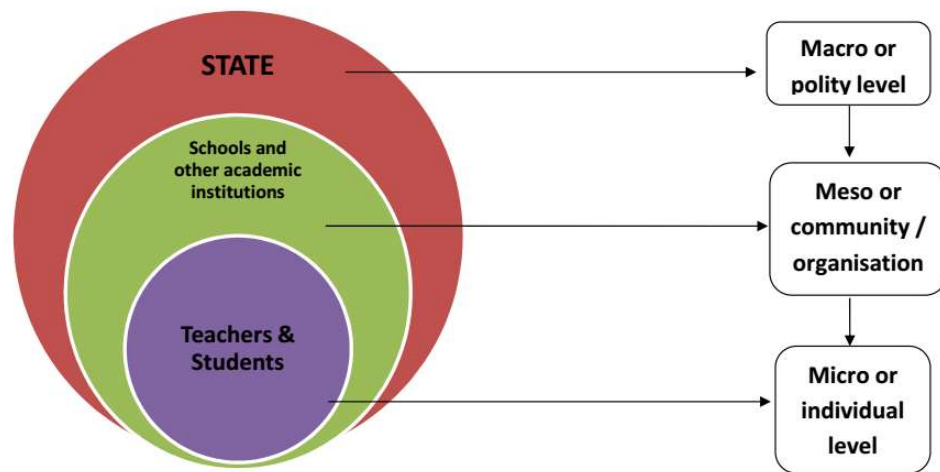


Figure 3. Actors in different levels of educational language policy (Source: Own elaboration)

As figure 3 illustrates, a state which is responsible for macro level language policy decisions, decides what language(s) to be taught. Educational language policy is the medium through which State attempts to gain control over people’s linguistic lives as every child must attend school. The institutions remain at the meso level where they decide which language(s) are to be taught, at what age, for how long and finally there are teachers and academic staff who implement the language policy at the grass roots level. Educational authorities and personnel including teachers, academic staff and inspectors are generally the stakeholders of language education policies in educational systems, academic institutions and classes.

In any teaching/learning circumstances, the role of the classroom teacher is of supreme significance since it is essential to the way in which the minority language classroom environment develops (see Auerbach 2000; Shohamy 2006; Hornberger 2008; Tollefson 1991, 2002, 2013, 2014). They are expected to carry out their duties without questioning the authority “by internalizing the policy ideology and its agendas [overt and covert] as expressed in the curriculum, in textbooks and other materials and the very perceptions of language” (Shohamy 2006: 78). In this regard, the classroom teachers as micro level LPP actors may use a *Repressive State Apparatus* (Althusser 1971) of physical punishment to perpetuate top-down ideological control over individuals in the school domain. According to Althusser (1971: 18), at the macro level, Repressive State Apparatuses (henceforth, RSA) operates mostly through mental and physical coercion and violence that include the military, the armed forces, the police, the prison and the judicial system. Similarly, in the school domain, teachers and educational authorities as language policy intermediaries may use RSA strategies to

preserve hegemonic control of the state as occurred in Galicia during the Franco regime. Franco's dictatorship (1939 – 1975), as discussed earlier, made the use of Castilian obligatory as the only language for administration, education and the media which made using Galician in the school domain a punishable offence. Some of my informants who were educated in the early seventies, underline this exercise of RSA by their teachers (see Case study 2 in Chapter 6 for more contextualised explanation on this).

It is also important to note that language in education policy can be used as a “bottom-up, grassroots mechanism to negotiate, demand and introduce alternative language policies” (Shohamy 2006: 76). It further relates to Foucault's (1977a, 1978, 1980, 2000) claim that power does not exclusively reside with the state or within their policies. Whenever there is the imposition of power, there is the possibility of resistance, “and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power” (Foucault 1978: 95); in other words, resistance inherits in power. Therefore, grassroots level LEP agents, if disillusioned with top-down language policies emanating from the state, may create their own language agenda and resist from the bottom-up, utilising the alternative discourses of power (see Shohamy 2006; Ball 2006; McCarty 2011; Ó Laoire et al. 2011). In centralised education systems, classrooms often become places of conflicting ideologies related to literacy and language use. The above discussion further validates the Foucauldian claim of a power/knowledge nexus, as “there are no instructional approaches [*even inside the family domain*] where knowledge, language use, and literacy practices are neutral. Access to literacy and languages are limited to unequal power relations” (Shohamy 2006: 79; c.f. Auerbach 2000). How power operates through various agents inside family domain will be explored in detail in the next chapter (see Chapter 3). In the following sections, I will explore the modes through which the dominant discourse of Castilianisation is being contested by Galician “counter-elites” acting as LPP intermediaries.

2.6. Knowledge/power nexus: counter-elites' role as LPP arbitrators

Top-down down language policies, as discussed above, can use governing strategies to exert control over language beliefs, myths, attitudes, practices and ideologies based on the linguistic culture of a community or individual. In this regard, meso (i.e. school and/or family) and micro level policies (i.e. individual) can be considered as the grassroots level, where the interpretation, negotiation and

implementation of top-down language policies take place on a day-to-day basis. The exercise of power, therefore, will not only be found at the macro level of state policy, but also at meso and micro levels, amongst family members or even between partners. For instance, it is mostly parents, as LPP arbiters inside the family domain who decide what language(s) should be spoken at home. Significantly, the grassroots level comprises various actors or agents, including teachers, principals, parents, civil servants, new speakers of minority languages, family members and language activists inter alia. These participants play a significant role in negotiating and implementing language policy on the ground. Amongst all these LPP agents, the free-floating and often fragmented members of a pro-Galician collective could be located as “counter-elites” in this thesis. Although the notion of ‘counter-elites’ as agents of socio-political amendment has been quite extensively studied in the domain of political sociology especially by the elite theorists (see Pareto 1935; Mosca 1939; Hunter 1953; Mills 1956; Bottomore 1993; Murugova et al. 2015), I have adapted this notion to my own research paradigm to understand the grassroots level language mobilisation in the Galician context.

“Elites” have been defined in the relevant literature as powerful individuals [*or groups*] who can exert “undue influence over a community-level processes and outcomes” (Beard and Phakphian 2012: 145; c.f. Higley 2010: 163). They reach power “through publicly recognised merit, inheritance, or even [*by*] force” (Fumanti 2004: 2) and often intend to perpetuate their authority in the society through material possessions, family connections, employment status, political and religious affiliation, academic credentials, personal history and personality (see Rocher 2004; Bourdieu 1984, 1996; Higley 2010; Dasgupta and Beard 2007; Wong 2012). In this regard, counter-elites, as Murugova et al. (2015: 274) argue, have relatively “the same characteristics as the ruling elite, except for one - *the access to instruments of power (...)*” (my italics).

In the context of this study, counter-elites are comprised of the educated Galician population, who if disillusioned with policy decisions of ruling state elites, may develop alternative discourses of resistance to hegemonic ideologies. This may then lead to enactments of *de facto* language policies at the grassroots level. Many of the Galician parents interviewed in this study map onto this definition. These parents act as counter-elites by deploying multifarious mechanisms to contest the ruling elites’ implicit and paradoxical patronage of Castilian in Galicia. These measures include

language management in the home domain, interaction with social groups through social media and technological interfaces, formation of co-operative mobilisations, and informal social interactions with other parents and their children, outside the school (see sections 4.4 and 4.5 of Chapter 4 and case studies from Chapter 6 and 7 for more contextualised examples). I posit this Galician collective as counter-elites significantly due to their own paradoxical construction. Even though counter-elites function literally and pragmatically as a mode of resistance to the hegemonic ideologies of ruling state elites, they are largely elites themselves (albeit bereft of access to the instruments of power). They can often attempt to occupy a possible power vacuum, by being ready to usurp the policy-making position occupied by ruling elites, if the elites can be dislodged from their privileged position (c.f. Pareto 1935; Mosca 1939; Higley 2010). The actions and motivations of counter-elites align with the Foucauldian claim that the field of power is always in motion, circulation and dispersion, constantly changing its agents (Foucault 1978, 1991). A detailed discussion on the role of counter-elites in the negotiation of societal power relations will be explored in the following paragraphs.

Although initial research on elites, guided by Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) and his immediate predecessors such as Gaetano Mosca (1858- 1941) and Charles Wright Mills (1916-1962) were focused mostly on analysing the circulation of power among the political elites, later research in the social sciences started incorporating other domains of societal power relations such as nationalist sentiments (Anderson 1991; Hroch 1985; Fishman 1972), education (Bourdieu 1984, 1986; Ball 2006) and LPP processes (Lippi 1997, Tollefson 2013, 2014) where ruling elites regulate decision-making processes to maintain the status quo. Higley and Burton (2006) note that the influence of elites in modern society is not an isolated phenomenon, it is rather continuous, systematic and in most cases substantial, as ordinary people tend to follow their authority in an unconscious way (Lewis and Hossain 2008). In other words, elites exert their power less often by compulsion, and more through social, cultural and symbolic domination (Bourdieu 1996). Unlike Foucault (1978), as discussed in the previous section, who interprets power as ‘ubiquitous’ and beyond agency or structure, Bourdieu (1984) sees power as culturally and symbolically created, and often legitimised through an interaction between agency and structure. This is precisely the case with Castilian in the Galician context, its official validation by an ambiguous LPP, the elite systems that implicitly promote it, and the absorption of this majority discourse by significant swathes of the polity (Nandi 2015b, 2016a; Nandi and Devasundaram

2017 in press). However, it is also important to consider the economic capital that often form a *sine qua non* for the governing elite to patronise Castilian over Galician.

Bourdieu understands capital as “accumulated labor” (1986: 241) that operates as a source of power with “potential capacity to produce profits” (ibid). The term ‘profit’, according to him, should not only be restricted to economic theories; he argues that exchange of particular forms of capital such as social (achieved social connections and group membership), cultural (academic credentials) and symbolic (source of prestige) could offer material and/or economic gains (Bourdieu 1991). For instance, language as a commodity or service can be considered as a form of labour; if people are getting paid for their language related work, it essentially receives a materialistic dimension (Shankar and Cavanaugh 2012). Therefore, when users of a language(s) enjoy economic benefits for using it, their linguistic practices essentially accrue symbolic capital, which “can further maximise the conversion to economic capital” (Urciuoli and LaDousa 2013: 176). Again, this is one of the justifications for the top-down LPP model to be skewed towards Castilian, which is seen as a more commercially viable language in a neoliberal market-driven economy.

Bourdieu’s research interest centred mainly on social reproduction, and how the dominant elites continue to retain their position by exploiting these aforementioned forms of capital. In Bourdieusian parlance, social reproduction occurs through socialised norms, commonly accepted or normalised codes and customs that guide human behaviour and thinking- what he terms as *habitus*. Habitus has been described as a cognitive or mental system of structures rooted within an individual which is often created and reproduced unconsciously, “without any deliberate pursuit of coherence (...) without any conscious concentration” (Bourdieu 1984: 170). Family, culture, environment and the educational background of an individual play a significant role in shaping one’s habitus. In other words, it can be considered as the internal representations of external structures of the society which is essentially controlled by the elites in power. Society, as Bourdieu describes it, is divided into a range of “spheres of actions” what he calls “fields”. He outlines four types of capital that establish the connection between “habitus” and “fields”, are “extended to all forms of valued resources (and, as a consequence, objects of conflictive dispute and the foundation of power hierarchies), whether they are material, cultural, social, or symbolic” (Navarro 2006: 16). These capitals, as Bourdieu explains, take up a pivotal role in societal power

relations, since they can offer “the means for a non-economic form of domination and hierarchy (...)” (Gaventa 2003: 6).

Family, as Bourdieu claims, plays a significant role in the reproduction of the afore-discussed structured social inequalities as parents provide their children with material, human, social and cultural capital “whose transmissions create inequalities in children’s educational and occupational attainment” (Tzanakis 2011: 76; c.f. Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 1977, 1984). This is especially pertinent to the choice, application and use of language in the home domain. In Galicia, the education system, which is always already controlled by ruling Castilian-speaking elites, influences and reinforces the family’s dominant language reproduction process. This is done by privileging and promoting the achievement of Castilian-oriented cultural and linguistic capital among pupils. A detailed overview on the family’s role in structuring an individual’s habitus and its immediate impact on language ideologies, management and practices will be explored in the following chapter (see section 3.2 of Chapter 3). Bourdieu’s proposition of symbolic capital, filtered through the Galician context, is reflected in the pre-eminence of Castilian as a medium of instruction. This in turn invokes Foucault’s notion of the power/knowledge nexus. The interaction between social and symbolic capital manifests itself in the intangible “prestige” afforded to the dominant language - Castilian, which is widely perceived to possess a greater degree of symbolic capital. If the knowledge of Castilian is imbued with symbolic capital, this knowledge becomes susceptible to the discourses and dictates of power. This intricate knowledge/power relationship plays out both in the domains of school and home, where teachers, parents and other adult family members under the custodianship of the government could become arbiters of the use of either Galician or Castilian or both (also see section 3.2.2 of Chapter 3; case studies from Chapter 6 and 7 for further discussion on the parental role).

As argued in the previous chapter, the statistical evidence for language shift towards Castilian among children and young adolescents indicates that the pendulum of elite power is swinging towards Castilian in the exterior space of the socio-political sphere. In this situation of sociolinguistic inequality, counter-elites empowered by social, cultural and symbolic capitals, use their capacity of interpretation to raise public awareness to contest the domination of ruling elites from the ground (see case examples from Chapter 6 and 7). Their bottom-up contestation through alternative discourses of power further underscores the aforementioned claim of a school/state

knowledge/power nexus. One example of counter-elites and their ideologies in the Galician setting can be explored in the discourses of *neofalantismo* or “new speakerness” (O’Rourke 2014; Ramallo 2009, 2010, 2012). A new speaker or *neofalante*, in the Galician sociolinguistic context, has been described as a person who is brought up speaking Castilian, but who at some stage in his/her life (often during their youth or early adulthood) “becomes” speakers of Galician and currently uses only or predominantly Galician; some of them who adopt a more activist position often displace Castilian almost entirely and become monolingual speakers of Galician (see O’Rourke and Ramallo 2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2015; Ramallo and O’Rourke 2014; also see section 4.4 of Chapter 4 for various characteristics of Galician new speakers). Unlike the traditional speakers of Galician who constitute an aging rural based population with little or no formal training in the language, these *neofalantes* share a middle-class and urban-based profile and speak a standardised variety of Galician. This group represent around 9% of the total adult Galician population who have Castilian as their L1 and at the same time can speak Galician “well or very well” (Ramallo and O’Rourke 2014: 62). However, those who adopt an activist position and become monolingual speakers of Galician account for only 0.5% of the total population (ibid).

For the purposes of discussion here, *neofalantes* can be seen as the outcome of language revitalisation strategies in Galicia since the early eighties following Spain’s transition to democracy and the inclusion of Galician in domains of use from which it was previously absent such as education, media and public administration (O’Rourke and Ramallo 2013a: 288). It is also important to note that a large majority of my respondents fit into this description of new speakers as they have learnt Galician at school instead of the home domain and now use Galician to varying degrees in their everyday life (a detailed discussion on the diverse profiles of new speakers from my dataset depending on their linguistic commitment to Galician will be explored in section 5.5 of Chapter 5). As top-down language policies in Galicia made essential the knowledge of standard Galician for all public sector employees, new speakers’ competence in standardised Galician acquired through the education system to some degree facilitates them with better job opportunities. It also to an extent links them with a higher degree of cultural and social capital than traditional speakers of the language (O’Rourke and Ramallo 2011, 2015).

Over time, these pro-Galician new speakers acting as counter-elites, both individually as well as collectively, have started widening the symbolic space for

Galician by contesting the hitherto dominance of Castilian as the sole manifestation of symbolic capital. This in turn informs the wider dimension of social capital in the form of various collectives or co-operative mobilisation of *Galiza co Galego* (Galicia with Galician), *Asociación Semente* (Semente Association) and *Cooperativa de Raiola* (Co-operative of Raiola) from the grassroots to fund Galician medium pre-primary schools as an exigent response to the government's extant language policy - The Decree of Plurilingualism (see section 1.4 of Chapter 1). Therefore, the symbolic capital, evident in the privileging of Castilian as the language of communication is offset by the cooperative contestation from the ground by Galician counter-elites, aiming to destabilise the normalisation and legitimisation of the dominant discourse through counter-hegemonic strategies. A detailed discussion of various bottom-up counter-hegemonic strategies of Galician counter-elites to contest the conventionalisation of Castilian will be further explored later in the thesis.

2.7. Conclusion

The above sections of this chapter expand on the idea that LPP is not a one-way process where only a set of top-down decisions matter, but that is rather a multi-layered process where various actors or agents including the counter-elites are continuously at play at different levels. Revealing the intricacies of the connections among language policies and its actors at different layers, further highlight how societal power relations work and are represented through languages. Although LPP is strictly context dependent, a desired outcome of a language policy depends to a large extent on the continuous interplay between the agency of these actors and their interpretation of top-down LPP decisions. Individual's habitus, his/her access to different capitals and community's linguistic culture play a significant role in this process. The primary focus of this thesis is to investigate the impact of the top-down language policies on the family domain and look at how individual linguistic practices and ideologies of Galician parents act as visible and/or invisible language management at home influencing their children's language learning. Language management inside the home, whether visible or invisible, has been defined as non-governmental and spontaneous language planning for acquisition and use of a language. As discussed above, language management at the micro or individual level may sometimes work as a defence mechanism to the overt language policies introduced by the state. As family connects an individual with the exterior, the following chapter demonstrates how meso level family language policies implemented by parents and other adult family members are influenced by macro level LPP decisions.

Chapter 3

SPEAKERS AS STAKEHOLDERS: ROLE OF PARENTAL AGENCY IN FRAMING BOTTOM-UP LPP

3.1. Introduction

CLP research, as discussed in the previous chapter, reveals how national language policy can be used to influence people's linguistic lives and how governmental policy-makers, perceived as stakeholders of top-down language management, often advocate the interests of dominant social groups, marginalising minority languages which in turn perpetuate systems of socio-lingual inequality (see Chapter 2). It has been argued that implementation of policy initiatives is almost always the weakest link in the policy and planning process (see Schiffman 2013; Cassels-Johnson 2013b). Gaps between policy rhetoric and its correct implementation on the ground often leave many policies ineffectual (Cassels-Johnson and Johnson 2015; Shohamy 2006). Top-down policymakers advocating the use of minority languages in education, often lack the authority to reinforce them on the ground, for instance, in the home domain (Schwartz and Verschik 2013a). However, the role of social actors or the human agency within this discourse, such as parents, family members, classroom teachers, students and other members of civil society, for whom the LPP is designed and their role in the appropriation, interpretation and implementation of LPP has received less attention from policy developers (see Ó Laoire et al. 2011; McCarty 2011; Hornberger 2015).

These aforementioned social actors, if disillusioned with top-down language policies emanating from the state, may create their own language agenda and resist from the bottom-up (see Seidlhofer 2003; Williams 2005; Nandi 2016a, 2016b; Nandi and Devasundaram 2017 in press). This formulation of an autonomous language agenda in the face of disillusionment with top-down policy is sometimes enacted within the family. The family has been considered as “a vital social unit for acquiring language” (Lanza 2007: 46). In this regard, the home-use of a language is not only important for its intergenerational transmission (Fishman 1991, 2006; Soehl 2016), but is also associated with the reproduction and transformation of cultural values (also see Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002; Williams 2005; Schwartz and Verschik 2013b). It has been argued that a gap in the intergenerational transmission of a language within the family is a significant marker of language loss (see King et al. 2008; Caldas 2012; Schwartz and Verschik 2013a; Smith-Christmas 2016). Although children and parents

are the key participants in the family unit, grandparents, other family members, child-caregivers, children's peers and close neighbours may also have a significant input into language maintenance in the home domain.

In his book *Language Wars and Linguistic Politics* (originally published in French in 1987), Calvet (1998: 67, 71) describes the family as a “battlefield”. This warfare metaphor essentially refers to some form of language planning, negotiation and management in terms of language choice between the family members in bilingual homes where two or more languages are continuously being negotiated, managed and practiced. The historical roots of the field of family language policy research (henceforth, FLP) date back more than a century; initially shaped by classic diary studies (see Ronjat 1913; Leopold 1939–1949), this research field started investigating mainly the language development of the researchers' own children. These researchers, while offering an elaborate description of a child's language learning during the early years, also established links between early childhood bilingualism and some explicit cognitive traits including cognitive flexibility and metalinguistic awareness. This line of research which was initially centred on psycholinguistic aspects of children's language learning (also see Schwartz and Verschik 2013a; Fogle 2013b; Smith-Christmas 2016; King 2016 for a more comprehensive account of the chronological development of the field), took a sociolinguistic turn when Lanza (2004), using the tools of discourse analysis, confirmed that parental decisions and strategies often determine young children's bilingual outcomes.

Several pieces of later research grounded in sociolinguistics (see King et al. 2008; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014a, 2014b, 2016; King and Fogle 2013) define FLP as explicit and overt choices that “parents make about language use and language learning as well as implicit processes that legitimize certain language and literacy practices over others in the home” (Fogle 2013a: 83). In other words, FLP can be described as an attempt at practicing the use of specific language(s), pattern(s) and particular literacy practices among family members within the home domain (Curdt-Christiansen 2014b). Structured and well-executed language policies inside the home domain, as Doyle (2013: 147) argues, allow parents to “maintain a connection with their past, bond with their children, and protect through adaption the integrity of the family in response to external forces” (also see Tannenbaum 2012; Schwartz 2010; Palviainen and Boyd 2013). In this regard, FLPs are primarily based on what the family

members consider will “strengthen the family’s social standing and best serve and support the family members’ goals in life” (Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 354).

Although family language policies are initially described as explicit and overt, they can also be *de facto*, informal and unplanned, as “a default consequence of ideological beliefs” (Curdt-Christiansen 2014a: 36). According to Schwartz (2010: 180), parental decisions about language use within bilingual families “do not always involve clear processes and arise at times spontaneously, without discussion.” Relatedly, King and Fogle (2013: 2) further note that patterns of minority language acquisition and practices in many homes are “subject to little-to-no overt parental planning”. In such cases, as previously documented in various FLP related studies (see Lanza 2004, 2007; Fishman 1991; Canagarajah 2008; Gafaranga 2010; Fogle 2012, 2013a, 2013b; King and Fogle 2013; Schwartz and Verschik 2013a, 2013b), a minority language shift towards the dominant majority language is quite common. In this regard, one of the crucial roles that FLP can play is the control of home language ecology (Haugen 1971). Even in the absence of explicit policy decisions, as Spolsky (2009: 17) underlines, “conscious control of the linguistic environment can be considered as an effective method of managing the language socialization of children”. It is also important to note that alongside bilingual families, monolingual families may also have language policies specifically related to pragmatic use or politeness of the language (Blum-Kulka 1997; Spolsky 2004). However, in the context of my research, I am looking specifically at language policies in urban Galician homes where family members use both Galician and Castilian in everyday contexts.

Since every individual within the family has his or her own linguistic practices and beliefs about language choice (see Ó hÍfearnáin 2013; Van Mensel 2015), one of the major aims of this thesis is to investigate the role of individual agency (i.e. individual parents) in appropriation, interpretation and implementation of state reinforced language policy inside the family domain. The language planning and management practices of individuals, particularly by parents who plan the linguistic future of their children have been termed “private language planning” (Piller 2001: 62). Although this has been described as “simple management” (Spolsky 2009: 11), these grassroots-level language ideologies, practices and planning processes from individual parents are often difficult to detect, as they are subtle, informal, and often hidden from the public eye, and therefore, frequently overlooked by language policy makers and researchers (see Pakir 1994, 2003; Ó Laoire et al. 2011; Soehl 2016). Therefore, an

investigation of family language policies can offer a deeper description of “how languages are managed, learned and negotiated within families” (King et al. 2008: 907) and facilitate an overview of parents’ linguistic ideologies and language practices (Floka 2013; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2014b).

Consequently, a research domain such as FLP, as discussed above, is complex, and therefore, by its nature interdisciplinary, embracing mainly two substantial research areas from sociolinguistics: “bilingual childrearing in the family and protection of endangered languages in multilingual societies” (Schwartz and Verschik 2013b: 6). In other words, FLP, as a research paradigm, bridges child’s language acquisition and bi(multi)lingualism research with the domain of LPP. It is also important to note that FLP distances itself from psycholinguistic child-centred investigations of bilingualism. As an interdisciplinary field, FLP borrows extensively from language socialisation theories, cultural psychology, family studies, educational sociolinguistics, societal bilingualism, ethnography, language policy and planning research among others (Schwartz and Verschik 2013a). As this dissertation is theoretically grounded in sociolinguistics, this chapter commences with a brief theoretical account of FLP as a semi-planned and jointly developed endeavour. It is followed by a discussion on the role of parental agency in the appropriation and implementation of the FLP. To conclude, there will be a short discussion on the role of children’s agency in the negotiation and execution of the policy in the home domain.

3.2. Family language policy: a semi-planned and jointly developed endeavour

“All meaningful language policy is ultimately played out in the home.”

– Stephen J. Caldas (2012: 351)

Language policy, whether exercised in macro, community or micro (i.e. family/individual) level, as Spolsky (2009: 1) argues, “is all about choices” and one of the major objectives of a language policy is “to account for the choices made by individual speakers on the basis of rule-governed patterns” accepted across the members of a determined speech community (ibid.). Parents and caregivers who often possess the power to control their children’s language(s) inside the home domain, may also differ in their “impact beliefs” (De Houwer 1999) meaning “the degree to which parents see themselves as capable of and responsible for shaping their children’s language” (King et al. 2008: 910) and the struggle between these competing beliefs are considered as

the origin of family language policies (also see De Houwer 2003; Armstrong 2014; Fogle 2013). In this vein, language policies inside the family domain, like all the other domains of language policy, consist of three essential factors: language ideologies - what family members believe about language; language practices - what they do with language; and language planning or management - what endeavours they make for language maintenance (see Schwartz 2010; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2013b, 2014b, 2016).

In this regard, family as a micro social unit, can be considered as a “community of practice” (Lanza 2007: 46) with its own norms of speaking, acting and believing (also see Schwartz and Verschik 2013b; Fogle 2012, 2013a, 2013b; King and Fogle 2013). The “community of practice” perspective, derived mainly from the theory of language socialisation (see Lave and Wenger 1991; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992; Wenger 2000; Barton and Tursting 2005), elaborates on how an individual gradually integrates into society and becomes a representative of the community. Therefore, the family as a community of practice, further underlines a process of socialisation at a micro level, by which obtaining membership of an individual aligns with “the process of gaining control of the discourse appropriate to it” (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999: 175). Alongside other adult members in the family, children are also apt, resourceful and active social agents in the process of socialisation. While socialising, they develop their own unique children’s agency and start contributing to the reproduction of the public sphere in the family domain (see Fogle 2013a, 2013b; King and Fogle 2013; Ochs and Schieffelin 1995; Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002; Lanza 2004, 2007).

Similarly, the state, which is a significant representative of the public sphere (see Habermas 1975, 1986, 1991; also see section 2.3 in Chapter 2) is also responsible for creating and implementing top-down LPP, instilling it into the public domain through various *Ideological State Apparatuses* (Althusser 1971) such as schools, media and the configuration of the family itself. According to Althusser (1971), governmental or non-governmental organisations, such as the school, religious institutions, the family and mass media can be termed as ideological state apparatuses. They are not necessarily under the state’s control, and are often used to perpetuate top-down ideologies over civil society. The family, which acts as an intermediary between the community and the individual is not beyond macro societal structures; therefore, family members are always-already ideologically influenced by the state. In other words, the separation of the interior or home and individual domain from the exterior or larger society (Foucault

1994) is almost impossible, as state-driven macro level language policies are designed to address, regulate and govern social structures (see Tollefson 1991, 2013, 2015; Shohamy 2006) and home language choices and practice are essentially influenced by the individual family's perception of the macro social structures (also see Canagarajah 2008; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2013a, 2013b, 2014a, 2014b).

Consequently, the language policies of the individual and the family essentially involve the inner dimensions of ideological conditioning of individual family members and the external influence of state level policy on them. These two dimensions largely determine the language choices and practices of a person in a bi(multi)lingual set-up (Floka 2013; Van Mensel 2015). Since parents are the primary stakeholders of FLP, they often decide which language(s) in the home domain can support the family's social standing and best serve their children's goals in life. These language policy decisions and their practices are not static or unidirectional (see King et al. 2008; Fogle and King 2012; Schwartz 2010) as they involve a process of continuous arbitration between various family members. In this regard, research in FLP, as Curdt-Christiansen (2014b: 1) argues, offers a valid description of the intricate relationship between personal domains and public spheres and underscore the conflicts that parents and other family members must navigate between the "realities of social pressure, political impositions, and public education demands on the one hand, and the desire for cultural loyalty and linguistic continuity on the other". These aforementioned macro-level LPP variables, as Spolsky (2004: 14) notes, shape a speech community's ideological consensus on what value to apply to each of the languages that make up its repertoire. Therefore, any bottom-up micro level language policies practiced inside the family or individual domain cannot be studied in isolation without referring to these aforementioned macro level LPP variables present in the society (see Williams 2005; Canagarajah 2008; Curdt-Christiansen 2012, 2013b, 2014a, 2014b).

In this regard, the following figure 4 which is my own elaboration of Curdt-Christiansen's (2009: 355 and 2014a: 37) models, attempts to offer a graphic representation of the complex relationship between FLP and its diverse variables. This model is primarily grounded in Spolsky's (2004) description of language policy which contains three elementary as well as interrelated mechanisms: language ideologies, management and practice. Curdt-Christiansen (2009, 2014a) adds levels of parental background, family's capitals (Bourdieu 1986, 1991; also see section 2.5 in Chapter 2 for an elaborate description about various types of capitals) and expectations of

academic achievement from their children to these afore-discussed variables. Parental expectations are considered as one of the most significant markers of family language policy as they underscore the ultimate goal of a home language policy (see Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2012, 2014b). Alongside their own lived experiences, parents often draw the experiences from other families through family acquaintances, internet sites, parental guides, popular literature, and only rarely from the research literature (see Piller 2001; King and Fogle 2006; Moin et al. 2013; Palviainen and Boyd 2013). As their children’s primary language facilitators, parental language intervention may also depend on parental attitudes towards bilingualism, their social network outside the family and parents’ knowledge of language and literacy (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). While macro level factors include larger social variables such as sociolinguistic, socio-political, socio-economic and socio-cultural issues, micro level factors incorporate home literacy environments, parents’ expectations, parents’ education and individual language experiences and parental knowledge of bilingualism:

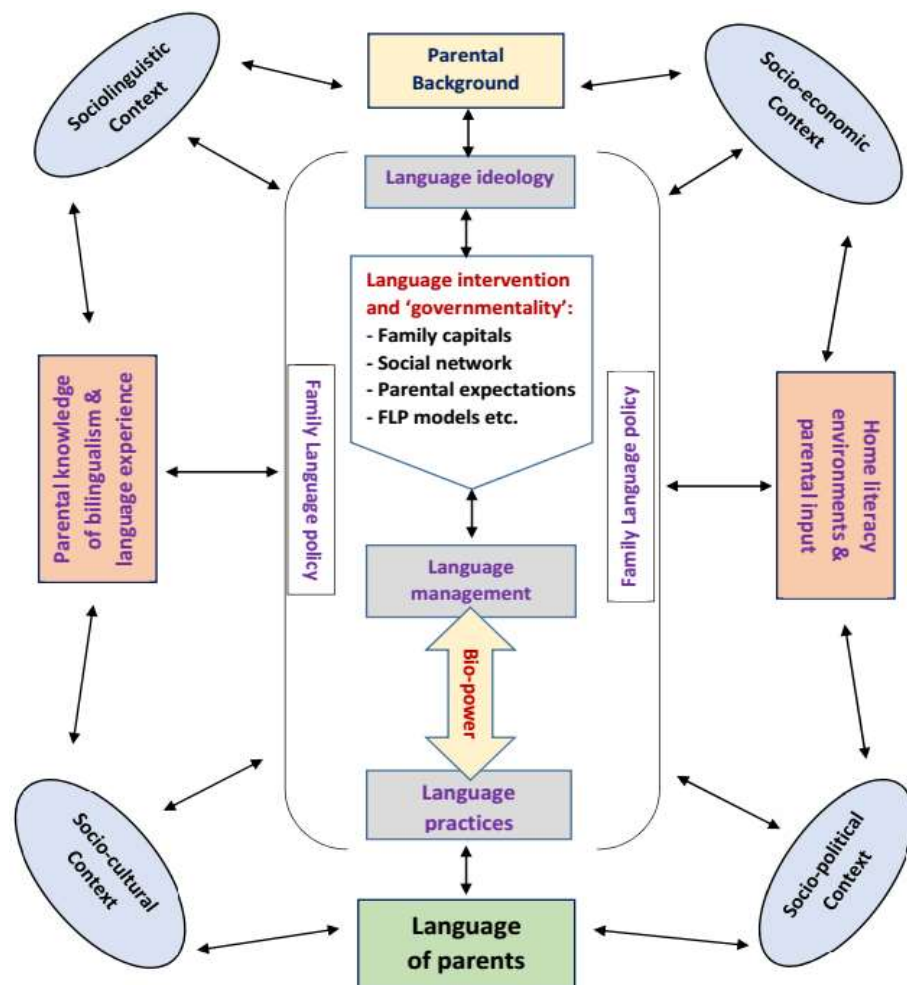


Figure 4. Connection between parental agency and external factors influencing FLP (Source: Own elaboration of Curdt-Christiansen’s 2009: 355 and 2014: 37 models)

3.2.1 Language ideology

LPP, whether macro or micro, as discussed in the previous sections, is “invariably based on linguistic ideologies, on images of “societally desirable” forms of language usage and of the ‘ideal’ linguistic landscape of society...” (Blommaert 2006: 244). In the family context, individual parents often transmit their ideologies through their “language choices in interaction and hence socialise their children into this ideology...” (Lanza 2007: 61). Spolsky (2004) locates four linguistic as well as non-linguistic variables as sources of ideology (see Figure 4). Socio-cultural factors refer to the social and symbolic capital ascribed to language in the society since language as a tool for cultural manifestation represents identities through shared social experiences, history, gender, age, ethnicity, and nationality (see Bourdieu 1991; Norton 2000, Urla 2012a, 2012b; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014a; Duchêne and Heller 2012). For instance, in the Galician case, the interaction between social and symbolic capital manifests itself in the status afforded to the dominant language - Castilian, widely perceived to enjoy a greater degree of symbolic value in the society. The socio-economic factor is another important variable since economic forces are pivotal to most language policies (see Tollefson 1991, 2002, 2013; Grin 2006). In FLP, parental language interventions often depend on parents’ levels of economic investment in their children’s education (see Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014b; King et al. 2008; Palviainen and Boyd 2013).

Socio-political factors play a significant role in the preparation of educational language policies underscoring what language should be awarded the official status, which variety should be considered the ‘standard’, and which language should be used as a medium of instruction, highlighting the conscious or subconscious assumptions of language as a problem, a right, and a resource (Ruiz 1984; Curdt-Christiansen 2014a). Socio-political ideologies such as “language choice as a right” (Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 355) further shed light on how individual agency relates to the social structure and how it impacts language choice in society. Lastly, sociolinguistic factors reflect the social mobility of a particular language, in terms of its association with particular strata of society. All these above factors offer symbolic and practical values to the language(s) and determine family’s language management and practices by shaping the belief systems of the family members (see Spolsky 2004, 2009; Williams 2005; Curdt-Christiansen 2012, 2014a, 2016; King and Fogle 2013; Schwartz and Verschik 2013a;

Smith-Christmas 2016; King 2016; also see Chapter 4, 6 and 7 for a more contextualised explanation).

3.2.2 Language management

Language management refers to the specific acts that manage and manipulate different types of language behaviours (Shohamy 2006: 53). As Figure 4 underlines, Spolsky's (2009) speculation of language management, although insightful and thought-provoking, remains unsatisfactory as it fails to incorporate several underlying micro-mechanisms related to home language management and practices. For a more accurate understanding of this issue, recent FLP studies, have started incorporating features like home language environments, family members' knowledge about societal bilingualism, different forms of family capitals and parental input among others that monitor a family's language planning, as additional dimensions of language management (see Curdt-Christiansen 2013c, 2014a; Gregory 2008; Li 2007; Mui and Anderson 2008; Stavans 2012). Home language environments refer to several literacy-related resources including books, music, rhymes and e-resources among others. Several studies in FLP (see Burgess et al. 2002; Weigel et al. 2006; Floka 2013; Schwartz and Verschik 2013a; Curdt-Christiansen 2013c, 2016) have confirmed that when a home environment is rich in literacy materials and when the family members are supportive of home language maintenance, children's literacy development can be improved.

Moreover, family capitals include all forms of material, human, cultural and social or symbolic capital that can be converted into the educational accomplishment of children (see Bourdieu 1984, 1991; Li 2007; Duchêne and Heller 2012; Blackledge and Creese 2012; Floka 2013). Another significant element of language management is parental inputs; it involves a range of formal and informal literacy activities such as joint book reading, explicit teaching, helping during homework or seeking external professional help (i.e. private tuition), discussing children's school activities and experiences with them (see Curdt-Christiansen 2012, 2013b; Smith-Christmas 2016; Stavans 2012; Edwards 2007; Ren and Hu 2013). In the context of my investigation, many pro-Galician parents overtly stated during the interviews how they intend to create a home literacy environment favourable to Galician through a range of formal and informal literacy activities. A detailed account of language management in urban Galician homes from my dataset will be taken up in Chapter 6 and 7.

It is also worth mentioning here that the actual language policy of a family or individual, as Spolsky (2004, 2009) notes, is more likely to be found in its practices than in management. For instance, irrespective of governmental policies, few languages may be used by the family or individual for certain specific language practice contexts. However, as Curdt-Christiansen (2014a: 38) argues, the distinction between language management and practice inside the home domain “is somewhat blurred as parents may control or intervene in their children’s discourse behaviour in their everyday talk”. This primarily stems from a shared knowledge that parents are responsible for children’s language competence (Spolsky 2009: 30). The above strategy of controlling children’s discourse behaviour, as it shows in the Figure 4, refers to parental language governmentality (see Pennycook 2002, 2006; Cassels-Johnson 2007, 2009, 2010, 2013b; Flores 2014; Dawe 2014). The notion of “language governmentality”, as discussed in the previous chapter, is an extension of Foucault’s concept of governmentality (Foucault 1982, 1990, 1991) underscoring “how power operates at the micro-level of diverse practices, rather than in the macro-regulations of the state” (Pennycook 2006: 64). Foucault (1982, 1991) argues that “power” does not exclusively remain in the hand of the state, neither within the policy texts, but the presence of power is everywhere like a web. Power, as Foucault explains, is carried out in form of discursive practices that operate in relation to some authoritative criteria (Johnson 2009: 140). In other words, government promotes various organised techniques and practices in society to mould civilians “into the desired ideal” of a particular socio-historic and geopolitical context (Dawe 2014: 62). Consequently, language governmentality can be understood in relation to how decisions about languages and language forms are made across a diverse range of establishments including family, law, education system and the mass media through a diverse range of tools such as books, regulations, interventions and corrections to control language practice, ideological belief system, and action of different individuals, communities, and organisations (Pennycook 2010, Cassels-Johnson 2009, 2010, 2013b). In this regard, language management or planning decisions inside the family can be considered as one form of language governmentality (see Figure 4).

An interesting example from the Galician context of parental language governmentality is the case of *Tribo* (‘The tribe’ in Galician). *Tribo*, started as a WhatsApp messenger group in July-August 2013, and now includes more than 40 families who meet several times a week to enable their children to socialise and

converse in Galician (Bal and Rodríguez 2014). The main intention of *Tribo*, as described by its members in focus group discussions, is to prevent language shift during their children's early years. Parents interested in joining the collective generally contact the group members through WhatsApp, a technological interface that allows *Tribo* members to collectively exchange messages. The members of this group also communicate informally amongst themselves, meeting in different places in Santiago de Compostela to organise or participate in various extracurricular or cultural activities that involve their children's interaction in Galician (also see section 5.3 of Chapter 5 and section 7.3 in Chapter 7 for more discussion on this). The above mobilisation where parents set out to determine or govern their children's linguistic ecology by selecting peers for them can be considered a form of family language management.

Language management in any form of LPP including FLP, is not complete without an appropriate execution of the policy decisions. Inside the home domain, adult family members often implement a range of monitoring techniques to attain a desired linguistic outcome from the children (see Spolsky 2009; Floka 2013; Schwartz and Verschik 2013a; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014a, 2014b, 2016; Smith-Christmas 2016). Parental interventions with an intention to correct children's language choice, as discussed previously, is one of the most essential tools to determine home linguistic ecology. This scenario further evokes the discourses of "bio-power" (see figure 4), which literally means having control over bodies (Foucault 1994, 2007, 2008; Cooter and Stein 2010). Bio-power has been defined as "the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power..." (Foucault 2007: 1). Whereas Foucault (2007: 1) describes bio-power as a "technology of power" for managing people as a large group, in the context of family, parents as progenitors and as primary stakeholders of LPP in the home domain, often perceive it as a *fait accompli* that they will assume the role of custodians over their children's language practices (see Figure 4; also see case studies from Chapter 6 and 7 for a more contextualised overview on this).

It is also important to note that sometimes parental language governmentality and the exercise of bio-power may adopt a larger social role in minority language revitalisation contexts, as occurred in the Basque Country (Spain) during the Franco regime where parents created privately-funded Basque-medium clandestine immersion schools (i.e. *Ikastolas*) as a response to the top-down anti-Basque LPP that prohibited the speaking and learning of Basque in public schools (see Urla 2012a, 2012b; Kasares

2014; Manterola et al. 2013). A Similar situation, although not exactly identical, is taking place in the Galician urban terrain; in Galicia, as a reaction to the present top-down LPP of the Galician government that has been seen to shrink the space for Galician in the public education curriculum, many counter-elite parents have formed co-operatives to fund Galician medium immersion schools. These activist parents took on this effort with an intention of extending their pro-Galician FLP to the education system, as public schools were becoming a space for de-Galicianisation during the early ages (also see case studies from Chapter 6 and 7 for a more contextualised discussion on this). These aforementioned parental initiatives to control their children's language choice often feed into the *de facto* language practices in the home domain.

3.2.3 Language practices

Language practices, as discussed in previous sections, refer to the ecology of language (Haugen 1971) which refers to the study of interactions between any given language and its environment (also see Spolsky 2004, 2009; Shohamy 2006). Language practices, therefore, underline the systematic and expected linguistic behaviours that “constitute the *de facto* language use in different contexts and for various purposes” (Curdt-Christiansen 2014a: 38). *De facto* everyday language use inside the home domain is essentially different from language ideologies and beliefs since it demonstrates what family members actually do, instead of what family members believe should be done to maintain a language (Spolsky 2012b). In this regard, research on parental discourse strategies and home language policy and planning models (such as, one parent one language, L1 only at home or not speaking the minority/heritage language at all) can offer a valid understanding of how languages are practiced in home domain (see Curdt-Christiansen 2012, 2013a, 2013b; Gafaranga 2010; King and Fogle 2013; Schwartz and Verschik 2013a; Floka 2013; Smith-Christmas 2016). In the context of my research, for instance, most of the counter-elite parents speak only or mostly Galician to their children. It is also important to note that alongside other adult family members, children are also important agents of FLP as they are the subjects for whom FLPs have been designed. Moreover, from the perspective of language socialisation, as discussed before, children are perceived as “active and creative social agents who produce their own unique children's cultures, all the while contributing to the production of adult society” (Lanza 2007: 47) and they are not something that needs to be prepared, controlled and guided by the society in order to become a competent member (also see Luykx 2003, 2005; Canagarajah 2008; Fogle 2012, 2013b; King and

Fogle 2012; King 2013, 2016). In this regard, children's own agency also plays a significant role in the success or failure of home language policies. Although this thesis centres on parental agency, a brief discussion on children's agency and how it impacts family's linguistic practices will be explored in the following section.

3.3. The role of Children's agency in FLP

Luykx (2005: 1408), in her seminal article on children as socialising agents, highlights the need for a new research paradigm within FLP addressing children's perspective in the language socialisation of the adult members inside family. This is because, contemporary FLP scholarship, as discussed in the introduction, centred primarily on the parental role and very little attention has been given to the role that children's agency play in family's linguistic outcome. It is only very recently researchers started acknowledging the active interactional role that children play in FLP through their participation, negotiation and in some cases, by resisting their parents' linguistic governmentality (see Luykx 2003, 2005; Lanza 2004, 2007; Canagarajah 2008; Gafaranga 2010). These researchers, considering children as "family language brokers" (Luykx 2005), centred their investigation mostly on children's role in the "introduction of new, socially-valued and dominant language into the immigrant or indigenous vernacular language speaking family's daily language behaviour/life" (Schwartz and Verschik 2013a: 14). Later studies (see Fogle 2012, 2013a, 2013b; Palviainen and Boyd 2013; King and Fogle 2012; King 2013, 2016; Schwartz and Verschik 2013b) have further emphasised the agentic role of the children by investigating their ideological perceptions about home language policy and explained how "children's experiences outside of the home in a myriad of contexts such as school and peer groups mediate FLP processes" (Fogle 2013b: 178). The above outcome further emphasises that biopower, as described previously (also see Figure 4), does not function in a unidirectional top-down manner (i.e. parents to children). In this regard, although parents often attempt to determine children's linguistic practices, they may resist and differ from parental language choices by exerting their own children's agency.

This sort of resistance may occur because of several reasons involving a clash over cultural beliefs and norms with individual parents (see Hua 2008; Fogle 2012, 2013b), higher social status of a school language (see Tuominen 1999; Caldas 2012), role of peers in early adolescence (see Spolsky 2009; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014a, 2014b), symbolic domination of a majority language outside the home and the process

of children's own "acts of identity" formation (see Caldas and Caron-Caldas 2002; Schwartz and Verschik 2013a; le Page and Tabouret 1985; le Page 1998). According to le Page and Tabouret (1985: 181), an individual often generates for himself/herself "the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished." le Page (1998: 25) further elaborates that speakers' ability to relate or distance themselves from a speech group or groups may depend on four issues: their ability to identify the desirable groups; the extent of their access to them and ability to analyse their linguistic systems or speech patterns; the strength of their motivation to "join" them, and this motivation is either reinforced or rejected by the group; and finally, their ability to modify their behaviour. In other words, every speech act that an individual performs is one way or the other is an "act of identity" through which they will show their ethnic and social solidarity to or distance from one or more speech groups.

Current research on child agency in the family domain further emphasises that parental assumptions about minority language maintenance in the home domain or creating home as a secure place for bilingualism and minority languages may fail as children reach adolescence or pre-adolescence period (Fogle 2013a; 2013b; King and Fogle 2012; King 2013, 2016; Caldas and Caron-Caldas 2002, Caldas 2012; Nandi 2016a) as is occurring in the Galician setting. In relation to this study, for instance, several early adolescents become monolinguals of Castilian despite their parents' pro-Galician FLP. This highlights the dominant role Castilian has on children's language socialisation in urban/semi-urban centres in Galicia (see Monteagudo 2004, 2005, 2012a; also see Case studies from Chapter 6 and 7 for more discussion on this).

3.4. Conclusion

The above sections of this chapter not only underline the essential interaction between micro level family language practices and macro level policy decisions, but also expand the notion of FLP as "a private family matter" (Spolsky 2004) to a broader theoretical conceptualisation of the research area. Revealing the intricacies of the connections among language policies at different layers further underscores how societal power relations work and are represented through languages. Significantly, as FLP is the crucial factor determining the maintenance or shift of minority languages "unpacking the relationships between micro and macro level policies can yield important insights into the everyday processes of language use and communicative

practices, and can thus lead to better practices and policies to support language maintenance” (Curd-Christiansen 2009: 374).

As discussed previously, this thesis investigates whether Galician parents can reverse the intergenerational language shift of Galician and if their questioning of the dominant discourse could lead to bottom-up language policies on the ground. However, bottom-up language policies inside the family domain, as pointed out in this chapter, cannot be studied in isolation without referring to the macro level LPP variables present in society. Therefore, for a more effective understanding of parental agency and FLPs in the Galician context, an examination of macro level sociolinguistic variables becomes essential. In this regard, the following chapter offers a comprehensive overview of the general linguistic ideologies, attitude, choices present in Galician society and their impact on the revitalisation practices of Galician at the home domain.

Chapter 4

LINGUISTIC CULTURE AND LPP IN GALICIA: CRISIS AND AFTERMATH

4.1. Introduction

In the Galician context, as discussed in previous sections of this dissertation (see section 1.1 of Chapter 1), the connection between social and symbolic capital reveals itself in the superior status afforded to Castilian, widely perceived to retain a greater degree of symbolic capital. Since Spain's transition to democracy at the end of the seventies and the subsequent autonomous status granted to Spain's different regions including Galicia, top-down language policy models were put in place in line with the *Lei de Normalización Lingüística* (Law of Linguistic Normalisation, hence LNL) of Galician in 1983. Whilst critically analysing the state-driven LPP models designed for Galicia, Lorenzo-Suárez (2008, 2009) argues that these LPP models are built on erroneous conceptions about the linguistic vitality of Galician. These misconceptions contribute to an inaccurate analysis of the actual numerical and territorial strength of Galicians. Additionally, ever since LPP was put into practice in Galicia, policy stakeholders of the centre-right wing government of the *Partido Popular de Galicia* (People's Party of Galicia, hence PPdeG), who had been in power almost uninterruptedly during the first two decades of LPP in Galicia, took very little interest in implementing the policy initiatives at the grassroots level (Monteagudo 2012a). This is mainly because they were more interested in preserving the status quo and not upsetting the Castilian-speaking urban upper middle class in Galician society (Álvarez-Cáccamo 2011). Whereas all top-down language policy documents in Galicia aspire to attain what is sometimes referred to as "balanced or harmonious bilingualism" (Monteagudo and Bouzada 2002), where both Galician and Castilian co-exist as official languages of the community, after more than thirty decades of implementation of top-down LPP in Galicia, macro level sociolinguistic accounts continue to register significant language shift towards Castilian, especially among the younger generations (see section 1.3 of Chapter 1 for a detailed overview from macro level dataset).

In 2010, the contemporary Galician government of PPdeG introduced changes to the existing language education policy through a new decree bearing the title *Decreto del Plurilingüismo* (The Decree of Plurilingualism, henceforth DDP). According to the government, this decree is in response to a survey entitled *Consulta ás familias sobre*

a utilización das linguas no ensino non universitario de Galicia (Consultation with families about the use of languages in non-university education in Galicia, 2009). This survey looked at what parents want in pre-school as a medium of instruction for their children. Although the new policy ensures the continuation of Galician in the primary and secondary school system along with Castilian, in pre-school, it allows the medium of instruction to be the home language of the children.

There is a contradictory as well as a deceptive factor in this policy. Since Castilian has been, and is, the most widely spoken language in urban/semi-urban areas, a majority of Galician children tend to be brought up speaking Castilian by Castilian-speaking parents. Therefore, with the application of the DDP, Castilian automatically becomes the medium of instruction in the urban pre-primary education curriculum. Ultimately, this present policy towards language in education further constricts the access to Galician among urban pre-primary and primary school students. Children between the age group of five to fourteen years are directly affected by this language policy model. Additionally, the macro sociolinguistic data published by the *Instituto Galego de Estatística* (Galician Institute of Statistics, henceforth IGE) in 2014 reveals that the number of adolescents who never speak Galician has increased by 17% in the last five years. Moreover, ever since this LPP has been introduced to the education system, it has been seen as an attack on the Galician language and culture by pro-Galician counter-elites (see section 2.6 of Chapter 2 for more elaborate discussion on the notion of counter-elites). These counter-elites have initiated several grassroots level mobilisations as a response to this top-down LPP; a detailed account of their bottom-up contestations will be explored later in this chapter. The above scenario, where government stakeholders make adjustments in the policy rhetoric and attempt to perpetuate socio-lingual inequality by maintaining the interest of the dominant social groups, triggered my interest in investigating the language ideologies and language planning initiatives of Galician parents.

However, language policies inside the family domain, as discussed in the previous chapter, cannot be studied in isolation without referring to the macro level LPP variables present in the society. Therefore, in the following sections of this chapter, I will first look briefly at the “linguistic culture” (Schiffman 1996) of Galician society because LPP, whether top-down or bottom-up, is essentially based on the linguistic culture of a speech community (Schiffman 2013; Ricento 2015). “Linguistic culture”, as Schiffman (2006: 112) describes it, is the “sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs,

attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious strictures, and all the other cultural ‘baggage’ that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture” (also see section 2.3 of Chapter 2 this thesis for more discussion on linguistic culture). This will lead us to an examination of the essential macro level linguistic and non-linguistic variables such as socio-political, socio-economic, socio-cultural, sociolinguistic factors present in the Galician society influencing the ideological construct and revitalisation practices of Galician parents at the grassroots. Concurrently, this section will offer a brief overview of the sociolinguistic history of Galician, as a means of contextualising existing debates related to language policies since the outset of Galician Autonomy.

This review has been structured in the following manner: it commences with a discussion on the significance of the 1983 Language Act, the immediate effects it had on Galician and on its public visibility. This will be further related to the various understandings of notions such as linguistic normalisation and societal bilingualism which have been an integral part of LPP discourse over the course of last thirty years. To conclude, the chapter will also offer a critical account of the recent developments in grassroots level Galician language activism such as the creation of Galician medium pre-primary immersion schools through crowd-sourcing. These schools came about as a reaction to the contemporary state-imposed language policies from the present centre-right wing government (2009-present).

4.2. Linguistic legislation and the “normalisation” process of Galician

Even though Galician received co-official status with Castilian in Galicia for the first time during the brief era of the *Segunda Republica Española* (Second Spanish Republic, 1931 – 1939), it did not last long. Since immediately after the devastating civil war (1936 – 1939), “a strongly centralist and patriotic military-type dictatorship was established in Spain with Francisco Franco” at the helm (del Valle 2000: 109). Franco’s dictatorship (1939 – 1975) made the use of Castilian obligatory as the only language for administration, education and media that marked an era of repression and discrimination for the Galician language and culture (Siguan 1993; Monteagudo 1999). During this period, the use of Galician was mostly restricted to the home domain and informal conversation. After Franco’s death in 1975, democracy returned to Spain and the Spanish Constitution was written in 1978. Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution recognised Galicia as one of the autonomous communities of Spain and the Autonomous Government or *Xunta* (in Galician) was established. Galician was also

accepted as the co-official language in the statute (see Article 3, Spanish Constitution 1978). Later in 1981, Article 5 of the *Estatuto de Autonomía* (the Galician Statute of Autonomy) accepts Galician as Galicia's *lingua propia* (own language) replicating Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution (1978) and ensures its use and promotion at all levels of the public sphere. According to Article 5 (O portal da lingua galega 2015):

1. The native language of Galicia is Galician.
2. Galician and Spanish languages are both official in Galicia and everyone has the right to know and use them.
3. Galician public authorities will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages and they will promote the use of Galician language in all facets of public, cultural and informative life. They will also have at their disposal the means needed to make its knowledge easy.
4. Nobody will be discriminated on account of language.

In 1983, the Galician Parliament approved the Law of Linguistic Normalisation of Galician (hence LNL) declaring Galician the language of Galicia and stating that all Galicians have the right to know it and speak it. In addition, LNL also aimed to establish an obligation for all Galicians to know Galician (Article 1: Point 2, 1983). However, Article 1 (point 2) of the aforesaid law was challenged by the Spanish government at the Constitutional Court of Madrid (Hermida 1992). The court ruled in favour of the Spanish Government and “the obligation for all Galicians to know Galician was declared unconstitutional” (del Valle 2000: 110). Thus, the co-official status of Galician with the traditionally hegemonic language, Castilian, marked the beginning of a new era of subordination for Galician (García-Negro 1991).

Galician language planners took the idea of *Normalización Lingüística* (broadly speaking language planning) from Catalan sociolinguistics and refined it to the local context (see Rees 1996; Beswick 2007; Lynch 2011). In the Spanish sociolinguistic context, the term “Linguistic Normalisation” primarily refers to the process of increasing the number of speakers of the regional languages through appropriate corpus and acquisition planning (Cooper 1989). It also includes various status and prestige planning measures (Baldauf 2005a, 2005b) through which a minority language receives greater visibility in a range of sectors previously dominated by Castilian such as education, the media and public administration among others. Even though there is no

explicit mention in policy texts of how to manage language use inside family, it seems that language planners of Spanish minority languages took it for granted that these macro factors will definitely influence the family's language practice in the long run (also see Siguan 1993; Mar-Molinero 2000; Turell 2000; Vernet 2007; Lasagabaster 2011; Monteagudo 2012e; Vila et al. 2016 for more extensive analysis of top-down LPP documents of Spanish minority languages).

In Galicia, despite having a glorified past until the thirteenth century as “Galician-Portuguese”, Galician became a subordinate language to Castilian since the fifteenth century, when Galicia became a part of the Kingdom of Castile (Boullón-Agrelo 2007; Monteagudo 1985, 1999, 2008). In the following centuries, Castilian occupied its place as a language of the intellectuals and social elites in Galicia, facilitating a stable diglossic situation for subsequent centuries, with Galician in a subordinate position (Mariño-Paz 1998). Ever since, although mutually intelligible, Galician was often seen as a low form of Castilian used only by the uneducated lower strata of society. It is also important to mention here that during this extended period of Castilianisation, the vitality of Galician was very much indebted to its geographical isolation in the extreme northern-western corner of Spain, its underdeveloped rural based economy and above all, its use inside the family domain (Murado 2008; Formoso-Gosende 2013; Ramallo 2012).

The sociolinguistic vitality of Galician received another setback during the mid-twentieth century when Galician society went through major socioeconomic and sociolinguistic changes. From the early sixties, the Galician economy moved from an agronomic to a service-based economy due to growing industrialisation, causing a gradual emigration from poverty ridden rural areas to urban centres (Rei-Doval 2007; O'Rourke 2014). This facilitated a clear linguistic division in urban Galicia between a numerically small but socially dominant Castilian-speaking elite and a statistically large but socially marginalised Galician-speaking population relocating from rural areas (Recalde-Ferenández 1997; Núñez-Singala 2009). Additionally, the strong centralist-nationalist propaganda of the Franco regime which considered the use of Galician as something unpatriotic, rustic and often treated it as a “dialect” of Castilian, aggravated the pressure on Galician speakers in the urban domains to switch to Castilian. With language as a distinguishing factor, then many Galicians, embarrassed and derisive of their own identity would gradually deny being *galego* due to the

negative connotations associated with the language and start taking pride in being *español* (see Iglesias-Álvarez 2003; Loureiro-Rodríguez 2008; O'Rourke 2011a).

This above situation further relates to the Bourdieusian discourse of “pride” and “profit” (Bourdieu 1984, 1991; Urla 2012b; Duchêne and Heller 2012; Blackledge and Creese 2012). In Bourdieusian parlance, every material inheritance including language is also a cultural inheritance (also see section 2.6 of Chapter 2). Bourdieu (1991) further notes that language and culture are increasingly becoming allied more with economic benefits (i.e. profit) and less with rights and heritage (i.e. pride) in this era of modernisation (see case studies in Chapter 6 and 7 for more contextualised explanation on this). A good case in point is the Galician context, where Castilian was increasingly being associated with economic development or “profit”. Considering Castilian as the sole language of development, the majority of the urban/semi-urban parents started adapting a pro-Castilian family language policy by speaking only Castilian to their children. It is also worth mentioning here that the majority of my respondents from urban domains are the product of this pro-Castilian FLP. Thus, pressure from both the interior (family) and exterior (society) started affecting the intergenerational transmission of Galician, especially in the urban/semi-urban areas, accelerating the process of language shift towards Castilian after several centuries of *diglossia* (see López-Valcárcel 1991; Freitas-Juvino 2008; Nandi 2008; Monteagudo 1999, 2012a).

The term *diglossia* was first coined by Ferguson (1959), where he used it to explain the complementarity and inequity of two existing speech forms (one considered high and the other low) in a society. The complexity of the notion and its difference with bilingualism was further explained by Fishman (1967, 1970), according to whom (1970: 87), “Bilingualism is essentially a characterization of individual linguistic versatility whereas diglossia is a characterization of the societal allocation of functions to different varieties of languages.” However, Fishman’s definition does not answer the more complex sociolinguistic situations where *diglossia* is developed due to hegemonic control of the dominant language or when bilingualism is more functional, referring to one’s ability to communicate in both languages across an “encyclopaedia of every events” (Baker 1993: 13). Several other sociolinguists (see Calvet 1998; Bourdieu 1982, 1986, 1991; Dorais 1989; Williams 1992; de Mejía 2002), have shown that longstanding sociolinguistic inequality may instigate linguistic conflicts among different social classes or ethnic groups in apparently stable diglossic societies. Such conflicts, often arise where a majority language takes over a minority one through

language shift, as it has been happening in the Galician urban/semi-urban contexts since the mid-twentieth century (Subiela 2010; Observatorio da Cultura Galega 2011b, 2011b). In this regard, one of the major goals that LNL (1983) had, was to resolve the sociolinguistic inequality posed by this diglossic situation by using appropriate language planning measures to address Galician's discrepant status.

In this vein, the LNL ensures that the educational system in Galicia provides all means necessary to promote the use of Standardised Galician at all levels of education (Article 14, LNL 1983). LNL further underscore on the following aspects of the compulsory education system (Loredo-Gutiérrez et al. 2007: 45):

1. Every child has the right to receive instruction in their mother tongue
2. The pupils will not be separated in different centres because of their language
3. Standardised Galician will be a compulsory subject in all levels of education prior to go to university
4. At the end of compulsory education, the students must know how to speak and write to the same level in Galician and Spanish.

These legislations were designed to reach the objective of a “balanced” or “harmonic” bilingualism in a society where both Galician and Spanish co-exist as official languages of the community (Regueiro-Tenreiro 1999; del Valle 2000). Policy stakeholders who were designing LPP believed that the compulsory education system can be a fundamental tool to achieve the afore-mentioned goal of additive bilingualism. Therefore, they dedicated the initial years of LPP to develop bilingual education programmes (see Monteagudo and Bouzada 2002; Monteagudo et al. 2006). Later in 1988, the *Lei de Función Pública de Galicia* (Law of Public Function of Galicia, last amended in 2008) made knowledge of Galician a *sine qua non* for all public sector employees. Arguably, this constituted a reterritorialization of the hitherto Castilian-dominated sociolinguistic space. The *Dirección Xeral de Política Lingüística* (General Directorate for Language Policy) was established by the *Xunta de Galicia* to monitor the implementation of the LNL and subsequent linguistic laws.

The LNL (1983) can be considered as the stepping stone for the revival of Galician. In the Galician context, the major interest of LNL was to reinstate Galician in all sectors of society through appropriate corpus, status, prestige and language acquisition planning (see Cooper 1989; Monteagudo 1993, 2012a, 2012e), which could

finally “raise its former status from a low prestige language and end the discrimination towards its speakers, developed as a consequence of such status” (Loureiro-Rodríguez 2008: 67). However, as discussed previously, the LNL was not designed to substitute Castilian, but rather achieve a “sharing of institutional and social spaces” for Galician in a Castilian dominated geopolitical landscape (Herrero-Valeiro 2002: 297). In this regard, the creation of a standard variety that fits into the legitimate or dominant culture (Bourdieu 1991) and at the same time, is recognised as a shared and prestigious variety became essential. A standardised variety, as Lippi-Green (1994: 166) describes it, is an “abstracted, idealized, homogeneous spoken language” describing the correct way of speaking and writing by which speakers of the language can identify themselves. In the Galician context, the norms of standard Galician are based on a conception of the language as a symbol of Galician identity; this is apparent in the texts of LNL where Galician has been linked recurrently with phrases such as “common identity” or “collective personality” (Loureiro-Rodríguez 2007).

Years of discrimination and cultural pressure from Castilian left Galician with severe dialectal fragmentation (see Monteagudo 2000, 2004, 2005; Gugenberger et al. 2013). In such a situation, the standardisation process of Galician presented a challenge to the standardisers and policy makers. Therefore, in search of a self-identified Galician, standardisers tried consciously to avoid the influence of Castilian and Portuguese, languages that have long-established historical connections with Galician (González-González 2001; Monteagudo and Santamarina 1993). In their preparation of grammatical norms, they gave special attention to the day-to-day language use of Galician (RAG and ILG 2012). *Bases prá Unificación das Normas Lingüísticas* (Basis for the Unification of the Norms) was published in 1982 with the help of researchers from the *Instituto da Lingua Galega* (Institute of Galician Language, henceforth ILG) and the *Real Academia Galega* (Royal Academy of Galician Language, henceforth RAG).

However, similar linguistic roots and the proximity between Galician and Portuguese provoked identity questions among linguists during the early days of the standardisation process (Herrero-Valeiro 2011). RAG and ILG’s standpoint for standardised Galician as an independent variety is challenged by another group of linguists, the ‘Lusists’ defending a linguistic standard (especially in orthography) closer to that of the Luso-Brazilian (Portuguese) system. This movement is termed *Reintegracionismo* (Re-integrationist) or *Lusism* (see Peres-Gonçalves 2014, Sánchez-

Vidal 2010; Monteagudo and Alonso-Pintos 2010 for a detailed account on the Re-integrationist ideology). The Re-integrationists saw “bilingualism as a conflict which originated from the hegemony of Spanish and the historical political subordination to Spain” (Loureiro-Rodríguez 2008: 68). This standpoint received political support from Galician nationalists, especially from the *Bloque Nacionalista Galego* (Galician Nationalist Bloc, henceforth BNG), a left-wing nationalist party who base their political ideologies on the Galician language as a symbol of national identity. The Re-integrationists took the orthography of medieval Galician-Portuguese as a point of reference which did not have a significant connection with modern Galician (Herrero-Valeiro 2002). They complained about the proposed orthography of normalised Galician of the RAG and ILG, which they claimed, was largely based on Castilian and was therefore, hegemonic.

The above situation where nationalist supporters select a historical orthographic system instead of a model that represents the day-to-day language use, refers to Anderson’s (1991) idea of “nation” as an imaginary construct. According to Anderson (1991: 6), a nation is often politically and culturally constructed; he emphasises that the political and cultural bodies of society often make people “imagine” that they share in general beliefs, knowledge, attitudes and identify a collective as having similar views and sentiments to their own. In the Galician context, these nationalists took up the “imagined” discourse of *Reintegracionismo* to contest and, at the same time, separate themselves from the grand discourse of Hispanic identity. However, the *Xunta* finally rejected the Re-integrationists’ proposal and carried on with the proposal of RAG and ILG. However, these orthographic norms of standardised Galician continued to generate conflict and were somewhat resolved in 2003 by including some “historical demands” from Re-integrationists to standard Galician (Ramallo and Rei-Doval 2015: 69). In this regard, it can be argued that the process of standardisation is relatively recent and that the debate between these two ideologies is still active even after thirty years of linguistic normalisation. How the Re-integrationist ideologies impact parents and is associated with grassroots level language mobilisation will be explored in the following sections of this chapter (also see section 7.2.4 of Chapter 7 for more contextualised examples).

Since the early eighties, the standardised variety was introduced to public domains including the mass media, administration and education. However, during the initial years, some teachers in the public education sector preferred the Re-

integrationist (Portuguese) norms sometimes causing confusions and negative attitudes among students (Herrero-Valeiro 2011). Many of my respondents who were educated in the eighties and experienced the initial years of LPP, underscore this issue during interviews as one of the reasons for not being affluent users of Galician (see case studies of Chapter 6 and 7). Although the standard variety was initially well received in the society as the legitimate variety (Monteagudo and Bouzada 2003), the bottom-up discourse questioning the authenticity of standardised Galician often becomes prevalent even after three decades of linguistic normalisation (see O'Rourke and Ramallo 2011, 2013a; Ramallo 2010, 2013). There are multiple reasons behind this bottom-up contestation. The linguistic ideology interrogating the authenticity of the standardised variety, as Ramallo and Rei-Doval (2015: 73) points out, is essentially connected to the “historical discrimination of the Galician language that happened over several centuries”. Lack of implementation of the top-down LPP models can be considered as another significant factor for this negative attitude. As discussed before, the implementation of language policies in Galicia remained half-hearted since the earliest days of autonomy which took its toll in the long run on the acquisition, prestige and status planning of standardised Galician (Monteagudo 2009a). The following section offers a detailed overview of the top-down LPP models put into practice in Galicia since the beginning of Autonomy.

4.3. Three decades of top-down LPP in Galicia (1983 - Present)

Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution (1978), Article 5 of the Galician Statute of Autonomy (1981), and finally the Law for Linguistic Normalisation (1983) formed the basis of language policy in Galicia. As discussed in the earlier sections, these laws were designed to reach the goal of “balanced bilingualism” in society. Additionally, during the initial days of Autonomy, Galician politics was controlled by two main Spanish political parties – the centre-left *Partido Socialista Obrero Español de Galicia* (Spanish Socialist Worker’s Party of Galicia, henceforth PSdeG) and the centre-right *Partido Popular de Galicia* (henceforth PPdeG). It is important to note here that the *Partido Popular* (People’s Party, henceforth PP) is a conservative Spanish political party founded in 1989, whereas PPdeG is an affiliated branch of the PP which has been in power almost continuously in Galicia during the initial years of LPP. However, both the political parties, as Monteagudo (2012e: 26) points out, took little interest in the appropriate implementation of the Law for Linguistic Normalisation (henceforth LNL) at the grassroots (also see Subiela 2009; Losada 2012). Therefore, since the outset of

autonomy, language policies in Galicia have largely remained rudimentary. It favoured a low-intensity model of language policy with a strong focus on the educational sphere, leaving Galician with little scope for language revitalisation in other social domains (Monteagudo et al. 2006; Vila et al. 2016; Pardo-Vuelta 2015).

LPP processes in Galicia can be separated into three stages: *laissez-faire* phase of low intensity LPP (1980-2000), steps towards LPP reform (2001-2008) and finally, the discourse of linguistic freedom and consequent sociolinguistic crisis (2009-present). As the legal stipulation in line with the LNL state that Galician should be introduced gradually in the education curriculum, it was first introduced in the education as a subject in the early eighties and later as medium of instruction. This law further underlines that each student between 8 to 16 years should have the Galician language as a compulsory subject and at least two to four subjects of school curriculum in Galician as a medium of instruction. To reinforce the afore-mentioned legislations in the compulsory education, the PPdeG issued another decree (*Decreto* 247/1995) in 1995 to complement the LNL. As Loredó-Gutiérrez et al. (2007: 46) summarises, this decree stated that:

1. The schooling in nursery and primary school for Galician children should be in their L1.
2. The curricular distribution between the two languages (i.e. Galician and Castilian) and the establishment of areas that are to be taught in Galician in the rest of their compulsory education.

These stipulations basically replicate the section from LNL about Galician children's linguistic rights to receive instruction in their mother tongue and the top-down ideology of additive bilingualism. However, the difficulty arises when it comes to the practical implementation of this model because there are no unified language contexts in Galicia where both the languages are equally distributed (Monteagudo and Bouzada 2003). In this regard, this above LPP model could only reinforce the majority language of the classroom. In urban Galician terrains, a majority of children are brought up speaking Castilian, therefore, it automatically becomes the predominant language of school curriculum in urban areas. Additionally, during the first phase of LPP (1980-2000), the PPdeG Government which was in power almost uninterruptedly during this period, maintained a non-interventionist ideology through lukewarm policies thus maintaining the status quo of equal co-existence of Castilian and Galician in society. Bottom-up

support from the pro-Galician counter-elites including parents, language activists and new speakers of Galician played a crucial role in language maintenance during these years (O'Rourke 2011a).

According to a survey report published by the Department of Education in 1999, the use of Galician was marginal in 40% of nursery classrooms where reading and writing are mostly performed in Castilian (around 50% and 30% in Galician); these results were further confirmed by another study carried out in 2001 (see Monteagudo and Bouzada 2003), causing outrage in the urban Galicia. *A Mesa pola Normalización lingüística* (Platform for the Linguistic Norms), a pro-Galician platform to protect the language rights was established. Counter-elites including language activists, new speakers, academics and literary figures occupied the streets of Galicia demanding greater visibility of Galician in the compulsory education system. Galicia's left wing nationalist party, the *Bloque Nacionalista Galega* (BNG) which was gaining visibility in the political arena since the early nineties, took advantage of this social discontent and made it as a part of their political discourse (Beramendi-González 2007). BNG activists were highly critical of the top-down LPP discourse of 'harmonious bilingualism' of the PPdeG. According to them, Galicia is a *diglossic* community in which Galician will be replaced by Castilian and demand for more pro-Galician language planning measures prioritising Galician over Castilian (del Valle 2000: 118). It is important to mention here that many counter-elite parents from Vigo and Santiago de Compostela whom I interviewed for this study continue to denounce the discourse of "harmonious bilingualism" for perpetuating the sociolinguistic imbalance between Castilian and Galician (see case studies from Chapter 6 and 7).

Finally, as a response to public agitation, the PPdeG government brought in two significant changes to the existing language policy. The first one came through the normative reform of Galician that took place in 2003 and then, the *Plan Xeral de Normalización da Lingua Galega* (General Plan for Normalisation of Galician Language) which was approved unanimously by the Galician Parliament in 2004, confirming more space for Galician in pre-university education. Similarly, language policy debates played a significant role in the 2005 elections in Galicia resulting in a victory for the BNG. Later, BNG formed a coalition (*Bipartito* in Galician) government with PSdeG for a single official term (2005-2009).

The major change in language policy came when the PSdeG and BNG came to power in 2005. They underscored the issue of LPP implementation and targeted the compulsory pre-university education sector where the “implementation measures intended to serve the instructional role of Galician had been largely ineffective and the legal requirement that a minimum of fifty percent of the curriculum be taught through the medium of Galician has gone unmet” (O’Rourke 2014: 84). To bridge this gap between policy rhetoric and implementation, the coalition government introduced a more pro-Galician LPP through a decree entitled *Decreto Galego no ensino* (Decree on the teaching of Galician) in 2007 (see *Decreto 124/2007*). This decree envisioned a system where at least a 50% of subjects would be taught in Galician underpinning the same legal stipulation previously proposed in the *Decreto 247/1995* (1995) and the *Plan Xeral de Normalización da Lingua Galega* (2004). However, in practice schools (particularly urban schools) took this 50% to mean a maximum of 50% and many were in fact not fulfilling the stipulated legal obligation (see Silva-Valdivia 2008, 2010; Sanmartin-Rei 2010; Monteagudo 2009b, 2010b). As Losada (2012: 284) argues, the *Bipartito* government also tried to implement the educational language policy on the ground through annual monitoring and assessment of the language planning centres (*Equipos de Normalización Lingüística* in Galician) in each school. The coalition government also initiated language immersion programmes in pre-primary schools (0-3 years) entitled *Galescolas* (Galician schools) for children coming from non-Galician speaking families.

However, the *Decreto 124/2007* was met with a lot of resistance from certain sectors including upper middle class and the Castilian-speaking bourgeoisie of society, who interpreted it as an “imposition” of Galician on Castilian speakers (also see Monteagudo 2009b, 2010b; Álvarez-Cáccamo 2011; Gómez-Ocampo 2016). In July 2007, an association entitled *Galicia Bilingüe* (literally, Bilingual Galicia) was formed by a group of pro-Castilian counter-elites. This collective using *Galicia Bilingüe* as their mouthpiece, put forward a strong anti-Galician discourse claiming linguistic freedom for those who prefer to use Castilian in everyday communication (González-Pascual 2014). They also demanded that parents should be allowed to choose the language of instruction for their children at school. This received further support from a large section of Galician media which has always been pro-Castilian (Pardo-Vuelta 2015). The discourse of *Galicia Bilingüe*, as O’Rourke (2014: 85) argues, underscores the “struggles about language as a form of symbolic capital on the linguistic market of

Galicia”, revealing the latent phobia amongst elite pockets of the Castilian-speaking population of a reconfiguration and indeed a reversal in the power structure which they presume would place them at a disadvantage. In the context of this study, it firmly illustrates how counter-elites can emerge from both sides of the linguistic spectrum, Castilian or Galician. It also demonstrates how the notion of counter-elites is organic and flexible, in that it is not restricted to specific communities but can emerge from the ranks of the bourgeoisie (Nandi and Devasundaram 2017 in press).

Later, the PPdeG which was in opposition capitalised on public discontent stemming from the *Decreto 124/2007* and made it a political agenda during the 2009 pre-electoral campaign. They promised to abolish the decree and conduct a questionnaire study in pre-primary and primary schools of Galicia to examine parental attitudes. The pre-electoral discourse of the PPdeG further underscored the linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991) of English as an international language and offered English a well-defined role by including it as a vehicular language in the school curriculum (Álvarez-Cáccamo 2011: 13). Therefore, the whole debate on language policy played a significant role in the 2009 elections (see Monteagudo 2012e; Losada 2012), which saw the return to power PPdeG and Alberto Núñez Feijóo became the President of the Xunta. Following their pre-electoral promise, *PPdeG* eradicated the 2007 Decree and in May 2010, introduced changes to the existing language education policy through a new decree entitled *O Decreto do Plurilingüismo* (DDP). As discussed before, the Galician government claims that the changes in language policy are based on a questionnaire study entitled *Consulta ás familias sobre a utilización das linguas no ensino non universitario de Galicia* carried out in June 2009 to know about the language preferences of parents in the school curricula. It is also interesting to note here that this questionnaire does not include any question about parental preferences regarding language of instruction at school. I therefore addressed this issue while interviewing parents in relation to this thesis.

Article 79/2010 of the Decree of Plurilingualism ensures the continuation of Galician in the primary and secondary school system along with Spanish. However, in pre-school, Article 5.2 of the Decree stipulated that the classroom instructor would only use the predominant L1 of the students as medium of instruction, while trying to teach the other co-official language to the children. Since Castilian is the predominant language in urban areas, a preponderance of children are brought up speaking Castilian. Therefore, through this present language policy, Castilian automatically becomes the

language of instruction in the classroom. This LPP model continues to restrict the use of Galician among urban pre-school students. According to a report issued by the *Rexistro do Consorcio Galego de Servizos de Igualdade e Benestar* (Galician Consortium for Equality and Welfare Services), at present 80% of public pre-primary schools offer 43% of classes in Galician and 56% of classes have Castilian as the medium of instruction (European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages 2016: 76). Additionally, the PPdeG Government reduced massively the number of public pre-primary schools in urban/semi-urban areas, initiated by coalition government of the BNG and PSdeG offering language immersion programmes in Galician (Álvarez 2009; Galicia Confidencial 2014). It is also important to note here that several counter-elite parents from Santiago de Compostela, Bertamiráns and Vigo, who participated in this study criticised this decision (see case studies from Chapter 6 and 7 for a contextualised overview from my dataset).

Additionally, from May 2010 onwards, the Government also put in place a Plurilingual model (Article 79/2010) of language policy to certain schools where 33% of the total subjects are taught in Galician, and another 33% are taught in Castilian and the rest 33% English. Once decided by the managing committee of the school, the school authority can ask for the Plurilingual model for teaching the curriculum. Privately-run schools may have the liberty of choosing their language of instruction, but they have to offer Galician and Castilian as subjects. A few private pre-primary schools which offer English as medium of instruction follow this language policy. Relatedly, the government substituted the term for the language planning centres in schools from *Equipos de Normalización Lingüística* (Team of Linguistic Normalisation) to *Equipos de Dinamización Lingüística* (Team of Linguistic Activity). This decision was essentially politically motivated as the word “normalisation”, in the Galician context, refers to the ongoing language planning process. The governmental LPP stakeholders carefully selected the term “Dinamización Lingüística” (literally, Linguistic Activity) to transmit the ideology that there is no need for normalisation in present day Galicia, as Galicia has already achieved the LPP goal of “balanced bilingualism” where both the official languages possess equal amount of social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1991) ignoring strategically the linguistic conflict and socio-lingual inequality present in Galician society. This is most likely to be because the PPdeG wanted to secure political support from Galicia’s Castilian-speaking urban elites.

DDP was viewed as an attack on Galician language and culture by pro-Galician counter-elites who created several forums, activist groups and non-profit organisations such as *Queremos Galego* ('We want Galician' is a pro-Galician platform for Galicians; Queremos Galego 2016), and *Galicia co Galego* ('Galicia with Galician' is a co-operative of teachers, parents and other members of civil society who want to educate their children in Galician; Galicia co Galego 2016) and as *A Mesa pola Normalización lingüística* among others to defy this policy from the ground. A detailed discussion on these bottom-up LPP efforts is further explored in the following paragraphs. Finally, *O Decreto do Plurilingüismo* was challenged in the High Court of Galicia in 2012 by RAG. In 2013, the High Court of Galicia turned down only the section permitting parents to select the language of instruction for their children. The court found this "unconstitutional" as the law of linguistic normalisation of 1983 clearly stipulates that educational decisions about language are made at the level of the Autonomous Community and not the individual, but, left the rest of the decree without any amendment (Álvarez 2015). As other sections of the Decree are also used to reduce the number of hours in Galician in the public education system in the name of teaching English and Castilian, the RAG wanted the whole degree to be eradicated. Consequently, the RAG further appealed to the Constitutional Supreme Court of Madrid in 2013. However, the Constitutional Supreme Court ruled in favour of the Xunta in 2015. RAG decided to appeal to the European Union Court of Human Rights at Strasburg and at the time of writing this thesis, the DDP awaits the outcome (Galicia Confidencial 2015; European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages 2016).

Decades of socio-lingual inequality, social pressure from Castilian, incessant language shift and low-intensity model of language policies from the government had already put a question mark on the survival of Galician. At present, under DDP, 44% of Galician students receive education in Galician which is 3% less than 2008, while 52% of students receive classes mostly in Castilian which has increased by 18% in the last five years; another 3% of students receive education exclusively in Castilian (IGE 2014). In this regard, ever since this top-down LPP has been put into practice, language shift in urban terrains has gained momentum (see Loredó-Gutiérrez 2015, 2016; Loredó-Gutiérrez and Monteagudo 2017 in press). This language shift, as discussed previously (see section 1.3 of Chapter 1), is more prominent among the age group between five to fourteen years who are directly affected by DDP. According to IGE (2014) data, children who communicate only or mostly in Castilian notably increased

by 11% in last five years (from 63 % in 2008 to 74% in 2013). The figures are descending for the Galician speaking monolingual children between the age group of five to fourteen years as well. As cited by IGE (2014) data, they dropped 13% in the last ten years (from 27% in 2003 to 13% in 2013). The situation is no different with the age group between fifteen to twenty-nine years; there is also an increase of 8% among Castilian monolinguals in the last five years (25% in 2008 to 33% in 2013). The above data underscores that the younger generations of Galician society are gradually becoming monolingual in Castilian, which raises more critical questions about the afore-mentioned claim by the PPdeG of reaching the goal of “balanced bilingualism”.

When the above *Enquisa de Condicións de Vida das Familias* (Questionnaire on the Conditions of the Livelihood of the Families) data was made public in December 2014 (the Survey took place during 2013), the socio-political debates related to the Plurilingual model were refuelled (see Manuel-Pereiro 2014; Vizoso 2014; Sampredo 2014). Galician counter-elites including parents, teachers, language activists and political leaders from the opposition started questioning the efficacy of present day LPP. While responding to their criticism through a press release, Alberto Núñez Feijóo, the President of Xunta, stated that the present top-down LPP is pro-Galician and by no means is discriminatory towards Galician. Whilst defending this language policy model, he further argued that it should be the family, and not the education system, which is responsible for intergenerational transmission of Galician. In his view, speaking Galician or Castilian is a question of individual choice. The Galician government’s former Education Minister Jesús Vázquez Abad and Dario Villanueva, Director of *Real Academia Española* (Royal Academy of Spanish Language, henceforth RAE) defended the President’s claim of “individual freedom of language selection in a bilingual society” as a reason for the incessant language shift to Castilian (Hermida 2014; Álvarez 2014; La Opinión 2014).

There appears to be a marked disjuncture between Núñez Feijóo’s endeavour to separate the ideological dimensions of political discourse and the “individual” parental home space. It could be argued that the latter is always-already linked to ideology. In essence, the government is responsible for creating and implementing the LPP and instilling it into the public domain through various Ideological State Apparatuses (Althusser 1971) including schools, religious institutions, the mass media, and indeed, through the institution of the family itself. These apparatuses are often used to perpetuate top-down ideologies as a “false consciousness” amongst civil society

(Eyerman 1981; Eagleton 1991). So, when there is a perennial transference of majoritarian influences, state policy and media messages from the public sphere into the home space, the school and home spaces can become intertwined. In this regard, the statements by the President of the Xunta de Galicia appear all the more contradictory and misleading. It could be argued that he empowers Galician families with false agency, when in actuality they are always-already ideologically controlled. Therefore, his segregation of the interior home domain as a space of individual language choice, distinct from the exterior or broader dimensions of society (Foucault 1994) is contestable. Ultimately, top-down macro-level language policies are designed to address and regulate social structures at all possible levels. Home language choices and practice are therefore invariably influenced by the individual family's perception of these dominant macro political policies and their reverberations in wider social structures (see section 3.2 of Chapter 3 for more discussion on this).

In the context of my research, as discussed previously in this chapter, decades of socio-lingual inequality, pressure from Castilian, and continuous language shift put intergenerational transmission in jeopardy especially in the urban/semi-urban settings. While language choice and practice at home is closely related to the intergenerational transmission of a language, a gap in the intergenerational transmission of a language within the family is also a significant marker of language loss (see Fishman 1991; Ó hÍfearnáin 2012; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014a). Lukewarm LPPs during the initial years of Linguistic Normalisation and then, pro-Castilian language LPP from the right-wing Galician Government in recent years have caused further damage to the linguistic vitality of Galician as is evident in the *Enquisa de Condicións de Vida das Familias* (2013) data. For instance, macro level sociolinguistic data over the last two decades underscore a continuous increase of Castilian as a vehicular language inside the home domain which puts the intergenerational transmission of Galician at stake (Subiela 2010; Ramallo 2012). According to IGE (2014), in 2013, 47% of couples use only or mostly Castilian among themselves which is 4% higher than 2008. Although the majority (41%) of the present-day Galician population still speak to their children in Galician, the number has dropped by 7% (49% in 2008) in the last five years. On the other hand, people who speak to their children in Castilian only, increased by almost 3% (29% in 2008 to 32% in 2013). It is also important to note here that 51% of the children respond to their parents always or mostly in Castilian irrespective of the

language spoken to them. Relatedly, a little less than 50% of people report that they always speak in Galician to their grandparents.

It is also important to note here that Galician still remains the majority language (51%) for socialisation among friends. However, its use has reduced by 5% in the last five years (56% in 2008). On the contrary, 49% of Galicians use only or mostly Castilian with their acquaintances. This situation changes for more formal domains of language use. For instance, 53% of people speak only or mostly Castilian whenever they communicate with bank employees; 35% of the population use exclusively Castilian when they talk to the teachers of their children and another 34% use the language whenever they talk to a doctor (IGE 2014). The situation is no different in the workplace. Although 30% of employed Galicians address their colleagues only in Galician, it remains a lesser-used language while communicating with superiors (24%) or clients (19%). The above sociolinguistic practice at the community level points to the *diglossic* situation that exists in contemporary Galician society where Galician is reserved for informal domains and Castilian is used in more formal contexts which puts a question mark on the top-down LPP goal of achieving purportedly “balanced bilingualism” in Galician society. These above observations further underscore the possible gaps between the top-down prestige planning of Galician and its practical implementation on the ground. A language under revitalisation, as discussed elaborately in the previous two chapters, necessitates promotion from various levels including official/governmental organisations, educational institutions, various pressure groups and above all from individual/family domains. The prestige planning of a minority language can be successfully achieved essentially by expanding the domains of language use at the intellectual level, by using it in the fields of science, education, career, law and high culture. In the context of my study, as discussed above, *laissez-faire* language policies for decades failed to offer sufficient social prestige to the minority language at the community level, thus still maintaining Galician as a subordinate language compared to Castilian even after thirty years of LPP.

4.4. Impact of top-down LPP on the linguistic culture of Galicia: an overview

From the outset of the Autonomy in Galicia, as the above sections point out, the state-driven LPP of Galicia centre around the Law of Linguistic Normalisation of Galician (1983). The LNL and subsequent laws which made essential the knowledge of standard Galician for all public sector employees and rendered it compulsory in schools conferred Galician with some degree of social, symbolic and economic value.

The Castilian speaking upper middle class of Galicia started learning Galician as a second language for better employment opportunities. This situation relates to the discourses of “elite” and “additive” bilingualism. Elite bilingualism occurs when a speaker of a dominant language decides to become bilingual in a foreign or second language through learning and at the same time continues to use his or her first language for other domains (Valdés and Figueroa 1994). Elite bilingualism is often associated with a related concept called “additive bilingualism”. Additive bilingualism occurs when an individual learns a second language for better lifestyle, job opportunities or education without affecting his or her L1 (Paulston 1975; de Mejía 2002). This kind of bilingualism is often associated with the middle-class, educated members of the civil society as it happened in the Galician society.

Due to Galician’s greater visibility and its increased proliferation in education and media, the levels of literacy and linguistic competence in Galician also received an impetus during last two decades. Linguistic closeness between Galician and Castilian has also played an important role in the acquisition of Galician for these second language learners. In fact, a large majority (86%) who are less than thirty years old report that they have learnt the language at school instead of in the home domain (IGE 2014). Survey reports of the *Enquisa de Condicións de Vida das Familias* (2013) further underline that almost everyone living in Galicia understands the language, while around 90% of the total population claim that they can speak it. On the other hand, writing skills in Galician has also improved significantly over the last two decades as 85% of the population who are more than fifteen years old report that they have written competence in the language (Loredo-Gutiérrez 2015). However, when it comes to the domains of language use, Castilian is the most used language for writing as 84% of the population write only in Castilian (IGE 2014). The above data essentially underscores possible gaps between the top-down language policy paradigms and their practical implementation on the ground. Another conceivable explanation to this inconsistency could be the ideological as well as practical dominance of Castilian over the modern day Galicians who are more comfortable in writing in Castilian despite their high level of written competence in Galician.

While evaluating the impact of the top-down LPPs on the linguistic culture of the Galician language community, Monteagudo (2012e: 30-31) notes that top-down language policy in Galicia has made some positive impact on people’s language attitudes. It has also been fruitful to a certain extent in removing overtly expressed

prejudices towards the language that have been working against the language for decades (see O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013a, 2015; Formoso-Gosende 2013; Iglesias-Álvarez 2012; also see case studies from Chapter 6 and 7 for more examples). Macro level sociolinguistic surveys carried out in Galicia over the past two decades including the *Enquisa de Condicións de Vida das Familias* (2013) data register an overwhelmingly positive attitude towards the minority language across all sectors of society (also see González-González et al. 2011; Observatorio da Cultura Galega 2011b). Around 97% people consider Galician as a part of their tradition and culture and more than 75% find the language as an important symbol of Galician identity. More than 90% of the total population consider that everyone who lives in Galicia should speak Galician and around 95% people think that everyone in Galicia should have bilingual competence. In this regard, 72% of the participants think that children should be addressed in both languages, while another 21.4% think that they should only be spoken to in Galician. It is also interesting to note that 87% of the Galician population consider that everyone who lives in Galicia should know how to speak and write in Galician, while a small percentage (3%) of people remain indifferent about this question. Around 86% think that the public sector or government employees should know how to communicate properly in Galician and another 62% think that they should use the language regularly (IGE 2014). According to the survey data from the *Consulta ás familias sobre a utilización das linguas no ensino non universitario de Galicia* (Consultation to the families about the use of languages in non-university education of Galicia, 2009) which was centred more on parental language preference in the pre-university education curricula, more than 53% of Galician parents prefer their children to learn to read and write in both Galician and Castilian, while another 37% prefer only Castilian.

It is also important to mention here that young Galician speakers (between 18-29 years) show the most positive attitude towards Galician (Monteagudo and Loredo-Gutiérrez 2017 in press). However, this attitude changes especially in the big cities like A Coruña or Vigo where Castilian takes up the role of a key language and many Castilian-speaking youth maintain largely negative attitudes towards Galician (O'Rourke 2011a). These studies show that Galician and Castilian play a significant role in identity construction among young people, and those who changed their first language (i.e. Castilian) are often viewed negatively (Observatorio da Cultura Galega 2011b; O'Rourke and Ramallo 2011, 2013a, 2013b). Over half of the population aged

between 5-29 years report exclusive or predominant use of Castilian, paradoxically amongst whom language attitudes have been consistently more favourable to Galician (Iglesias-Álvarez 2012; Moreira-Barbeito 2014; Loredó-Gutiérrez 2016). This discrepancy between language attitudes and actual practice points to the hegemonic dominance of Castilian. It further exhibits how the Castilian-dominated exterior penetrates the Galician interior, creating fluctuations, vacillations and inconsistencies in language practice. It is important to note that the exterior and interior domains are polymorphous and stratified involving geographical, ideological, political, education and home domains. Even though the younger generation maintains a pro-Galician attitude, their articulations and attestations of fidelity to Galician in the public sphere seen to be challenged by interruptions and intrusions in this claimed commitment to Galician by their intermittent lapses into Castilian. In addition, the lower levels of language use among Galician teenagers, as Iglesias-Álvarez (2012) argues, can also be associated with a lack of confidence in their spoken linguistic abilities as many of them do not speak at home domain.

Another significant impact of the LPP in Galicia, as discussed previously in section 2.6 of Chapter 2, is the emergence of a pro-Galician urban demographic known as *neofalantes* or new speakers. It is important to note that “new speakerness” is not a phenomenon which is taking place only at the Galician context. Other European minority language communities also talk about new speakers in a range of different terms, such as, “nou parlant” in Catalan; “euskaldunzaharra” in Basque; “nuachainteoir” in Irish; “neach-labhairt ùr” in Scottish Gaelic and “brezhoneger nevez” in Breton among others (O’Rourke et al. 2015). In the European minority-language contexts, the term “new speaker” refers to persons with “little or no home or community exposure to a minority language but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual educational programs, revitalization projects or as adult language learners” (O’Rourke et al. 2015: 1). One of the significant aspects of the concept of “new speakerness” is that the new speakers often attempt “to improve their active competence in the target language in one or more domains outside of (semi)formal language learning” (Hornsby 2015: 3). In other words, it “relates to the incorporation of the new language into active language use” (ibid.).

Whereas the above definitions of “new speakerness” concentrated mostly on language acquisition and levels of competence, Jaffe (2015: 43) describes it as a dynamic process, instead of as a static label. This process of becoming a new speaker,

as Pujolar and González (2013: 139) note in the Catalan context, often occurs through several *mudes* (singular *muda*) or “specific biographical juncture[s] where individuals enact significant changes in their linguistic repertoire” in favour of the target language. Although the notion of *muda* has been used principally to explain how Catalan new speakers emerge and preserve their new speakerness through individual linguistic practices (Pujolar and Puigdevall-Serralvo 2015), later studies about new speakerness in other European minority contexts (see Walsh and O’Rourke 2014 for Irish case; Hornsby 2015 for new speakers of Lemko) further confirm that *muda* is not an isolated phenomenon. Based on existing literature on new speakerness, seven *mudes* have been recognised where a new speaker start implementing the minority language into his/her linguistic repertoire (see González et al. 2009; Walsh and O’Rourke 2014; Pujolar and Puigdevall-Serralvo 2015): (1) in primary school; (2) in high school; (3) at university; (4) when getting one’s first job; (5) when establishing a new family; (6) when becoming a parent and in some cases (7) after retirement. It is important to note here that not much research has been done on new speakers’ *mudes* in Galicia yet. Several new speaker trajectories discussed in this thesis (see case examples from Chapter 6) offer a number of critical moments during their lifecycle when these *mudes* reportedly took place. A detailed discussion on the characteristics of Galician new speakers can be explored in the following paragraphs.

A Galician *neofalante* has been defined as a person who is brought up speaking Castilian, but who at some stage in his/her life (often during their youth or early adulthood) “become” speakers of Galician and currently uses only or predominantly Galician (O’Rourke and Ramallo 2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2015). Some of them who maintain a more activist profile often abandon Castilian entirely and become monolingual speakers of Galician (Ramallo and O’Rourke 2014; Ramallo 2009, 2010, 2012, 2014). The motivations that can cause such a “majority language displacement” (O’Rourke and Ramallo 2015: 150) are diverse and often socially, economically, ideologically, politically and culturally driven. However, the complexities of these practices, as O’Rourke (2014: 87) notes, are “yet to be investigated”. It is also important to mention here that most of my respondents fit into this description of *neofalantes* as they have learnt Galician at school instead in home domain and today use Galician to varying degrees in everyday communication. A detailed discussion of diverse profiles of new speakers depending on their linguistic commitment to Galician will be explored further in the next chapter (see section: 5.5 of Chapter 5).

Unlike the traditional speakers of Galician who constitute an aging rural based population with little or no formal training in the language, *neofalantes* maintain a middle-class and urban-based profile and speak mostly the written standardised variety of Galician that they have learnt from the education system. However, in practice, as Ramallo and Rei-Doval (2015: 74) note, many *neofalantes* tend to disregard the linguistic norms of Galician while speaking the language and often replace them with Castilian forms at different levels ranging from prosody to the lexicon; even the speech of cautious users is frequently characterised by pragmatic traces of Castilian. As new speakers speak a standard as opposed to dialectal Galician, a more traditional colloquial variety of the language more often associated with people who acquire the language in the home and/or reside in rural areas, their language use gives rise to the authenticity debates. The ideology of Authenticity, as Woolard (2008: 304) defines, “locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community”. To be considered legitimate and/or authentic, “a speech variety must be “from somewhere” in speakers’ consciousness, and thus its meaning is profoundly local. If such social and territorial roots are not discernible, a linguistic variety lacks value in this system” (ibid.). In the Galician context, traditional native speakers’ linguistic variety, what several new speakers consider as “authentic”, sometimes create a ‘social closure’ that works as an identity control mechanism which often cause “frustration on the part of newcomers to the language, sometimes deterring them from using it altogether” (O’Rourke and Ramallo 2013a: 290). Galician new speakers often describe their language use as “artificial”, far from being “authentic or traditional” Galician and “considerably improvable” which further underlines their inherent insecurity about their own language variety (see O’Rourke and Ramallo 2013a, 2013b; for more examples in my contexts of research also see Case study 1 in Chapter 6 and section 7.2.4 in Chapter 7).

Traditional speakers, on the other hand, tend to consider standard Galician as the new prestige norm, underscoring one of the stigmas related to the dialectal variations of Galician and prejudicial beliefs held particularly by older generations of Galician speakers about “traditional” Galician (Ramallo 2013). Significantly, new speakers’ competence in standardised Galician to some degree facilitates them with better job opportunities. It also (to an extent) links them with a higher degree of cultural and social capital than the traditional speakers (O’Rourke and Ramallo 2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2015). Therefore, during last two decades, new speakers have started widening the symbolic space for Galician by contesting the hitherto dominance of Castilian as

the sole manifestation of symbolic capital in the urban Galicia. Despite favourable institutional support for Galician in society, opportunities to use the language in urban domains remain restricted. New speakers' use of Galician in urban spaces is often seen as breaking long established social norms as Castilian has always been the predominant language in urban milieu (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013a: 291). Furthermore, there are people who often associate "new speakerness" with Galician linguistic nationalism (Ramallo 2010). This is because there is a group of activist new speakers whose decision to make a linguistic *muda* to Galician is often politically motivated and in many cases, linked with the political ideologies of the BNG. BNG, as discussed previously, base their political discourse on the Galician language as a symbol of national identity.

Another distinguishing characteristic of this nationalist sector including a group of new speakers is their discourse of Celticism (see Pereira-González 2000; O'Rourke 2011a). This ideological discourse is symbolically as well as historically linked to the *Rexurdimento* or Renaissance movement of Galician language and culture that took place in the latter half of nineteenth century in Galicia. *Rexurdimento* was controlled by a small circle of nationalist intellectuals such as Manuel Murguía, Vicente Risco, Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao and Fermin Bouza among others who believed that the Galicians had a Celtic origin and Galicia should be recognised as a Celtic nation (see Martínez-Murguía 1882; Diaz-Andreu 1995; Acuña-Castroviejo 1995; Diaz-Santana 2002; González-García 2007). The notion of Celtic identity is often associated with people who speak one of the recognised Celtic languages (see Dillon and Chadwick 1973; Evans 1977; Alberro 2005). Although there is strong archaeological evidence of the existence of the Celts in Galicia, no Celtic language has been spoken in Galicia since the ninth century AD (Berresford-Ellis 2002). Additionally, modern day Galician lexicon, although include a significant number of words with Celtic roots, is predominantly based on Vulgar Latin (Monteagudo 1999). Yet, these renaissance authors acting as counter-elites took up the "imagined" (Anderson 1991) discourse of Celticism to contest and, at the same time, exclude themselves from the hegemonic discourse of Hispanic identity. In modern times, a section of Galician nationalists including some new speakers use this discourse of Celticism as a counter-hegemonic strategy from the ground to preserve their Galician identity. Some of my participants who are associated with co-operative funded Galician medium immersion schools are custodians of this ideology (see Case study 3 in Chapter 6 for more contextualised

discussion on this). It is also important to mention here that although all new speaker counter-elites share the same ideological bond with Galician, many of them maintain a cautious distance from a nationalist political ideology (see Case study 1 in Chapter 6 and section 7.2.5 in Chapter 7 for more examples).

Although LPP in Galicia is not principally designed at raising the number of new speakers, in Galicia's language shift-induced Castilian-dominated landscape, new speakers have been occupying a vital role in the language revitalisation process on the ground. However, it still remains to be ascertained whether new speaker parents can restore the process of intergenerational transmission of Galician in the home domain and within the community. These new speakers, although numerically still a minority in the Galician geopolitical context, seemed to be driven by an awareness of Galicia's sociolinguistic reality which is evident from their abandonment of Castilian as a vehicular language in everyday life. In doing so, they are contesting bottom-up a "socially structured and potentially structuring hierarchical model in which Spanish continues to maintain, in Bourdieusian parlance (1991), its "legitimate" status and remains a key source of symbolic capital on the Galician linguistic market" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2015: 163). It is this activist attitude which places a section of new speakers alongside Galician counter-elites (see Chapter 2 for an elaborate discussion). Counter-elites' role in recent grassroots level mobilisation contesting the top-down LPP will be discussed in the following section.

4.5. Grassroots level mobilisation in recent years: role of pro-Galician counter-elites

Ever since the DDP is put in practice as LPP in Galicia, it has been contested by the pro-Galician counter-elites. They took it as an attack on the Galician language and culture. As a reaction to this language policy which was shrinking the space for Galician in the education curriculum, Galician counter-elites formed co-operatives such as *Galiza co Galego* (literally, Galician with Galician), *Asociación Semente* (literally, Association for Seeds) to fund Galician medium immersion schools. Many pro-Galician parents took this attempt as an extension to their Galician-centred family language policy, as school domain was becoming a space for de-Galicianisation during the early ages. These cooperative funded Galician medium immersion school received a huge reception even from the non-Galician speaking parents as well. Schools such as *Avoescola* (literally meaning Grandmother's school in Narón, a town in northern Galicia) and *Escola Semente Compostela* (literally meaning Seeds' School in Santiago

de Compostela), where I have conducted fieldwork, although struggled during initial years with lack of students, soon they received overwhelming response from pro-Galician parents.

During my final phase of fieldwork in January 2015, I also learned that the *Asociación Semente* has grown bigger through crowd-funding and is opening more immersion schools at Vigo (a coastal city in south-west of Galicia), Trasancos (a municipality near Ferrol, a coastal city in northern Galicia) and in Lugo, a town in the interior of Galicia. *Galiza co Galego* is also planning to open a new pre-primary school at the city of Ourense, a town in the south-east of Galicia (Galicia Confidencial 2014). Additionally, counter-elite parents who want their children to socialise in Galician outside school, also formed groups using social media so that they can meet up with their children who can then communicate in Galician (Bal and Rodríguez 2014). The above strategies of bottom-up resistance from counter-elite parents point to parental language management at the grassroots level. A detailed discussion on the counter-hegemonic strategies of the Galician counter-elite parents contesting the top-down LPP from the ground in the context of my investigation is explored explored further in the following three chapters.

4.6. Conclusion

In the Galician setting, as highlighted throughout this chapter, the communication between social and symbolic capital manifests in the intangible, “prestige” afforded to the dominant language – Castilian is widely perceived to possess a greater degree of symbolic capital. This in turn informs the wider dimension of social capital in the form of collective or cooperative mobilisation at the grassroots level to interrogate the dominant discourse of Castilian. Therefore, symbolic capital, evident in the privileging of Castilian as the language of communication is to some degree offset by the parents-as discussed earlier, or in the form of the cooperative contestation of *Galiza co Galego* and/or *Asociación Semente* from the ground by Galician counter elites, aiming to destabilise the normalisation and legitimisation of the dominant discourse through counter-hegemonic strategies. One of the endeavours of this inquiry, as discussed in the introduction, is to discover whether Galician parents can restore intergenerational transmission in a Castilian-dominated urban landscape and if their microcosmic interrogation of the dominant discourse could contribute to bottom-up language policies of resistance on the ground.

While elaborating on the theoretical conceptualisation of LPP research, Ricento and Hornberger (1996) argue that Language Policy and Planning is a multi-layered process, layers which they characterise as the metaphorical onion (also see Hornberger 2015; Cassels-Johnson 2013b). Whereas the outer layers of the LPP ‘onion’ stand for macro level policy processes, the interior layers represent policy accommodations at the grassroots, discourses of resistance, interpretations and negotiations that take place in day-to-day life. Therefore, the connection between the policy literature and implementation of the same at various layers of the society can better be explained by ethnographically slicing through the figurative onion (McCarty 2011). In the contexts of my research, I have taken up an ethnographic approach to comprehend how Galician parents from diverse urban/semi-urban areas accommodate, resist, and make policy in everyday social practice. A detailed description on the methodological aspects of this study can be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

ETHNOGRAPHY OF FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY: A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

5.1. Introduction

In the following sections, I will develop a methodological paradigm for bottom-up LPP research using ethnographic tools as a means of data collection. The primary focus of this study is to investigate the impact of state-imposed language policies within the family domain and to look into how individual linguistic practices and ideologies of Galician parents act as visible and/or invisible language planners at home, influencing their children's language learning (see section 1.1 of Chapter 1). Language management (Spolsky 2009) inside the home, whether visible or invisible, has been defined as non-governmental and spontaneous language planning for the acquisition and use of a language that may work as a defence mechanism against the overt language policies introduced by the state. While parents can be considered as the primary actors in invisible language planning, the role of children's peers, other family members, classroom teachers and the media are no less important in this process (see section 3.2 of Chapter 3). However, the role of these grassroots level actors (i.e. individual parents) in developing bottom-up LPP has received considerably less attention from researchers (Van Mensel 2015).

Early LPP scholarship (see Fishman 1979; Das Gupta 1971; Haugen 1983; Rubin 1977) - what Ricento (2000) termed as "neoclassical era" (1950-90), centred mostly on the formulation of state-run language policy and planning programmes. This scholarship largely ignored the role of human agency within LPP discourse (also see section 2.2 of Chapter 2). With the emergence of critical research paradigms in LPP since the early nineties, these macro level frameworks came under criticism for turning a blind eye to the socio-political contexts in which the language(s) are planned. Guided by the principles of postmodernism (Pennycook 2002, 2010), CLP researchers explained how the top-down policy-makers validate the interests of dominant social groups, marginalise minority languages and perpetuate systems of sociolinguistic inequality (see Cassels-Johnson 2009, 2013a; Tollefson 1991, 2002, 2013, 2015; Wiley 1998; McCarty 2004, 2011; Hornberger 2015).

Ricento and Hornberger (1996) while elaborating on the theoretical conceptualisation of language policy emphasise that neither neoclassical nor critical

language policy approaches has “satisfactorily accounted for language policy processes across national, institutional and interpersonal layers – layers which they characterise as the metaphorical onion” (Hornberger and Cassels-Johnson 2007: 509). While the outer layers of the LPP “onion” stand for macro level policy processes, the interior layers represent policy accommodations at the grassroots level, also including discourses of resistance, interpretations and negotiations that take place in everyday life. Therefore, the gap in literature on language policy interpretation and implementation can better be explained by slicing the onion ethnographically (Ricento and Hornberger 1996; Hornberger and Cassels-Johnson 2011; Hornberger 2015).

5.2. Ethnography of Family Language Policy as a research method

While introducing the ethnography of language policy as an effective research method to examine the actors, agents, contexts, and processes across multiple layers of LPP, Ricento and Cassels-Johnson (2013: 15) summarize that ethnographic research in language policy and planning can (1) inform us about different types of language planning – status, corpus and acquisition (Cooper 1989)– and language policy – official and unofficial, *de jure* and *de facto*, macro and micro, national and local [i.e. community, family and individual] language policy; (2) reveal language policy processes – creation, interpretation, appropriation and implementation at different levels [i.e. micro meso and micro]; (3) allow us to study the links between the LPP layers, from the macro to the micro, from policy to practice; and finally (4) open up ideological spaces for creating multilingual language policies that support social justice and sound educational practice. Therefore, an ethnography of family language policy (henceforth, EFLP) as a research method can provide an account of parental agency on the ground (see Cassels-Johnson 2013a; Curdt-Christiansen 2014a, 2016; Fogle 2013a; Floka 2013) and can offer a valid description of “the ways in which people accommodate, resist, and make policy in everyday social practice” (McCarty 2015: 82). It has also been argued that ethnographic research in LPP should preferably be multi-sited because “there is no one ‘site’ in which a language policy is created, nor one ‘community’ in which a language policy is penned” (Cassels-Johnson 2013b: 145). In the context of my research, I have taken a multi-sited ethnographic approach to understand how Galician parents in different urban/semi-urban settings interpret, accommodate, resist, and make policy in everyday social practice.

Ethnographic research methods in language policy to a great degree are indebted to Hymes’ (1974) *Ethnography of Communication* (also see Hornberger and Cassels-

Johnson 2007, 2011; Cassels-Johnson 2009, 2013a, 2013b; McCarty 2011, 2015). Initially termed as *Ethnography of Speaking*, later described as *Ethnography of Communication*, Hymes intended to understand language in use (Hymes 1974, 1980, 1996). Hymes' (1974) notion of *Ethnography of Communication* moves away from “considering speech as an abstract model and toward investigating the diversity of speech as it is encountered in ethnographic fieldwork” (Johnstone 2010: 3). Therefore, ethnographic research methods in sociolinguistics can be used to understand “how people use language, what they believe about language, and why, as aspects of socially constructed reality” (Heller 2008: 250).

Ethnography has its derivational roots in anthropology (see Schensul et al. 2013; Blommaert and Jie 2010; Canagarajah 2005, 2006). Therefore, the foundational principles shaping this genre draw from “ontologies, methodologies and epistemologies from anthropology” (Blommaert 2009: 262). Ethnographic research is described as a “way of seeing” that is situated and systematic and a “way of looking” based on *in situ*, long-term, in depth, first-hand fieldwork (Wolcott 2008; Atkinson et al. 2001; Meyerhoff et al. 2015). The researcher is the key research instrument in this “way of seeing or looking” (McCarty 2015: 85) and his/her “emic” or insider’s perspective is the pivotal factor for any ethnographic research since it is bottom-up, where the researcher forms theories on the basis of empirical evidence (Blommaert and Jie 2010). Along with the emic perspective, it is equally important to link the collected empirical data with already established theoretical frameworks namely, “etic”. While describing ethnographic methods for bottom-up language policy research, Cassels-Johnson (2013a: 149) suggests that the researcher starts with theoretical frameworks and existing top-down policies which he terms “etic 1”. Then he/she gathers ethnographic fieldwork data and uses it to test these theories (i.e. emic). Finally, on the basis of this empirical evidence the researcher can then revise or restructure theories which according to him, should be termed as “etic 2”. It is also worth mentioning here that my data collection on the Galician language community is also informed by a multicultural, multilingual perspective stemming from my own research experience and antecedents as discussed in Chapter 1 (see section 1.1 of Chapter 1). Moreover, my “way of seeing and looking” were supplemented by my competence in Galician and Castilian. Amount of time spent in the community and knowledge of both the languages have not only allowed me an easy access to the community, but also helped me to develop a rapport with the participants, thus creating an insider’s perspective. Being an

Indian, although I physically appeared as an outsider, as soon as I started communicating to the participants in their own language(s) the space between insider/outsider became blurred.

Since the investigator is the key research instrument in ethnographic inquiry and like anyone else, every researcher has his/her individual values, beliefs and worldviews, researcher objectivity is deemed to be necessary for the validity and representativeness of the study (see LeCompte 1987; Mallinson et al. 2013; Norris 1997; Hegelund 2005; Atkinson et al. 2001). Ethnographic research is often criticised for observer bias or subjectivity. This refers to the personal judgements of the observer which inform interpretations, “favouritism displayed, distortions in the evidence introduced” to the findings (Payne and Payne 2004: 27) and therefore, potentially invalidates the research. However, research as a human activity is never completely immune to error and bias (Monahon and Fisher 2010). In other words, absolute objectivity is unattainable in any naturalistic inquiry (see LeCompte 1987; Norris 1997; Hegelund 2005). The essence of good research, as Payne and Payne (2004: 156) argue “is not that it should be neutral or distanced from its subjects, but that it should be reliable and valid”. Therefore, validity is an essential component for assessing the quality and reliability of any investigation (see Burns 1999; Merriam 1998; Flick 2006, 2007; Brewer and Hunter 2006; Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003; Atkinson et al. 2001; Nic Craith and Kockel 2014).

To address the validity and reliability of the data explored in this study, I adopted a mixed method approach for data gathering looking at the research questions through diverse ethnographic data collection techniques (see Schensul et al. 2013; Morse 2003; Creswell and Plano Clark 2011). A mixed method approach is defined as a research paradigm that incorporates multiple research methods within a single study (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003; Greene 2007; Johnson and Christensen 2014). It may initially have either a qualitative or a quantitative theoretical core, where “the ‘imported’ strategies are supplemental to the major or core method and serve to enlighten or provide clues that are followed up within the core method” (Morse 2003: 190). Since “reality” in qualitative research is often considered as “holistic, multidimensional and ever-changing” (Merriam 1998: 202), Silverman (2006: 201) argues that the union of multiple “theories, methods, observers, and empirical materials” can offer a “more accurate, comprehensive and objective representation of the object of study”. In this regard, gathering data through various methods becomes

useful to validate naturalistic inquires because what people state about their actions, sometimes contradict their actual behaviour in practice (also see Morse 2003; Schensul et al. 1999; Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Flick 2006, 2007; Brewer and Hunter 2006; Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003). Hence, validity and reliability in mixed method approach should be a constant process and “it should happen at each stage, rather than only at the outcome” (Long 2015: 2). In this study, for instance, the research questions were looked at from four different ethnographic data collection techniques at four different stages of research. In the following section, I will offer a detailed overview of different techniques used for data gathering, interpretation and validation; finally, there will be a discussion on and ethical practices.

5.3. Collection of ethnographic data: observation, interviews and family language audit

According to O'Reilly (2005: 3), ethnography is:

the family of methods, involving direct and sustained contact with human agents, within the context of their daily lives (and cultures), watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, and producing a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience, that acknowledges the role of theory, as well as the researchers own role, and that views human as part object/part subject.

Therefore, ethnographic data collection methods often include a variety of techniques including participant and nonparticipant observations, field notes, pictures, interviews, audio/video recordings and document analysis of different kinds of data or different perspectives on the same data (see Schensul et al. 2013; Blommaert and Jie 2010; Heller 2008; Meyerhoff et al. 2015). In the context of my study, the primary data was gathered from (I) field notes and observations from research sites; (II) eighteen in depth semi-structured interviews; (III) two focus group discussions with four families each; (IV) family language audits with seven families.

It is also important to note here that the fieldwork was conducted in three different phases. As a first phase, a two-month (November- December 2013) pilot or feasibility study was carried out to develop an exploratory framework. The main interest of this small-scale study was to explore the locations, to test various aspects of the research design and to allow essential adjustment before final commitment to the design. During this period, only four individual interviews were conducted with one of the parents at

Bertamiráns. After the feasibility study, I returned to Edinburgh to analyse the data and to explore the key themes (a detailed discussion about the data analysis process is explored later in this chapter). Based on this data an in-depth interview guide was prepared for the fieldwork. Then, the second phase of fieldwork was conducted during May-June 2014 where I interviewed fourteen parents including the partners of previously interviewed parents in four different regions of Galicia including Santiago de Compostela, Bertamiráns, Narón and Esteiro. The final phase of fieldwork which took place between December 2014-January 2015 can be divided into two stages. First, during the month of December, two focus groups were conducted at Vigo and Santiago de Compostela. Finally, the FLA data was gathered in January from interested parents to validate their claims regarding language practice at home domain. Digital recording is used to aid transcription. The following paragraphs offer an outline of different data gathering techniques used in this study.

Observation, irrespective of whether participant or nonparticipant, as a research tool refers to active ways of looking, hearing, experiencing and recording; it must be “structured” and “systematic” (Payne and Payne 2004: 158). Nonparticipant observation, as William (2008: 561) defines it, is a “relatively unobtrusive qualitative research strategy for gathering primary data about some aspect of the social world without interacting directly with its participants”. Participant observation, on the other hand, includes organised and methodical engagement with everyday activities of the participants, “observing the activities, people, and physical aspects of the situation and systematically recording those observations” (McCarty 2015: 85). According to Merriam (1998: 98), there is no exact time limit for observations; in most cases, it depends on the objectives of the research. Field notes taken from research sites play a significant role in documenting these observations (also see Blommaert and Jie 2010; Heller 2008; Schensul et al. 1999; Schensul et al. 2013; Atkinson et al. 2001). Although these immediate notes from the field incorporate stories, anecdotes, events and subjective reactions of the community to these issues, fieldnotes can also offer researcher’s insight into initial interpretations and analyses. Fieldnotes when gathered in an organised manner for an extended period of time can present an academically sound account of a culture (Emerson et al. 2001). They are often accompanied by photographs, audio and video recordings from the research areas. My “way of seeing” in the Galician context for this research was initiated by a pilot fieldwork during

November-December 2013. Since then, and until I finished my final fieldwork in January 2015, I documented my observations systematically through field notes.

Questions in ethnography are often related to social and cultural processes and shared meanings within a determined community. Therefore, ethnographic interviews which are considered another “way of seeing”, are a highly effective tool for the analyses of socio-political processes and in determining how and why things change. In this regard, they can offer a solid description of “how localised language planning and classroom pedagogy interact with top-down policies” (Johnson 2004: 76). They generally follow an in-depth semi-structured or unstructured format “with people from a particular culture, or who share particular experiences” (Fielding 2006: 99). In-depth semi-structured interviews can be considered as one of the most commonly used interviewing formats for qualitative research. This method may be used to interview both individuals and groups. No interview can be completely unstructured (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006: 315). While some of the interviews may be somewhat unstructured, the in-depth semi-structured interview is often a personal and intimate meeting where open, direct, verbal questions are asked to find out the necessary information for the research. Moreover, when conducting such interviews, it has also been recommended to use at least a basic checklist based on research questions as it would help in incorporating all relevant areas (see Berg 2007; Schensul et al. 1999).

Questions in an in-depth semi-structured interview are based on a set of prearranged open-ended questions, while the rest of the questions appear from the conversation between interviewer and interviewee(s). In the field of sociolinguistics, this interview technique is considered as a widely used methodology to understand language attitude, ideology and management decisions of the individuals (see Lanza 2007; Hult and Cassels-Johnson 2015; McCarty 2015) since it can provide researchers with information that is “probably not accessible using techniques such as questionnaires and observations” (Blaxter et al. 2006: 172). Moreover, as interviews are often carried out face to face and with the physical presence of the interviewer, mutual understanding can be ensured because the interviewer may rephrase or simplify questions that were not understood by the interviewees (Dörnyei 2007: 143). In this regard, more appropriate responses and, subsequently, more accurate data will be reached. For the purpose of my research, I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with eighteen parents at four distinct locations including Santiago de Compostela, Bertamiráns, Esteiro and Narón. The significance of these geopolitical contexts has already been

discussed in detail in section 1.4 of Chapter 1. Either Castilian or Galician was used for interview depending on participant's preference (see Appendix A. 1 for English translation of the checklist). Most interview recordings lasted between 40 to 60 minutes. It is also important to note here that no follow-up interview has been conducted with the participants because this study centres on parental linguistic ideologies and management instead of any gradual process such as children's language acquisition inside the home that may call for follow-up interviews.

Group interviews can take the form of focus groups in the course of research where multiple participants express their knowledge or experience about a specific subject (see Barbour and Kitzinger 1999; Schensul et al. 2013; Schensul et al. 1999). According to Barbour and Schostak (2005: 46), focus groups are "...an interviewing technique in which participants are selected because they are a purposive, although not necessarily representative, sampling of a specific population, this group being 'focused' on a given topic". In other words, it helps to re-create a context of informal communication which could be seen to replicate real situations in which ideas and points of view are continuously negotiated (Edley and Litosseliti 2010), thus offering some trail of the salient social representations of participants as a collective. Therefore, focus group discussions centre more on learning about the thoughts and experiences of others in relation to oneself. Each focus group represents a single entity within a sample of groups. They are considered as a useful tool for bottom-up policy studies (Nandi and Devasundaram 2017 in press); policy researchers often rely on focus groups "to evaluate policy choices and alternatives and public perceptions of policy matters" (Litosseliti 2007: 8). In this study, they are used to consolidate or to supplement semi-structured interviews. In the context of my research, I conducted two focus groups of more than 90 minutes in length with four families each at Vigo and Santiago de Compostela, where the pivotal focus was on how parental language practices and ideologies shape home language policy (see section 1.4 of Chapter 1 for more details about these areas). Both the focus groups were conducted in Galician. They were carried out at the final phase of data collection with an intention to consolidate my individual interview data (see Appendix A. 2 for English translation of the questions asked in the focus groups).

However, like any other research tool, interviews also have some limitations. They are often criticised as being time-consuming and laborious regarding data collection and analysis because they require to be transcribed, coded and in some occasions,

translated to a different language for the purpose of research as was the case with present study. Moreover, as Alshenqeeti (2014: 43) observes, “interviewees will only give what they are prepared to reveal about their perceptions of events and opinions” which may then change over time according to circumstance. Therefore, interviews alone, as Walford (2007: 147) argues, are an “insufficient form of data to study social life”. In this study they are supplemented by observational data and Family Language Audits. How the FLAs enhance the data will be discussed in next paragraph.

Apart from experiencing and enquiring, another “way of seeing” is reviewing what often consists of the collection of documents or archival data (see Schensul et al. 2013; McCarty 2011; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2013c, 2014b; Schwartz and Verschik 2013a). In this study, the observational, interview and focus group data were validated through “family language audits” (Curdt-Christiansen 2016). In relation to my study, family language audit (henceforth, FLA) can be described as a form of “auto-ethnography” (see Anderson 2006; Atkinson 2007) involving observation checklists and various short self-recorded audio footages of parent-child informal interactions from the parents themselves. Addressing the debate surrounding whether to ask the respondents to record themselves or whether to act as proxy observers, there is no rigid model to follow because this scenario is situation-specific and dependent on feasibility (see Orellana 1999; Heller et al. 2006; Heller 2011; Klein 2012). Although the researcher’s absence from the context deprives him/her from direct engagement and background information, the self-recorded data from the respondents helps in understanding the language practices on the ground (Heller 2011: 45).

In my research, seven families from Vigo, Santiago and Bertamiráns who already participated in individual interviews or focus groups took part in this audit. These parents were asked to observe their family’s linguistic daily routine and fill in an observational checklist or audit form about their daily language practice with children. The audit form attempts to inform the quantity of different language inputs received by the children everyday including how much time they use each language, who are the interlocutors and in which language they communicate (Curdt-Christiansen 2016). Respondents’ self-reported language practices were validated through various 10 to 12-minute audio recordings of informal parent-child communications. As soon as the family members became familiar with the recording device, these parents were asked to audio tape their interactions for two weeks during breakfast/dinner, on their way to school, while doing homework and/or when playing or engaging in other activities.

Parents were also asked to make observational remarks at the end of the audit forms if they noted anything interesting in the children's linguistic behaviour when the audit took place (see Appendix B for samples of observation checklist used for FLA). All the methods discussed so far can facilitate the identification of the individual ideological perspectives of each parent in the same family through the prism of their language practices. They are also important tools to evaluate the dissonances in parents' overt expressions of language ideologies and language practice communicated at a more understated or subtle level during social interaction.

Another significant factor in all kinds of social and behavioural research, especially when the study involves human subjects, are research ethics. Given the extended period of research engagement with the community, the intensity of the association with the research setting and the intimacy with participants, ethnographic studies can raise a range of ethical issues at different phases of research. Every researcher, as LeCompte and Schensul (1999: 183) argues, is "bound by codes of ethics to protect the people whom they study against treatment that would be harmful for them- physically, emotionally, or in terms of reputation". In this regard, some significant ethical conducts should be taken into consideration while conducting ethnography, such as informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality (Richards and Schwartz 2002; Murphy and Dingwall 2007).

Informed consent refers to researcher's responsibility to provide detailed information in comprehensible language to participants about the nature of the study, the participants' role in it, the identity of the researcher, the financing body, the research objective and finally, how the results will be published (Sanjari et al. 2014). In the context of my study, I wrote an open letter in Galician to future participants including all the relevant details discussed above (see Appendix D for a copy of consent letter) and forwarded through the teachers responsible for *dinamización lingüística* (linguistic activity) in respective schools. The letter clearly states that consent to take part in this research must be voluntary and all participants could withdraw from the project at any time. No interviews with children were conducted in this study. In the context of FLA, only interested parents took part in it and recorded their conversations with their own children.

Confidentiality of participants is another important factor in ethnographic research as it implicates observation, face-to-face interviews and focus groups which

may preclude any pretence of participant anonymity. Additionally, conference presentations, articles, reports and journals may also hold such revealing details that identification of some participants becomes relatively easier by their peers or close associates. Confidentiality issues can be addressed, as Silipigni-Connaway and Powell (2010: 211) notes, by using pseudonyms and removing other identifying details of the participants. In the context of my research, I have also used pseudonyms and removed other identifying details such as their addresses and contact information while giving voice to my participants. The following section elaborates on how ethnographic research took place in the research settings.

5.4. Doing ethnography in the Galician context

As stated in section 1.4 of Chapter 1, I have selected five different areas of Galicia namely Santiago de Compostela, Bertamiráns, Vigo, Narón and Esteiro. Among all these areas, only Esteiro has a rural setting and the rest of the places are located in urban/semi-urban domains of Galicia. Even though this study investigates individual and family language policies of Galician parents in urban and semi-urban sociolinguistic contexts of Galicia, Esteiro was selected to maintain the goal of cross-case analysis (see case examples from Chapter 6 and 7). Although my research did not take place in the schools, in the beginning, I approached schools to facilitate access to parents especially in Bertamiráns, Esteiro and Narón where I conducted only individual interviews with couples (see Appendix D for English translation of the consent letter). In these afore-mentioned situations, I first contacted the teachers responsible for language planning in respective schools and then through the “snowball sampling” method, I selected the parents. Snowball sampling refers to a technique for collecting research participants through “the identification of an initial subject who is used to provide the names of other actors” (Atkinson and Flint 2004: 1043). Although “snowball sampling” method has often been criticised for its lack of representativeness and absence of control over the sampling method, this loophole can be resolved to a large extent though prior communication between the researcher and the informants (see Snijders 1992; Vogt 1999). In my study, while selecting respondents, I communicated with at least one of the parents from each family to understand whether the couple met most of the required characteristics for this investigation. This filtering method allowed me to take control of the sample size and select a diverse range of informants.

Moreover, it is also important to note that “no single formula provides the “correct” sample size for a qualitative study” (Silipigni et al. 2010: 214). In this sense, generalisability is not sought by the researcher and the focus is “less on sample size and more on sample adequacy” (O’Reilly and Parker 2012: 192). The adequacy of a sampling is usually achieved by the reaching of point of “thematic saturation” (Bowen 2008) which is often used by researchers as a symbol of quality (Guest et al. 2006). Thematic saturation refers to the critical point at which there are fewer surprises and there are no more emergent patterns in the dataset (Gaskell 2000). In my context of research, I continued to recruit participants until I reached the point of thematic saturation.

To gain access to the research participants in Santiago de Compostela and Vigo, I relied on multiple gatekeepers and key informants. In ethnography, a number of gatekeepers have been described as influential individuals including official or “unofficial leaders, managers, organisers, or simply busybodies” (O’Reilly 2009: 132) who facilitate access to the researcher into the group. Sometimes, they grant permission on behalf of the other informants, who may not even be fully aware of the research (Brewer 2000; Smith 2007). On the other hand, key informants, often considered as local experts, are individuals who possess a broader understanding of the research settings and share a longer relationship with the researcher than the rest of the participants (see Schensul et al. 1999; Schensul and LeCompte 2013); interviews with several local experts also ensure validity and reliability of the research (Schensul and LeCompte 2013: 40). In the context of my research, I already knew a few gatekeepers from the research sites due to my previous contact with the language community. During my pilot fieldwork in November 2013, gatekeepers from different research settings introduced me to a few key participants from each area and later through snowball sampling, I selected the other parents. It is worth mentioning here that the schools at Vigo, Bertamiráns and Esteiro are public primary schools following one of the governmental language policy models (see section 4.3 of previous chapter for a detailed overview on various top-down LPP models). On the other hand, the schools at Santiago de Compostela and Narón are cooperative-funded pre-primary schools offering only Galician as a medium of instruction (also see section 1.4 of Chapter 1 for more discussion on the co-operatives). How fieldwork took place in each of the areas will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

5.4.1 *Santiago de Compostela*

I commenced my fieldwork in Santiago drawing on grassroots level contacts with several gatekeepers in the city gained during my period of residence from 2008 to 2012. As discussed before (see section 1.4 of Chapter 1), Santiago presents an interesting domain for research engagement because the area's sociolinguistic profile includes both monolingual and bilingual speakers of Castilian and Galician. A large number of the parents who reside in Santiago with school-going children belong to a wide range of professional backgrounds that include employees of the local government (*funcionarios* in Galician), employees of the University of Santiago de Compostela, small-scale entrepreneurs, bank employees and shop assistants among others, often use Galician at work. This makes Santiago de Compostela more Galician-centric than the urban areas of Galicia such as Vigo or A Coruña. In Santiago, as discussed in the introductory chapter, I was interested in whether this educated middle-class sector of the population use Galician outside their work domain- at home. Here I conducted individual interviews with one couple and one focus group with four families who send their children to two co-operative funded pre-primary schools entitled *Raiola* (literally, Ray of sunshine) and *Escola Semente* (literally, School of Seeds) offering immersion programmes in Galician. It is also important to note that one father was unable to attend the focus group discussion. Among these five families from Santiago, three participated in the family language audit.

During field research, it was observed that *Raiola* has been offering Galician as a medium of instruction for more than forty years (*O proxecto pedagógico/The pedagogic project*, Raiola 2015). On the other hand, *Escola Semente*, started more recently, in 2011, as a bottom-up contestation of the top-down language policy - 'The Decree of Plurilingualism'. *Escola Semente*, akin to *Raiola*, is a language immersion school funded by a group of pro-Galician counter-elites who sought to educate their children in Galician. At present, the Parents' Association of *Semente* has more than 90 members, who actively support the endeavour to defy top-down language policy from the grassroots (*O Projeto/The Project*, *Semente en Compostela* 2015). Two of this study's focus group respondents from the Parents' Association of *Semente* also belong to the aforementioned pro-Galician parents' collective, *Tribo* (The tribe, in Galician).

Tribo, started as a WhatsApp messenger group in July-August 2013, and now includes more than 40 families who meet several times a week to enable their children to socialise and converse in Galician (Bal and Rodríguez 2014). The main intention of

Tribo, as described by its members in focus group discussions, is to prevent language shift during their children’s early years. Parents interested in joining the collective generally contact the group members through WhatsApp, a technological interface that allows Tribo members to collectively exchange messages. The members of this group also communicate informally amongst themselves, meeting in different places in Santiago to organise or participate in various extracurricular or cultural activities that involve their children’s interaction in Galician (Bal and Rodríguez 2014).

During visits to Escola Semente, I observed that the school has two classrooms redolent with children’s learning materials in Galician including posters, lyrics of traditional Galician songs, storybooks, audio and video resources. A representative from the school explained that the parents can borrow these materials for a short period and use them to develop an effective home literacy environment in Galician. The following pictures show the use of Galician in one of the posters with Galician names of trees in the compound of Escola Semente (left), and various literacy related materials including books and other audio resources:



Pics 1 and 2: Wallpaper with Galician names of trees in Semente (left) and other literacy related resources in Galician in the school (Source: My pictures on 11.12.14)

This illustrates how Galician is being promoted at Escola Semente, with the school addressing the grassroots-level vacuum in the form of the state’s failure to supply adequate and accessible learning materials in Galician. Research also revealed that after

school hours, the school space is transformed into a language learning zone, often hosting different Galician-oriented extracurricular activities with the children. Since children from other pre-primary and primary schools can also participate in these group activities by paying the course fee, several group members of Tribo bring their children to participate in these events. In effect, such initiatives further dissolve distinctions between counter-elite parents and opens up alternative avenues for their children to compare notes, interact and bolster their Galician verbal and written skills.

5.4.2 Bertamiráns

As discussed before, in Bertamiráns, first I contacted the teachers responsible for language planning in respective schools and then through the “snowball sampling” method, I selected the parents. The primary school in Bertamiráns includes both monolingual and bilingual parents. I selected the area of Bertamiráns firstly because of its sociolinguistic profile with both monolingual and bilingual parents and secondly since the majority of parents are government employees who are expected to use Galician at work. Therefore, like Santiago, I was concerned about their language practice at home. Individual interviews were conducted with four families at Bertamiráns and two of them participated in the family language audit. The school follows the language policy model where a minimum of 50% of subjects are given in Galician and another 50% of school subjects have Castilian as a medium of instruction. All the teachers I spoke to, confirmed that most of the students in the school at Bertamiráns speak Castilian. Even the children who come from Galician speaking parents tend to shift to Castilian while speaking with their classmates. Even though the students speak mostly Castilian, most of the teachers claimed that the school strongly supports Galician through cultural activities including traditional music and festivals such as *Magosto*, a popular festival of pagan origin celebrated in the commencement of autumn in Galicia (Lopez-Temez 1983: 48). The following pictures show the use of Galician in wallpaper and cultural activities with chestnuts for *Magosto* or the chestnut festival in the school:



Pics 3 and 4: Use of Galician in wallpapers (left) and activities with chestnuts for *Magosto* festival in the school at Bertamiráns (right) (Source: My pictures on 14.11.13)

Therefore, it can be perceived that Galician is being promoted at the primary school of Bertamiráns.

5.4.3 Narón

In Narón, my fieldwork took place in a pre-primary school called *Avoaescola* (literally, Grandmother's School) offering an immersion programme in Galician. Starting in September 2013, this private pre-primary school is funded by a pro-Galician co-operative called *Galiza co Galego* (Galicia with Galician) with a view of offering a secular, democratic and pluralistic education system in Galicia as outlined in its mission statement available from their webpage (Galiza co Galego 2014). According to the director of *Avoaescola*, most of the parents who bring their children to this school speak mostly Castilian at home, but they want their children to be educated in Galician. The following pictures points to the use of Galician language and culture in school activities:



Pics 5 and 6: Activities with chestnuts for *Magosto* festival in Avoaescola (left) and literacy related resources to learn Galician (right) (Source: My pictures on 26.11.13)

The very existence of this school is a result of bottom-up reaction to and dissatisfaction with the Decree of Plurilingualism from the pro-Galician population; their discourse of resistance and collective effort resulted in the formation of a co-operative, *Galiza co Galego*. I chose *Avoaescola* with the aim of understanding how in a Castilian dominated landscape such as Narón, the actions and decisions of the pro-Galician counter-elites including parents, teachers and other members of the civil society take the form of a cooperative mobilisation creating bottom-up discourses of resistance to the top-down language policy. However, when I carried out my fieldwork in the region in May-June 2014, I had difficulty accessing parents since the usual time of course commencement is in September. Additionally, my intention was to interview both the parents. Due to my time limit and abovementioned circumstances, I only gained access to one couple who sent their son to *Avoaescola* in the previous year. Nonetheless, they provided valuable insights whether or not they reflect general ideologies of other parents.

5.4.4 Esteiro

Unlike Santiago, Vigo, Narón and Bertamiráns, where Castilian is the language of wider communication, Galician is the language used by the majority of people living in Esteiros (IGE 2014). The primary school in this town follows the Plurilingual model of language policy of the Xunta where 33% of the total subjects are taught in Galician, and another 33% are taught in Castilian and the rest 33% in English. I selected a school at Esteiro because most of the parents are Galician speaking monolinguals and from diverse occupational backgrounds ranging from government employees to fishermen

and factory workers. I was interested in finding out about parental expectations of the trilingual language policy in a predominantly Galician speaking landscape. I was also interested in their understanding of the economic implications of the languages used as a medium of instruction in the school. Therefore, individual interviews conducted with the parents of Esteiro sought to provide insights into their linguistic practices and ideologies that form their family language policy.

During various stages of my fieldwork, I made several visits to Esteiro where I conducted individual interviews with three couples. Although the director of the school stated that the vehicular language of the school was Galician, many teachers seemed to speak Castilian outside of school. I also observed that children mostly use Galician and the school activities are carried out predominantly in Galician. The following pictures point to the use of Galician for different school activities such as preparing handmade posters with Galician names of trees in the school's courtyard and writing essays in Galician about their mothers on the occasion of International Women's Day, among other topics:



Pics 7 and 8: Posters with Galician names of trees in the school's patio (left) and posters with children's essays in Galician about their mothers on the occasion of International Women's Day (right). (Source: My pictures on 29.11.13)

Therefore, during my nonparticipant observation of the town, I found that Esteiro maintains a Galician dominated landscape, although Castilian and English are used as mediums of instruction at the school. The use of Galician in this school is also higher than in Bertamiráns.

5.4.5 Vigo

The city of Vigo, located in the south-west of Galicia, is the largest metropolitan area in the Autonomous Community of Galicia. Since the late twentieth century, Vigo

became the fastest growing industrial region in Galicia attracting migrants not only from other parts of Spain, but from various countries in South America and the European Union, making Castilian the vehicular language of this city (González-Pascual and Ramallo 2015). I chose Vigo with the intention of understanding how, in a Castilian-dominated urban landscape, the individual actions and decisions of pro-Galician parents can create bottom-up discourses of resistance to the governmental language policies inside the family domain. Like Santiago, I commenced my fieldwork in Vigo by drawing on grassroots level contacts through multiple gatekeepers in the city gained during my time of residence in Galicia. These gatekeepers introduced me to two key participants and later through the snowball sampling method and informal interviews, I gained access to other participants. I organised one focus group in Vigo in which I interviewed four couples including one single mother. Two families from the focus group later took part in the family language audit.

Unlike other research sites, parents in Vigo who participated in this study send their children to various private and public schools. It is worth mentioning here that although each family was selected individually, at the time of the discussion, I came to know that out of the seven participants, four were active supporters of *Bloque Nacionalista Galega* (BNG), a Galician left-wing nationalist party which base its political ideologies on the Galician language as a symbol of national identity (see section 4.3 of Chapter 4 for more discussion on the political ideologies of BNG). The focus group of Vigo took place in one of the under-construction classrooms of *Escola Semente en Vigo* (literally, Semente School at Vigo). Although affiliated to the same Semente Association which funded the Semente school in Santiago de Compostela, the Semente School in Vigo was an independent branch with a different management committee. During the time of my fieldwork in Vigo, my gatekeepers informed me that the school was scheduled to open in September 2015 and would follow the same pedagogic model as the Semente School in Santiago.

5.5. Data organisation and management

In the organisation and management of the research data, participants are divided into two large groups according to their linguistic trajectories and place of residence (context): rural (Esteiro) and urban/semi-urban (Santiago, Vigo, Bertaminrán and Narón). Whereas the parents from rural settings, in the majority of cases, can be classified as traditional speakers of Galician, urban/semi-urban areas include parents from both traditional and new speaker backgrounds (see Ramallo 2010; O'Rourke and

Ramallo 2011; O'Rourke et al. 2015). Even though the parents from rural settings come from mostly lower-economic backgrounds including fishermen, fishmongers, and interior designers, parents in urban/semi-urban contexts are mostly government employees or small to medium entrepreneurs who by and large fall into the category of urban middle class profile in Galicia (also see Consello da Cultura Galega 2011a, 2011b). In the Galician sociolinguistic context, a new speaker has initially been described as a person who has learnt Castilian as L1, whose home language has always been Castilian, and at some point of his/her life, abruptly or gradually shifts from Castilian to Galician and currently speaks only or mostly Galician (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2015; also see section 2.5 of Chapter 2 and section 4.4 of Chapter 4). To a large extent, these new speakers are the outcome of language revitalisation strategies in Galicia since the early eighties following Spain's transition to democracy and the inclusion of Galician in domains of use from which it was previously absent such as education and public administration.

However, the above definition is somewhat restrictive and excludes the heterogeneous profiles of Galician speakers in society who may learn the minority language at school or in societal interaction, but who are not necessarily active users of the language (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013b). Moreover, the majority of the Galician population maintain a receptive competence in Galician due to its structural closeness with Spanish (Consello da Cultura Galega 2011a, 2011b). This receptive competence is not necessarily achieved through formal education; the bilingual environment also plays a crucial role in developing this communicative ability for the majority of the Galician population (Monteagudo 2012e; Ramallo 2010, 2013). Based on their reported language practice, these new speaker parents I interviewed from urban/semi-urban settings can be divided into three basic profiles: active, semi-active and latent speakers. This distinction is primarily based on their intensity of using Galician in various domains including the home, work and in larger society.

5.5.1 Active new speakers

In this thesis, I will refer to "active new speakers" as those who were brought up speaking Spanish, but at some stage in their life (often during their youth or early adulthood) became monolingual speakers of Galician and reject speaking Spanish in their daily life (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013a). In their study, Ramallo and O'Rourke (2014: 61) describe this group of radical new speakers as "essential new speakers" since they use "only" Galician in all their communications including situations where the

interlocutor prefers Castilian as a language of communication. Apart from being motivated users of the language, this group also maintains an activist profile in the revitalisation of Galician (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2015). However, this group constitutes a minority (only 0.05% of the total Galician population) amongst the wide range of new speaker profiles that exist in contemporary Galicia society (Ramallo and O'Rourke 2014: 62).

I term this collective as “active new speakers” owing to their active participation in language revitalisation discourse both inside and outside of the home domain. It is this proactive arbitration and indeed the contestation of the extant dominant discourse of Castilian that is decoupled from the earlier stasis or passivity of the essential speakers, who restrict their espousal of Galician to linguistic interactions in social situations. This intervention-based pragmatic ethos adopted by active new speakers justifies the appellation of “active new speakers”. In the context of my study, several new speaker counter-elites who are associated with various grassroots level cooperative mobilisation such as *Escola Semente* and *Avoaescola* or undertake individual efforts to maintain the intergenerational transmission of Galician fit into this category. A detailed overview of the sociodemographic and sociolinguistic characteristics of the families interviewed (see Figure 5) will be discussed later in this section.

5.5.2 *Semi-active new speakers*

The next group is what I term as “semi-active new speakers” and is comparatively a larger and more heterogeneous group than the active new speakers. Although “semi-speakers” in sociolinguistics have been defined based on their inadequate language competence (see Dorian 1977, Grinevald and Bert 2011), in the context of my research, semi-active new speakers refer to people who tend to use Galician in both formal and informal interactions including work, home, peers, neighbours and other traditional Galician-speaking contexts. According to my data, both Castilian and Galician have well-defined compartmentalised contexts for these speakers. In some cases, as will be discussed in the following two chapters the semi-active new speaker's use of Galician is occasional, less conscious and more adaptive. Therefore, their use of Galician often calls for some interactional stimuli from another speaker. For instance, several parent profiles from Bertamiráns include government employees who work in the public sector where Galician is the predominant language - however, these individuals lapse into Castilian on a daily basis in other domains.

5.5.3 *Latent new speakers*

Finally, “latent new speakers” are those who have gone through bilingual educational policies in Galicia since the early eighties, yet remain predominantly Castilian speaking monolinguals. In some cases, they maintain a very high level of awareness about their ability to speak Galician (as will be discussed in several case studies of Chapter 6 and 7). Recent macro level studies also confirm that almost 95% of the population have active or passive comprehension of spoken Galician and around 85% of the total population have oral competence (Ramallo and O’Rourke 2014). Some parent profiles from Bertamiráns and Narón (see figure 5) fall into this group.

The following chart intends to offer an overview of the families interviewed including their age groups, speaker profiles, predominant language at home, occupations, geographical locations of the schools where they send their children and places of residence. It also provides information about the families who participated in the family language audit. Fictitious names have been used to protect the real identity of the respondents.

	Families interviewed and their predominant language at home	Age	Place of residence and details about school	Occupation	FLA
Individual interviews					
1	Perez family: Javier (Semi-active new speaker) Julia (Semi-active new speaker) Dominant language: Castilian	39 36	Bertamiráns (Public school)	Veterinary (Government employee) Veterinary (Government employee)	Yes
2	Rey Family: Fernando (Semi-active new speaker) Marisa (Semi-active new speaker) Dominant language: Castilian	37 40	Bertamiráns (Public school)	Agricultural engineer (Government employee) Agricultural engineer (on benefits)	
3	Lema Family: Ana (Semi-active new speaker) Manolo (Latent new speaker) Dominant language: Castilian	42 46	Bertamiráns (Public school)	Housewife (before worked as a psychologist) Technician (Government employee)	
4	Quintana Family: Martín (Traditional speaker) Claudia (Traditional speaker) Dominant language: Galician	56 52	Bertamiráns (Public school)	Teacher (Government employee) Administrator (Government employee)	Yes
5	Castro Family: Lucia (Latent new speaker) Raul (Latent new speaker) Dominant language: Castilian	37 40	Narón (Avoaescola)	Architect (freelance) Small to medium enterprises: workshop	
6	Romero Family: Samuel (Active new speaker) Raquel (Active new speaker) Dominant language: Galician	42 38	Santiago de Compostela (Escola Semente)	Teacher (Government employee) Teacher (Government employee)	Yes
7	Riobo Family: Bernardo (Traditional speaker) Angeles (Traditional speaker) Dominant language: Galician	35 32	Esteiro (Public school)	Fishmonger Interior designer	

8	Ferro family: Leo (Traditional speaker) Yenira (Traditional speaker) Dominant language: Galician	36 27	Esteiro (Public school)	Fishermen	
9	Sende Family: Victor (Traditional speaker) Lorena (Traditional speaker) Dominant language: Galician	45 42	Esteiro (Public school)	Owens a car repairing workshop Works at a furniture shop	
Focus groups					
10	Penabade Family: Mercedes (Active new speaker) Salvador (Active new speaker) Dominant language: Galician	39 40	Santiago de Compostela (Escola Semente)	Small to medium enterprises (SME): own a shop that sales Galician nationalist merchandise	Yes
11	Casares Family: Bea (Active new speaker) Claudio (Active new speaker) Dominant language: Galician	35 39	Santiago de Compostela (Raiola Cooperative)	Nurse Government employee (absent)	
12	Salgado Family: Lara (Active new speaker) Adam (Traditional speaker) Dominant language: Galician	40 47	Santiago de Compostela (Escola Semente)	Teacher (Government employee) Worked as salesman and now on benefits	
13	García Family: Elena (Active new speaker) Virgilio (Active new speaker) Dominant language: Galician	38 41	Santiago de Compostela (Raiola Cooperative)	Journalist at <i>Xunta</i> (Government employee) Telecommunication engineer	Yes
14	Otero family: Xoan (Traditional speaker) Maite (Traditional speaker) Dominant language: Galician	45 46	Vigo (Public school)	Administrator (Government employee) Administrator (Government employee)	
15	López Family: Inma (Active new speaker) Cesar (Active new speaker) Dominant language: Galician	42 45	Vigo (Public school)	Translator (Freelance) Administrator (now on benefits)	

16	Sousa family: Paloma (Active new speaker) Dominant language: Galician	34	Vigo (Public school)	Not working at present	Yes
17	Montero Family: Dario (Active new speaker) Sabela (Active new speaker) Dominant language: Galician	40 38	Vigo (Public school)	Stage director and designer Teacher (Government employee)	Yes

Figure 5. Details of the families interviewed

5.6. Data interpretation through thematic analysis

Since this study looks into individual linguistic practices and ideologies of the Galician parents against the backdrop of wider discourses, thematic analysis has been used as the medium of data interpretation. Sociolinguistic research data often necessitates thematic analysis since the narratives are often coded according to emerging themes and conceptual categories (Strauss and Corbin 1990; Pavlenko 1998; McCarty 2015). In sociolinguistic inquiry, this type of analysis can offer useful insights into the attitudes and ideologies of bilinguals toward their respective languages (also see Pavlenko and Lantolf 2000; Tse 2000a; Heinz 2001) and the efforts they make to maintain their languages (Tse 2000b; Hinton 2001). Additionally, thematic analysis is also considered as a useful tool to situate the multiple personal experience narratives which constitute the micro level in the field of bottom-up language policy research since they offer first person insights into the processes of language learning, attrition, maintenance and shift (Pavlenko 2008). In other words, the main advantage of this approach is “its sensitivity to recurrent motifs salient in participants’ stories” (Pavlenko 2008: 322). However, it is also important to note that thematic analysis, like all other methods also has some loopholes. It is often criticised for its “reliability” (Guest 2012: 17) as it centres on the multiple judgments of a single researcher and concentrates mostly on what is stated during the interviews (Braun and Clarke 2006). In my study, reliability issues have been addressed to a large extent through family language audits (see section 5.3).

Lichtman’s (2012: 252) six-step model for thematic analysis is adopted for data interpretation in this thesis. The different stages are as follows:

1. Initial coding of identifiable themes: In ethnographic inquiry, data collection, its thematic coding and analysis often go hand-in-hand (Blommaert and Jie 2010; Payne and Payne 2004). A thematic code, as Saldaña (2013: 3) defines it, is “a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data”. In essence, codes are thematic; in other words, these initial codes are developed in line with the main research questions. Once the transcription is finished, a close reading and re-reading of the dataset is necessary to generate the initial codes (Braun and Clarke 2006).

2. Revisiting initial coding: Once the initial coding is done, the codes need to be revisited to avoid redundancies. If needed, the initial codes are renamed at this stage.
3. Initial listing of categories: Modified codes that were relevant to the research question and sub-questions are merged into various categories. At this stage certain codes take the form of major topics whereas “others can be grouped under a major topic and become subsets of the topic” (Lichtman 2012: 253).
4. Modifying the initial list of categories: This modification becomes necessary since all the categories are not equally important. The related categories are often combined at this stage according to their similarity and regularity (McCarty 2015).
5. Revisiting categories: Once modified the initial list of categories, the final list needs to be revisited to avoid redundancies among the proposed categories. Categories that did not have enough data to back them up or were too varied were excluded to maintain clarity and focus in the research.
6. From categories to concepts/themes: The final step is to classify key concepts or themes from these categories. Themes establish the “evidentiary foundation for interpretations, assertions, and theoretical propositions” of the research (McCarty 2015: 89). A theme, as Saldaña (2013: 13) defines it, is “an *outcome* of coding, categorization, and analytic reflection, not something that is, in itself, coded”. It has also been recommended that the researcher should be pertinent to the research question while selecting the major themes for analysis (also see Guest 2012; Fugard and Potts 2015).

The following figure offering an overview of the various stages of data interpretation for this study, is my own elaboration of Lichtman’s (2012: 252) model of thematic analysis:

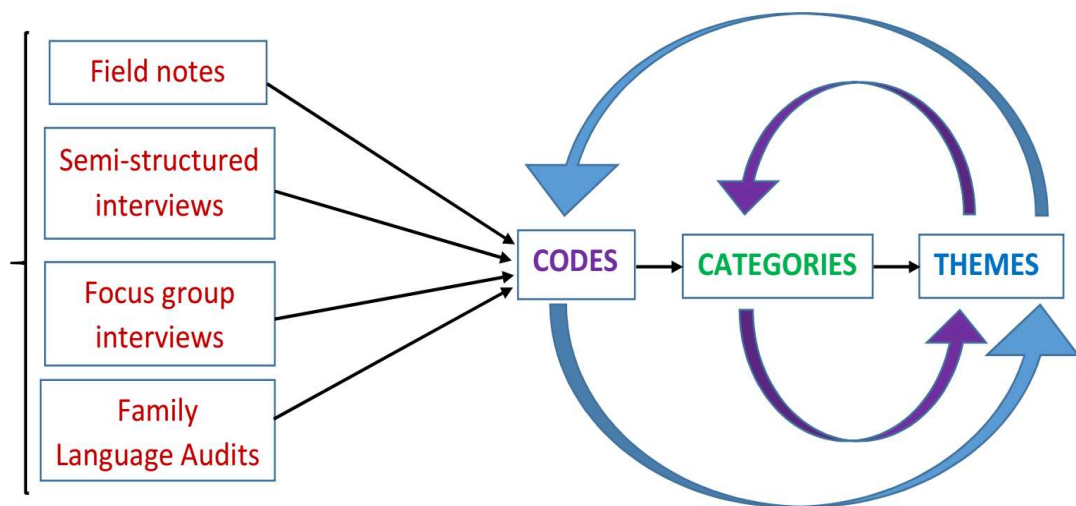


Figure 6. *Data interpretation through thematic analysis*
 (Source: Own elaboration of Lichtman's (2012: 252) model)

In the context of my investigation, as discussed before, research data comprises field notes, pictures, interview transcripts, family language audit documents and recordings (see figure 6). It is important to note here that the coding and analysis were done by keeping the data in its source language (i.e. Castilian/Galician), with only translated excerpts into English for the purpose of presentation in English in the thesis. Even though these extracts were initially translated by me, they were further reviewed by two native speakers from the Institute of Galician Language. No software was used for this research. The whole process of data interpretation was carried out manually highlighting the researcher's familiarity with the data set.

Once the transcription is finished, the dataset is read repeatedly (Braun and Clarke 2006) in keeping with the recordings to ensure the accuracy of the transcription and initial list of ideas about what is in the data and what is interesting about them. At this stage, field notes and family language audits were also reviewed meticulously to support and elaborate on interview data. While conducting data analysis, the complete data set including family language audits were offered equal attention so that full consideration could be offered to repeated patterns within the data. This led to the production of initial codes from the data. The key codes were centred mostly on the three main aspects of language policy: language ideologies, management and practices of the family members inside and outside home. Once the initial coding was done, the codes were revisited to avoid redundancies. Later, preliminary codes that were relevant to the research question and sub-questions were merged into one specific theme. During this process, themes that did not have sufficient data to back them up or were

too varied were excluded to maintain clarity and focus in the research. In accordance with Lichtman (2012: 254) who argues that “fewer well-developed and supported concepts make for a much richer analysis than many loosely framed ideas”, I also restricted my analysis to a limited number of themes that underscore the parental role in visible and invisible language planning in the home domain. These common themes were then divided into different categories. Three general categories were identified: parental expectations from the top-down educational language policy, their linguistic ideologies and management strategies. Inside the ideology category, factors that can impact and/or shape the decision making process were further examined to offer a “thick description” (Canagarajah 2006: 156) of parental accounts, helping readers to comprehend the “divergent values and privilege patterns of competing languages” (Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 361). Lastly, the language management category offers an overview of language planning decisions that pro-Galician parents take to maintain Galician. A detailed discussion on the themes can be found in the following two chapters.

5.7. Conclusion

A primary focus of this ethnographic inquiry is to situate micro level family language policy and planning processes within macro sociolinguistic and sociocultural paradigms of which they are essentially a part. However, no matter how rich the ethnographic account is, it is not completely flawless. For instance, while conducting multi-sited ethnography of LPP research, it becomes difficult for a sole researcher to focus on one specific site which may diminish the investigator’s capacity to offer a full description of a larger geopolitical area. On the other hand, LPP, as a multi-layered and interdisciplinary field, calls for multi-sited research (Ricento 2006, 2015). Multi-sited ethnographic research essentially contributes to a broader understanding of hegemonic strategies that the policy makers employ to perpetuate control over people’s linguistic lives and the role of LPP actors (i.e. parents in this study) in the interpretation and transformation of repressive language policies. This negotiation between the above-mentioned macro and micro language levels of policies in the Galician context will be further explored in the following two chapters.

Chapter 6

PARENTS AS POLICY-MAKERS: ROLE OF INDIVIDUAL AGENCY IN CREATING BOTTOM-UP LPP IN CONTEMPORARY GALICIA

6.1. Introduction

Based on an ethnographic perspective, as discussed in previous chapters, my study attempts to investigate language policy and planning by Galician parents including their beliefs, attitudes, latent ideologies, the decisions they make about the language use and the reasons for doing so in urban and semi-urban contexts in Galicia. Ethnography, as an inductive science, often uses case studies for data presentation where the researcher applies “case analyses” to demonstrate theory (Blommaert and Jie 2010: 12). According to Robson (1993: 146), case study is a “strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence”. However, any report of incident or event from the field cannot be considered as a case. To call something a case, as Shulman (1986: 11) describes, “is to make a theoretical claim – to argue that it is a ‘case of something’, or argue that it is an instance of a larger class”. In this line of research, theory is the aftermath of what the researcher theorises as a case. Case study data depending on the research goal are collected from a single individual, group, or event.

Case study research is considered immensely useful for policy implementation research (see Yin 2014; Stake 1995; Zucker 2001; Payne and Payne 2004; Bryman 1988). Case studies can frequently be used “to provide examples of good practice in the delivery of a specific policy or programme, or they may be undertaken as part of an evaluation project, providing examples of the impact of a policy” (Keddie 2006: 20). Additionally, thematic analysis of various personal experience narratives, as demonstrated later in this chapter, can offer interesting insights into the processes of language learning, attrition, maintenance and shift within a family context. However, case study methods are also criticised for their limitations, since the individual cases may not be sufficiently representative to permit generalisation to other situations. This perceived loophole can be covered up by increasing the number of cases so as to improve their representativeness, and offering a comparative analysis with various cases (Bryman 1988). Therefore, this thesis takes a multiple case study approach (see Yin 1991; Stake 1995; Zucker 2001; Heller 2008; Pavlenko 2008) to interpret the role

of human agency on the ground researching parents and their interpretation-implementation of the top-down language policies outside the school domain.

In the following sections, I will present case studies of three families from urban/semi-urban areas as representative case studies where the parents belong to both traditional and new speaker profiles. Using thematic analysis, this chapter demonstrates that in Galicia's language shift-induced shrinking Galician speaker pool, counter-elite parents can play an important role in the language revitalisation process. The aim is to determine whether these parents can restore intergenerational transmission of Galician and if their grassroots level language management could lead to bottom-up language policies. The first case study is about Perez family from Bertamiráns. The following chart informs about certain socio-economic and sociolinguistic details of the family.

6.2. Case study 1: Perez Family- Semi-active new speakers

Parents: Javier (39): Semi-active new speaker

Julia (36): Semi-active new speaker

Occupations: Both work in veterinary administration of the Government of Galicia (*funcionarios* in Galician). In terms of socio-economic status, it can be considered that this family belongs to the urban middle-class of Galicia.

Residence: Bertamiráns.

Place of work: Whereas Javier works in Santiago de Compostela, Julia works in Fisterra, a coastal town in the western region of Galicia.

Children: Two children. Their six-year-old daughter Nélica studies in the primary school of Bertamiráns and their youngest son, Aitor who is three years old is at play-school.

Language with spouse: Castilian

Language at home: Mostly Castilian and occasional use of Galician.

Place of interview: The primary school at Bertamiráns.

I met Javier for the first time in Bertamiráns primary school to conduct an interview during the first phase of fieldwork in November 2013. Later, he presented me to his wife during my second field trip in June 2014. Whereas Javier preferred Galician as the language of interview, Julia chose Castilian. The couple were brought

up in Ferrol, a coastal town in the north-west of Galicia (see figure 2 in section 1.3 of Chapter 1). Ferrol, like other urban domains in Galicia, is predominantly Castilian-speaking. This is mainly because, due to growing industrialisation since the early sixties, Ferrol became the abode of migrants not only from other parts of Spain, but from various parts of South America and the European Union, making Castilian the vehicular language of this city. This city also has one of the major army headquarters in Spain leading to interstate migration from other parts of Spain. While remembering their childhood days, the couple concur about the existence of symbolic control of Castilian in the late seventies, when Galician was considered to be the language of peasants and speaking Galician in Ferrol was seen as breaking socially established norms. As Javier states, he could not recall anyone from his school days who spoke Galician:

<p>(...) o galego está mal visto falalo ou polo menos era, eu a <i>verdá</i> é que non me imaxino a un rapaz falando galego na miña escola porque a verdade o sinalarían co dedo. Esa era a situación.</p>	<p>[(...) <i>speaking Galician is considered bad, at least it was, frankly speaking, I can't imagine a boy speaking Galician in my school because if someone did it everyone would point him out. This was the situation.</i>] (Emphasis added)</p>
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It is also important to note that both Javier and Julia experienced the post-Franco political regime and language policies where Galician was taught as a subject in the education system. Although Julia credited the school for her knowledge of Galician, Javier stated that the school had a minimum influence on his competence of Galician, as the minority language was never implemented effectively in the school curriculum. In Javier's words:

<p>(...) de feito as clases de galego na escola e no instituto se impartían en castelán, e <i>bueno</i>, realmente non había logo unha concienciación do emprego do galego logo na escola (...)</p>	<p>[(...) in fact the classes of Galician in the primary and secondary school were given in Castilian, and well, there were no real implementation and use of Galician in the school curriculum (...)]</p>
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The above declaration from Javier further underlines the ideological dominance of Castilian during his school days. Additionally, it highlights the gap between top-down LPP rhetoric and its implementation on the ground. During the initial years of LPP (1981-2004), the centre-right wing Government of *Partido Popular de Galicia*

(henceforth, PPdeG) maintained a non-interventionist approach through lukewarm policies thus maintaining the status quo of equal co-existence of Castilian and Galician. The legal stipulation in line with the 1983 Law for Linguistic Normalisation in Galicia was that apart from Galician language and literature, a minimum of one-third of the school subjects should be taught in Galician. However, in practice, many urban schools did not even fulfil the stipulated legal obligation, as experienced by Javier (see sections 4.2 and 4.3 of Chapter 4 for more discussion Galician LPPs).

During the interview, Javier stated that his parents were traditional speakers of Galician who emigrated to Ferrol during the early sixties from Lugo, a predominantly Galician-speaking province in central Galicia. Considering Castilian as the sole language of “pride and profit” (see Bourdieu 1984, 1991; Duchêne and Heller 2012), like many other Galician speaking parents of the time, Javier’s parents soon adopted a pro-Castilian family language policy by speaking only Castilian to their children. Additionally, the strong centralist-nationalist propaganda of the Francoist regime (pre-1975) considering the use of Galician as something unpatriotic and rustic, further aggravated the pressure on traditional Galician speakers like them in the urban context to shift to Castilian (see section 4.2 of Chapter 4 for more discussion on this phenomenon). It is also important to note that although Javier’s parents used only Castilian with their children, they always spoke Galician among themselves. In this vein, Javier always maintained a passive contact with Galician, while having Castilian as his L1. He further acknowledges that Castilian remained his only language of communication until he moved to Lugo to study veterinary science at the age of eighteen.

As Lugo is a mainly Galician-speaking town and many of his classmates and fellow companions were traditional speakers of Galician, this prompted him to use more Galician with them. This in turn introduced a change in his sociolinguistic repertoire more generally involving a *muda* to Galician for most formal and informal contexts (see Section 4.4 of Chapter 4 for more discussion on new speakerness and *mudes*):

<p>Cando marchei a estudar a Lugo, estudiei veterinaria en Lugo, e en Lugo pois é unha zona donde si se emprega máis habitualmente o galego. Pois entón tiña compañeiros que falaban galego, e pois, empecei a falar galego (...)</p>	<p>When I left to study in Lugo, I studied veterinary medicine in Lugo, and in Lugo, well it is a place where Galician is predominantly used for everyday communication. Therefore, all my companions used to speak Galician and I also started speaking Galician with them (...)</p>
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The above-mentioned juncture of Javier’s life when he adopts Galician for the first time in his linguistic repertoire can be considered as an example of a “university muda” (Pujolar and Puigdevall-Serralvo 2015).

As the above data demonstrates, the interaction between the individual’s *habitus* and field (Bourdieu 1984) play a significant role in these linguistic *mudes*. Bourdieu (1984: 170) describes *habitus* as a cognitive or mental system of structures rooted within an individual which is often created and reproduced unconsciously. Family, culture, educational milieu and external environment of an individual play a major role in shaping *habitus*. In this regard, the *habitus* of two individuals will never be identical. In other words, it can be considered as the internal representations of external structures. Society, as Bourdieu describes it, is divided into a range of spheres of actions - what he calls “fields”. He also outlines four types of capital (material, cultural, social and symbolic) that establish the connection between *habitus* and fields (see section 2.6 of Chapter 2 for more discussion on this). This deliberation between interior *habitus* and external field is a complex constellation. In other words, it is “a field of struggles” (Reed-Danahay 2004: 32) that is constantly shape-shifting and re-orientating in line with the capillary forces of power and the sociolinguistic contexts of Bourdieu's various forms of capital. Therefore, it could be argued that Javier’s *habitus*, which is a representation of his individual agency largely moulded by external social stimuli, is itself an arbitration with his decision to shift to Galician. His internal dialogue is intertwined in negotiation with multiple determinants in the external sphere, such as peer influence and the Galician-speaking external sphere in Lugo.

The next critical moment in his lifecycle that placed him closer to Galician occurred when he joined military services for two years just after finishing university. During this period, he was posted outside Galicia, in Madrid, Alicante and Gerona, where he had to use only Castilian for communication. At the end of his service in the

military, he planned to apply for jobs in the public sector in Galicia. While doing so, he needed to write his CV in Galician, since knowledge of Galician is essential for public sector employees, according to legal stipulation (see section 4.2 of Chapter 4 for more discussion on Law of Public Function of Galicia). However, he had difficulty writing his CV in Galician and hence decided to implement more Galician in his everyday communication. According to his reported language practices, Javier now uses Galician in almost every sphere:

(...) me chocou cando estaba rematando o servizo militar, me puxen a redactar un <i>curriculum vitae</i> para buscar traballo e é que non me saían, me sentín estraño (...) redactei o curriculum (...) foi á volta, que a miña muller sempre mo dixo, que na <i>mili</i> me cambiaran a cabeza porque foi ó volver cando máis empecei a empregar o galego e en máis ámbitos logo. Cando antes o empezara a empregar cos meus compañeiros de Lugo e cos pais e no ámbito familiar, pois despois xa empecei a empregalo en <i>casi</i> todos os ámbitos.	(...) It surprised me when I was finishing my military service, I started writing my CV (in Galician) to search for work and I could not write it, I felt strange (...) finally I wrote the CV (...) it was on my return when my wife noticed the change and she always says that they have changed my head in the military <i>because it was on my return when I started using more Galician in more contexts. I was already speaking Galician with my friends from Lugo and with my parents and in the context of family, well after this I started using the language in almost every sector.</i> (Emphasis added)
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Julia, Javier's partner, at that time, confirmed that she also found him to be a more active user of Galician ever since he returned from his military service. His linguistic *mudes* to Galician, as Julia asserts, surprised her in the beginning:

(...) de hecho cuando conocí a Roberto él hablaba castellano. Sí, sí, me sorprendí. Llevábamos tres años de pareja, se fue a hacer el servicio militar, y cuando volvió, hablaba gallego (risa).	[(...) <i>in fact when we started going out together, he used to speak Castilian (...) yes, yes, it surprised me. We were already together for three years, he went to do military service, and when he came back, he was speaking Galician (laughs).]</i> (Emphasis added)
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As Javier further states, once he started using Galician almost exclusively, he finds himself quite comfortable with speaking the language:

E unha vez que decido empregar o galego en outros ámbitos, logo, e fóra da casa pois tampouco me resulta unha lingua allea, e *bueno* e a verdade que é que me sinto cómodo falando galego. [And once I have decided to use Galician in other spheres, well, it was no distant language to me, well, it is true that I even find myself comfortable speaking Galician]. (Emphasis added)

The above experiences from Javier’s life trajectory also validate the claim that new speakerness is not a static label, it is rather a dynamic process where a new speaker often experiences various critical moments in his/her lifecycle before he/she becomes an active user of the target language (Jaffe 2015; Hornsby 2015).

Javier, like many other Galician new speakers, relies on a bookish and school-based knowledge of Galician (O’Rourke and Ramallo 2011, 2013a, 2015) and speaks standardised Galician. As a public service employee of the Galician government, Javier writes almost every official document in Galician; he also writes all his lists, memos and personal emails in Galician. If he needs to write to someone outside Galicia, he uses Castilian. When asked, he confirmed that he prefers using the standardised version of Galician for his writing and tries to avoid the influence of Castilian. His deliberate effort to maintain Galician can be considered as an example of language management at an individual level. It is also important to mention here that the standardised version of Galician may stimulate discourses of authenticity and legitimacy from the traditional users of the language (see section 4.4 of Chapter 4). To be considered “authentic”, a speech variety must be very much “from somewhere” in speakers’ consciousness (Woolard 2016). This linguistic insecurity of a new speaker is highlighted when Javier shares an anecdote from his experience working in a small village near Rivadeo, an inland rural area in the north of Galicia. The majority of people speak Galician there. Some of his Galician-speaking colleagues used to say that he speaks better Galician (the standard version) than them, which he found quite surprising as he believed that he was just a novice to the language and not a “real” speaker like them:

(...) no traballo falábamos todos galego. Había unhas rapazas que eran de alí que dicían, “é que ti falas un galego moi *bon*”. Eu pensaba “como vou falar eu un galego moi *bon* se realmente eu son un *recién* chegado a *esto*”, ¿non? “Ti levas toda a vida falando galego, pois falas galego moito mellor ca min.”

[(...) at work we all used to speak in Galician. There were a few girls from that region who used to say, “You speak a very good (form of) Galician. *I used to think “How can I speak better Galician, in fact, I have just started” isn’t it?* “You have been speaking in Galician throughout your life; definitely you speak far better Galician than me.”] (Emphasis added)

Ever since Galician was introduced to the public sphere in the early 1980’s, the prestige of the language gained an impetus. This in turn offered a greater degree of symbolic and cultural capital to the minority language. The above anecdote from Javier, where traditional speakers tend to emphasise standardised Galician as the new prestige norm, relates to “one of the stigmas associated with dialectal forms of Galician and prejudicial beliefs held particularly by older Galician speakers about ‘traditional’ Galician” (O’Rourke and Ramallo 2011: 151).

Unlike Javier, Julia preferred Castilian for the language of interview. She also comes from a Castilian-speaking household, although she stated that her father used to speak in Galician with his friends. According to her reported linguistic practices, she uses mostly Castilian in her everyday life, except at work, because as a public service employee one is legally bound to communicate in Galician. Her first contact with Galician started at school and analogous to Javier, she also uses standardised Galician. She further states that Galician was nothing but a school subject to her during her childhood. Although she claims that she can speak Galician fluently now, she often feels less confident in monolingual Galician-speaking surroundings. She finds the lack of practice of speaking Galician during her teens responsible for her low level of proficiency:

(...) después ya lo vi de otra forma, pero en ese momento era una asignatura que había que aprobar. No, no significaba más para mí. Más adelante lo vi que era una pena. Porque ahora tengo ya mucha más fluidez, pero en muchos ambientes *galegofalantes* yo a veces me he sentido un poquito. Si hubiera tenido más soltura, si hubiera practicado más gallego en mi infancia habría sido más sencillo para mí.

[(...) although later I looked at it in a different manner, but, in that moment *it (Galician) was nothing but a subject that I needed to pass*. It didn't have any other importance for me. *Later I found that this was a pity*. Because now I have more fluency, but in several Galician speaking environments, I sometimes feel a bit (less-confident). If I would have more competence, *if I would have practiced more Galician in my childhood, it would be easier for me.*] (Emphasis added)

At the time of this study, Julia was posted in Fisterra, a coastal region of Galicia, which is predominantly Galician-speaking. Unlike Javier's use of standardised Galician which was appreciated by the "authentic" or traditional users of Galician, Julia speaks about a different workplace experience; her attempt of speaking Galician is sometimes ridiculed by certain traditional speakers of Galician:

(...) a veces se metían conmigo algún ganadero como diciendo, "Bueno, ti me falas en galego, pero moita práctica non tes" (risas) Bueno, un poco avergonzada.

[(...) sometimes (at work) some farmer started pulling my leg saying like "*Well, you speak to me in Galician, but seems that you don't speak the language very often*" (laughing) *Well, (I was) bit ashamed.*] (Emphasis added)

It is important to note that although embarrassed about her language use, she has never stopped using Galician. She further claims that while in Fisterra, she always attempts to speak Galician even outside the work domain. This is because she does not want to appear different, neither would she like to feel superior for speaking Castilian among Galician speakers:

Entonces decía, bueno, no es que, te hacía sentir como, yo no me quiero hacer parecer diferente, ni superior por hablar castellano, es que no me sale. Es que no era capaz de tener la fluidez que tenían ellos.

[Then I was saying, well, it's not that, it makes you feel like, *I don't want to appear different, neither would I like to feel superior for speaking Spanish*, I can't speak Galician properly. I did not have the capacity to have the fluency that they had.] (Emphasis added)

The ideological dominance and symbolic presence of Castilian in the Galician society becomes clearer from the above statement as Julia, a predominant user of Castilian, confers a superior status to the dominant language. Furthermore, as an occasional semi-active new speaker of the language, she lacks the necessary skills to continue her communication in Galician that could indicate her inherent insecurity regarding her competence in the language in a traditional Galician-speaking environment (see section 4.4 of Chapter 4 for characteristics of new speakers). At the same time, she does not want to feel different and wants to adopt the dominant discourse of the region. Her claimed commitment to Galician and continuous attempt to incorporate the language into her linguistic repertoire can be perceived as instances of language management at the individual level.

Even though the couple use Galician in varying degrees outside the home space, Castilian remains the predominant language inside the home domain. Therefore, as conscious counter-elite parents, they attempt to compensate this imbalance through various pro-Galician language management strategies. For instance, they decided to send their daughter to a Galician-medium pre-school that was offering an immersion programme in Galician. It is worth mentioning here that this immersion programme in Galician was an initiative by the coalition government of BNG and PSdeG (2005-2009). The main intention of this LPP model was to offer greater exposure of Galician to Castilian-speaking children from urban/semi-urban settings. However, when the government of the PPdeG came to power in 2009, they closed this immersion programme as a part of their pre-electoral promise (see section 4.3 of Chapter 4 for more discussion on this). Analogous to other pro-Galician parents who are predominantly Castilian-speaking (see examples of Fernando and Marisa from Chapter 7), Julia expresses her discontent at not having the same immersion programme for their youngest son:

<p>A mí me gustó la experiencia, y el pequeño no va a inmersión lingüística porque ahora no existe esa opción, sino, iría.</p>	<p>[I liked the experience, and <i>our youngest son does not go to the immersion school because now this option doesn't exist, otherwise, he would attend</i> (an immersion programme in Galician)]. (Emphasis added)</p>
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When asked about the reason behind choosing an immersion model of education for their children, Julia responded that she wanted her children to become “absolute bilinguals” with equal proficiency in both the languages:

(...) yo creo que sería buenísimo, que todos pudiéramos hablar con la misma facilidad en gallego y en castellano. Y por eso no quería que ellos perdieran esa oportunidad, eh. [(...) *I believe that it would be great, that if everyone could speak Galician and Castilian with equal proficiency. And that's why I didn't want them loose that opportunity, eh.*] (Emphasis added)

In the above statement, Julia recognises the importance of being a bilingual and thus, puts forth discourses of “elite” and “additive” bilingualism (see Valdés and Figueroa 1994). In the Galician sociolinguistic context, following Spain’s transition to democracy in the early 80’s, Galician received greater visibility due to its increased presence in education, media and administration that started widening the symbolic space for Galician. One sector of Castilian-speaking upper middle class of Galicia started learning Galician as a second language for better employment opportunities. Many semi-active new speaker parents like Julia who have Castilian as their first language, learnt Galician as a second language at school. Therefore, her discourse represents the ideologies of “elite” and/or “additive” bilingualism; as speaking Galician, according to her, can offer a better standard of living and enhanced employment opportunities for their children.

While discussing their expectations from educational language policies, both agree on the opinion that the medium of instruction at school should be almost exclusively or entirely in Galician. Although Javier argues in favour of a more Galicianised education system, at the same time, he does not disregard the role of other languages. The ideology of additive bilingualism is further reflected in the following declaration by Javier, as he states that he wants his children to learn more languages:

E que o galego tivera un papel máis importante ou predominante, me gustaría. Que fora todo en galego, e entendo que o inglés, o castelán tamén teñen que ter o seu lugar. [I would like Galician to have a role ... more important or predominant. That everything will be taught in Galician and I understand that English, Castilian also have to have their place.] (Emphasis added)

Analogous to her husband, Julia also opts for a more Galician-centered education system. Since Castilian has always been the predominant language in the cities, a majority of children in the urban context are brought up speaking Castilian. Additionally, linguistic vitality of Galician is very much attributable to an elderly and rural-based population (see section 1.3 of Chapter 1). These societal flows and the attendant language shift toward Castilian invoke discourses of language maintenance and sociolinguistic inequality among the urban counter-elite parents like Julia (also see section 7.3.2 of the following chapter for more examples):

<p>(...) yo creo que algo más en gallego. Simplemente porque partimos de una situación inferior en la lengua. Es una lengua minoritaria. Si queremos mantenerla, pues tendremos que promocionarla. Los niños ya saben hablar perfectamente castellano. (...) El problema que tienen es para hablar gallego.</p>	<p>[(...) <i>I believe that a bit more of Galician. Simply because Galician has an inferior situation here. It (Galician) is a minority language. If we want to maintain it, we have to promote it. The children already speak Castilian well. (...) The problem that they have is for speaking Galician.</i>] (Emphasis added)</p>
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It is also important to note that both Javier and Julia are also aware of the symbolic, cultural and social capital (Bourdieu 1986) that Castilian possesses in Galician society. While elaborating on their eldest daughter's language use who has difficulty in expressing herself in Galician even after attending a language immersion programme in the language, they make the symbolic presence of Castilian in Bertamiráns responsible for this situation. Their experience further points to the fact that immersion schools which are seen to be safe heavens for Galician, there is also a strong presence of Castilian due to the broader societal existence of the hegemonic language:

<p>(...) la profe de mi hija mayor me dice que tiene problemas para expresarse en gallego (...) lo que pasa que en este ambiente también donde nos movemos se habla castellano muchísimo, en Bertamiráns, en el cole, la lengua prioritaria es el castellano y en las familias.</p>	<p>(...) the teacher of my eldest daughter says that she (Nélida) has problems in expressing herself in Galician (...) what also happens is that in this context, where our socialisation take place, at Bertamiráns, Castilian is the predominant language, in the school and in the families.</p>
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In the same vein, Javier could not find any fault with the teaching techniques of his daughter's teacher at the immersion school. According to him, it is the hegemonic control of Castilian over Galician in society that inspires the children to speak in Castilian:

Entón non quero dicir que a profesora non empregara o galego nin que a súa, o seu método didáctico fora malo, senón que aínda facendo as clases en galego e tendo un reforzó, aínda así o galego está en posición de debilidade fronte ao castelán.	[I don't want to say that the teacher was not using Galician nor that her teaching method was bad or anything, but that even if the classes are in Galician and still <i>Castilian has more weight than Galician in the school, thus Galician is in a weaker position than Castilian</i>]. (Emphasis added)
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The above situation demonstrates how the Castilian-dominated exterior penetrates the space of immersion classrooms creating fluctuations, vacillations and inconsistencies in the expected linguistic behaviour on the ground.

While discussing language practices inside the home domain, Javier claims that he has made a promise to himself to speak in Galician with his children especially with his eldest daughter:

(...) E coa miña filla, teño dous nenos pequenos, a maior, me comprometéin a falar en galego. Dixen, nada, pois, entre nós imos falar en galego (...)	[(...)] And with my daughter, I have two children, <i>the eldest</i> , I decided to speak in Galician. I said between us, we will speak in Galician (...)] (Emphasis added)
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However, in practice, as Julia notes, Javier often forgets to speak in Galician:

Se le olvida casi siempre (risas). Él lo intenta, pero se le olvida.	He forgets quite often (laughs). He tries to (speak in Galician with their children), but he often forgets.
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Regarding the daily language use of their children, Javier admits that although the children sometimes use certain words in Galician, they speak mostly Castilian:

Si, os nenos responden en Yes, the kids respond in Castilian. castelán. Empregan algún Sometimes they use certain words in termo en galego, pero, o Galician, but the predominant (language principal é o castelán. for them) is Castilian.

Family language audit (FLA) including the audio data of an informal dinner conversation also confirms that the home language of his children is Castilian, although Javier introduces Galician from time to time. The audio recording further highlights that Nélica starts the dinner conversation with Javier in Galician. However, she shifts entirely to Castilian as soon as her mother, who is a habitual Castilian speaker, joins the conversation. On the other hand, Aitor, their youngest son, although he understands Galician, responds only in Castilian during this meal. This further points to the symbolic control of Castilian in the interior home space.

During the interview, Julia also alluded to their often failed attempts to speak more Galician at home. She related this to the fact that both she and husband have Castilian as their first language. One of the strategies they have come up with is to introduce Galician through songs and bedtime stories:

Lo intentamos en algún momento, pero no lo conseguimos, lo que tenemos en casa es lecturas, muchísimas lecturas en gallego, y la música infantil es prácticamente toda en gallego... Cantamos en gallego, leemos mucho en gallego, pero conversación en gallego tenemos muy poca. Y tenemos que mejorarlo.

We have tried at some point but we couldn't manage it (speaking Galician at home), what we have at home are books, lots of books in Galician, and children's music is almost everything in Galician. We sing in Galician, we read a lot in Galician, however, we have very little conversation in Galician. We have to make this better. (Emphasis added)

The above language management decisions which have been further validated through the FLA observation checklist, can be considered as instances of pro-Galician literacy practices inside home domain. It has been argued that if a home environment is rich in literacy materials and the family members are supportive of home language maintenance, children's literacy development can be improved (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014a, 2016).

The individual interviews and the family language audit confirm the dominance of Castilian in the home domain. FLA audio data further underlines that while Nélica can maintain communication in Galician, Aitor maintains a passive proficiency in the language. Apart from classroom activities at school, occasional visits to their paternal grandparents during weekends, informal communication with their father and hearing bedtime stories in Galician, the children are mostly exposed to a Castilian-speaking environment. For instance, watching cartoons, preparing homework and other extracurricular activities, are to a large extent, carried out in Castilian. The aforementioned audit carried out by the parents further points out that the language of socialisation for their children predominantly takes place in Castilian and they have a minimum input of Galician in their linguistic daily routine (see Appendix B. 1 for English translation of the FLA observation template of Perez family). Therefore, it can be concluded that Javier's articulations and attestations of fidelity to Galician and his hope for its furtherance in the school /home space seems to be contradicted by interruptions and intrusions in this claimed commitment to Galician by his intermittent lapses into Castilian. This inconsistency between affirmation of Galician and compliance to Castilian further denotes the potency of Castilian's practical and ideological dominance. Parental linguistic practices discussed in this case further indicates that Javier and Julia, based on their own individual language beliefs, ideologies and management decisions become individual stakeholders and/or implementers of language policy inside home domain.

The next case study is about Quintana family who also reside in Bertamiráns. The following chart informs about socio-economic as well as sociolinguistic aspects of the family.

6.3. Case study 2: Quintana Family- Traditional speakers

Parents: Martín (56 years): Traditional speaker

Claudia (52 years): Traditional speaker

Occupations: Both are Government employees. Martín works as a teacher at the primary school of Bertamiráns and Claudia works as an administrator in the Central library of Santiago de Compostela. In terms of socio-economic status, this family can also be considered as urban middle-class of Galicia.

Residence: Bertamiráns

Work: Bertamiráns (Martín) and Santiago de Compostela (Claudia).

Children: Four daughters. Their eldest daughter, Cecilia is fifteen years old who is about to start High School, also studied in the primary school of Bertamiráns. Their middle daughter Alicia is eleven years old, while Susi and Rosa are twins aged eight years. All three study in the primary school of Bertamiráns.

Language with spouse: Traditional Galician (with dialectical input from *A Mariña*, a north-west coastal region of Galicia). Both confirm that they write the standardised form of Galician.

Language at home: The parents use only Galician at home. According to them, although Cecilia always responds to them in Galician, Alicia, Susi and Rosa speak mostly in Castilian at home. Outside the home, all the daughters use only or mostly Castilian.

Place of interview: Although Martín was interviewed in the primary school at Bertamiráns, the interview with Claudia took place in her office in Santiago de Compostela.

Martín was a key participant in Bertamiráns. I met him for the first time in the primary school of Bertamiráns during the first phase of fieldwork in November 2013. Later, he introduced me to his wife, Claudia during my second field trip in June 2014. Martín comes from a traditional Galician speaking family in *A Mariña*, which is located in Galicia's northern province of Lugo. In this coastal part of Galicia, Galician has

always been the vehicular language. As Martín asserts, his home language has been Galician since his childhood. His first contact with Castilian started at the age of five when he entered school. He started his schooling in the late sixties during the Franco regime when educational language policy was mostly Castilian centred. According to him, the school offered an immersion programme in Castilian, although the pupils continued to use Galician outside the classroom:

<p>(...) os meus pais son galegofalantes, e polo tanto a min transmitíronme a <u>misma</u> lingua. Eu, durante a miña infancia falei sempre en galego, ata que me incorporei ó sistema educativo con cinco anos. O sistema educativo (...) era exclusivamente en castelán era unha inmersión en castelán. Por tanto, os nenos falábamnos en galego, pero no momento que entrábamnos na aula pois alí a lingua do ensino era exclusivamente o castelán.</p>	<p>[...] <i>my parents are speakers of Galician, and therefore they have passed me on the same language. I, during my childhood always spoke Galician, until I began school aged five. The education system was exclusively in Castilian (...) it was an immersion in Castilian. Therefore, we the pupils used to speak in Galician, but when we entered the classroom well there the language of instruction was exclusively in Castilian.</i>] (Emphasis added)</p>
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As a traditional speaker of Galician at home, he describes his first years of school as a huge culture shock since Castilian was the only language at school. Therefore, as Martín recollects, code-switching and code-mixing between Galician and Castilian became a common occurrence for Galician speaking pupils during the first few years of school. However, speaking Galician in the classroom context was a punishable offence where depending on the classroom teacher, the students often received physical punishment for speaking Galician in class:

<p>Naturalmente, o choque era tremendo porque con cinco anos estaste construíndo como persoa, como individuo. Entón, a cuestión era que ti continuamente estabas metendo palabras na túa lingua que era o galego, nun ambiente no que se esixía exclusivamente castelán. O mestre dependendo da dureza, porque había mestres máis violentos, daquela estaba permitido e consentido a violencia física.</p>	<p>[Naturally, the shock was huge because when you are only five years old, you are actually constructing yourself as a person, as an individual. Therefore, the question was that you are continuously mixing words from your language which was Galician, in an environment which was exclusively Castilian speaking. The classroom teacher, depending on their robustness, because there were teachers who were quite violent, they used physical punishment (for speaking in Galician or code-mixing) as then it was permitted.]</p>
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This above statement from Martín points to the hegemonic power of Castilian in the educational system during the Franco regime. As discussed in the literature review section, school works as a language policy mechanism through which the authorities turn ideology into practice since all children must attend school. In other words, educational language policies implemented in the school domain can be used as an *Ideological State Apparatus* (ISA) to perpetuate hegemonic control over the linguistic ideologies of minority language speaking pupils (Althusser 1971). The role of the classroom teacher is of supreme significance in any teaching/learning context; educational authorities such as teachers can be considered as the stakeholders or actors of language education policies on the ground who often execute orders “by internalizing the policy ideology and its agendas [overt and covert] as expressed in the curriculum, in textbooks and other materials and the very perceptions of language” (Shohamy 2006: 78). Therefore, classroom teachers at the micro level, as described in Martín’s comment, often used *Repressive State Apparatus* (Althusser 1971) of physical punishment to perpetuate the hegemonic control of Castilian in the school domain (also see section 2.5 of Chapter 6 for more discussion of educational language policies and their impact on the linguistic culture of a community).

After finishing high school, Martín went on to do a degree in pedagogy at the Lugo campus of the University of Santiago de Compostela in the early eighties. A large majority of his classmates were from different parts of the province of Lugo and most of them used to speak Galician in their daily lives. Soon Galician became the language of socialisation among Martín and his companions. As he recollects, apart from some university lecturers who started using Galician in the class, Galician was also introduced for the first time as a subject in university course. However, in the early eighties, Galician was not yet a standardised language. Therefore, as Martín describes, Galician was first taught with Reintegrationist norms (Portuguese orthography) and later when the RAG introduced its norms, he learnt standard Galician:

(...) recordo perfectamente que o primeiro ano tiñamos galego coas normas lusistas, e o segundo ano estabamos preto do oitenta e tres, que é cando se aproba a lei de normalización lingüística, entonces, no segundo ano si tiven as clases de lingua galega coa normativa da Real Academia. [(...) I remember perfectly that during *the first year we studied Galician with Lusist norms* and from the second year onwards, since we were close to eighty-three, that's the time when the law of linguistic normalisation was approved, then, from the second year onwards, *I had Galician with the Royal Academia of Galician language norms.*] (Emphasis added)

Martin's above statement points to the initial years of linguistic normalisation and its implementation in higher education. As discussed before in section 4.2 of Chapter 4, during the initial years of linguistic normalisation, there were disagreements among scholars about whether Castilian or Portuguese orthography should be taken as a base for the standardisation of Galician. Although Galician was introduced into the education system with Portuguese orthography in the early eighties, from 1983 onwards it was taught in the orthography designed by the RAG.

Claudia, Martín's wife, also belongs to a Galician speaking family from *A Mariña*. She began her schooling in the early seventies during the Franco regime where she had gone through an immersion programme of Castilian. As she asserts, her first contact with Castilian was at school:

A miña lingua de infancia é o galego. Toda a miña familia fala galego, tanto os meus catro avós falaban galego, meus tíos, miña tía. Na escola, empecei na escola no ano setenta, e faciamos unha inmersión lingüística no castelán absoluta. [My language of childhood is Galician. Everyone in my family speaks Galician, both my grandparents used to speak Galician, my uncles, my aunts. In the school, I started school in the seventies, and we used to attend a linguistic immersion programme exclusively in Castilian.]

Since Galician was her language of everyday communication, it was difficult for her to get rid of code-switching and code-mixing while speaking Castilian. Therefore, each time she used a Galician word in the class, the teacher corrected it. Unlike Martín who studied a formal Galician course while studying his university degree, Claudia states that she never had any formal training in Galician. Therefore, both Martín and Claudia

could be considered as semi-active new speakers of Castilian at the end of their formal education.

Claudia took a few short courses consisting of seventy hours at a basic and intermediate level of Galician when she became a Government employee of the *Xunta de Galicia* in the beginning of the nineties. Having finished the basic and intermediate levels, she also took a course on the administrative use of Galician. However, she claimed that her knowledge of written Galician is entirely self-taught and that she never came across any problem using Galician in a formal domain. She further acknowledges that her reading of Galician literature helped her to accelerate her understanding of standard Galician:

Pero, a miña formación en galego escrito, era xustamente autodidacta. Non, non <i>tuven</i> clases de galego. Tiven diferentes cursos que, <u>bueno</u> , <i>pa</i> un galegofalante non tiña ningunha complicación. Nin nunca encontrei tampouco ningunha complicación na escrita. Eu sempre lin en galego.	[But... <i>my academic training in written Galician, was precisely self-taught. No, I didn't receive Galician classes. I had different courses that, well, for a Galician speaker, it was not problematic at all. Neither had I come across any problem in written Galician. I always read in Galician.]</i> (Emphasis added)
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Claudia's above comment contradicts the points raised by other traditional speakers of Galician in Esteiro who flagged up the issue of standardisation. While other traditional speakers from rural settings considered standard Galician as artificial or unintelligible and difficult to learn, Claudia, as traditional speaker, offers a positive attitude towards the standardised version of the language. Diverse attitudes towards standardised Galician from both traditional and new speakers will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Martín also has a positive stance towards standard Galician. As their linguistic trajectory suggests, both come from *A Mariña* and speak the variation of Galician from that area. Even though his schooling was exclusively in Castilian, he started learning standardised Galician during his university career. He shares an interesting anecdote about his courtship period with Claudia and their use of standardised Galician. They started their relationship in 1984. As Martín asserts, the language of communication between them has always been Galician since the very beginning of their relationship. In the beginning, they had to maintain a long-distance relationship since both were

studying in two different places. Therefore, to maintain their relationship, they used to write letters to each other. The letters, as Martín states, were in Galician since the very beginning. First, they used to write in the form of Galician they speak in *A Mariña* region. With time, Martín started introducing newly learnt expressions from standardised Galician which was initially criticised and contested by Claudia stating that it was not their way of speaking the language:

<p>As cartas desde o primeiro momento foron en galego porque era a nosa lingua. E aínda que nin ela nin eu nos formáramos en galego. Eu nas primeiras cartas, como xa estaba recibindo a influencia da normativa, estaba empezando a meter (pausa) pois expresións normativas, e recordo, porque aínda conservamos as cartas, que a miña muller queixábaseme de que esa non era a nosa maneira de falar.</p>	<p>[From the very beginning, the letters were in Galician because it was our language. And even though neither she nor I learnt Galician (standardised). I, in the first letters, since I was receiving an influence of the standardisation, I started introducing (pause) well expressions from standardised (Galician), and I remember, because still we keep the letters, that my wife used to complain that it was not our way of speaking.] (Emphasis added)</p>
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While elaborating more on how they became more active users of normative Galician, Martín notes that although Cristina contested initially, she later accepted the standard use of Galician for their personal communication:

<p>Eu aprobei a oposición no oitenta e sete, a partir dese, dese tempo é cando empezo a manexarme máis na, na lingua. Pois, as nosas cartas eran en galego, pero con ese distintivo de “O galego que <i>falábamos</i>” ¿Sabes? Despois, a partir dese momento, <u>bueno</u>, pois hoxe ela, pois manéxase perfectamente no normativo, tamén, e eu igual. Pero, pero tivemos esa transición tamén personal.</p>	<p>[I passed the public service examination in eighty-seven, since then, it was from that time when I started using more often the standardised Galician. Well, our letters were in Galician with that distinction of “<i>the Galician we were speaking</i>” you know? Later, since then, well, <i>nowadays she, also uses the standardised version of Galician perfectly and me too. But, we had that transition at a personal level as well.</i>] (Emphasis added)</p>
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The above anecdote from Martín highlights the role of individual agency in micro level language policy implementation and the speaker’s “acts of identity” (le Page and Tabouret 1985; le Page 1998). According to le Page and Tabouret (1985: 181), every speech act that an individual performs, in one way or the other, is an “act of identity”

through which he/she will show his/her ethnic and social solidarity to or distance from one or more speech groups (also see section 3.3 of Chapter 3 for more discussion on “acts of identity”). As described in the anecdote, both Martín and Claudia were active users of their language variety. While Martín in the beginning was more inclined to introduce the standardised version of Galician in their personal letters, Claudia initially could not identify her variety with the standardised form. This possibly occurred due to her limited access to the standardised version of the language. On the other hand, Martín while learning standard Galician, was able to modify his linguistic behaviour, and soon became an active user of that variety. Martín’s support, as described in the anecdote, reinforced Claudia’s acceptance of the standardised Galician.

According to reported language practices and the family language audit, both Martín and Claudia would seem to speak only Galician at home; their language socialisation outside the home also takes place in Galician. However, apart from their eldest daughter, Cecilia who speaks Galician at home, the other three daughters speak mostly Castilian in almost every domain. Claudia further notes that their twin daughters often respond in Galician to their monolingual Galician-speaking grandparents when the family visit them during weekends. Even though the couple sent their twin daughters to a Galician medium immersion school at Bertamiráns, they still ended up shifting to Castilian causing considerable discontent for their parents:

<p>Entón pasamos as nosas dúas fillas alí, á liña de galego, <i>aunque</i> nosotros, non era necesario porque nosotros xa <i>falábamos</i> en galego, e elas falaban galego, pero resulta que cambiaron de idioma. Cambiaron de idioma, incluso coa liña estando na liña de galego.</p>	<p>[Then we sent our twin daughters there, to the immersion school in Galician although it was not necessary because we already speak Galician, and they used to speak Galician. But what happened was that they changed their language. They changed their language while studying in a Galician medium immersion programme.]</p>
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As Claudia describes, unlike Cecilia who never stopped speaking Galician at home, their other three daughters who were speakers of Galician before joining the school have shifted entirely to Castilian once they started their schooling. Cecilia’s attitude to Galician is in stark contrast with her younger siblings. Both parents think that the external language environment and the language use of their peers play a significant role in this change. Like other parents interviewed in this study, Martín and Claudia also concur that Bertamiráns is a Castilian-speaking environment; therefore, children’s

language socialisation is mostly in Castilian. Although the school maintains a language policy of offering 50% of subjects in Galician, outside the classroom, a large majority of teachers speak in Castilian. This aforementioned situation points to the dominance and symbolic power of Castilian in semi-urban areas like Bertamiráns, where the Galician-speaking children often opt for Castilian outside the home (see sections 7.1 and 7.2 of Chapter 7 for similar observations from other contexts). This further highlights how the Castilian dominated exterior penetrates the interior (Foucault 1978) creating fluctuations, vacillations and inconsistencies in language practice inside the home domain.

According to Martín and Claudia, their second daughter, Alicia who is eleven years old displays a sort of a resistance towards the pro-Galician family language policy. Her bottom-up contestation towards parental language policy becomes evident in the following anecdote shared by her mother:

<p>Tiña un certo rexeitamento <u>hacia</u> o galego. Que non sei onde o percibiu, pero na casa no outro día xa me dixo (pausa) “este ano quero facer as invitacións para o meu cumple eu. Porque quero facer en castelán, porque sempre, <u>hasta ahora</u> as fixen en galego, porque <i>tu quixeches</i>, as invitacións que lle dou aos amigos falan en castelán, non falan en galego. E este ano quero facer eu no idioma que eu quero e quero que sexa o castelán.</p>	<p>[She had a certain type of resistance towards Galician. <i>I don't know where she developed that, but not at home.</i> The other day she told me (pause) “this year I want to do all the invitations for my birthday myself. Because, <i>I want to do them in Castilian.</i> Because until now the invitations were done in Galician, because you wanted them to be so... I give the invitations to my friends who speak Castilian, not in Galician. And <i>this year I want them in a language I want and I want to do them to be in Castilian.</i>] (Emphasis added)</p>
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This scenario where Claudia was preparing the birthday invitations for Alicia in Galician evokes the discourse of bio-power (Foucault 1994), whereby parents as physical progenitors often assume the role of custodians over their children’s language practice, perceiving this “ownership” as a putative parental right (also see section 3.2 of Chapter 3 for more discussion on bio-power). On the contrary, Alicia’ resistance towards the implementation of her mother’s language management decision also underscores the role of “children’s agency” (see King and Fogle 2012; Fogle 2013b) in the implementation of family language policy; it demonstrates how early adolescent children’s language practices may differ sometimes from parental language choices.

Children's "acts of identity" where they diverge from parental language may centre on numerous variables including clashes over cultural beliefs and norms with individual parents (Hua 2008), a higher social status of a school language (Tuominen 1999), role of peers in early adolescence (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014b), symbolic power of a majority language outside the home and the process of children's own identity formation (Caldas and Caron-Caldas 2002). Current research on child agency in the family domain further emphasises that parental assumptions about minority language maintenance in the home domain or creating the home as a secure place for bilingualism and minority languages may fail as children reach adolescence or the pre-adolescence period (Fogle 2012; Caldas 2012). The cases of Alicia and her younger siblings who became monolinguals of Castilian in spite of their Galician-speaking parents highlight the dominant role Castilian in children's language socialisation in Bertamiráns instigating language shift among children (also see section 3.3 of Chapter 3 for more discussion on children's agency).

According to reported language practices, the couple mostly use standard Galician at work. Since the school in Bertamiráns where Martín works, follows a language policy model offering 50% of the subjects in Castilian, he teaches those subjects in Castilian. Martín clearly states that he has nothing against Castilian because it is his second language. It is important to note that Claudia had previously worked for the General Secretary of Language Policy of the *Xunta de Galicia* from 2005-2013. She joined the department in 2005 when the coalition government of Spanish Socialist-Worker's Party (PSdeG) and Galician Nationalist Party (BNG) formed a coalition government and introduced a more pro-Galician language policy through a decree in 2007 (*Decreto 124/2007*). During her interview, Claudia shared her experience both as a mother and as a government employee who was actively involved in the process of top-down policy implementation. The coalition Government had introduced a language immersion programme in Galician for Castilian-speaking children where she sent her daughters. The Government had also introduced several ludic activities for children during the weekends to facilitate the process of learning Galician. As a part of her work responsibility, she used to participate in those activities to assess the linguistic quality of the events. While visiting those events, she used to take her daughters with her. This demonstrates her interest in the maintenance of Galician and its intergenerational transmission:

Eu iba ver como estaba funcionando, como responsable do funcionamento desas actividades ao longo de Galicia, e ao mismo tempo disfrutaba das actividades lúdicas, contacontos, concertos, obras de teatro coas miñas fillas. Entón teño aí unha mezcla que, iba ver o funcionamento e a *calidá* lingüística que utilizaban, e como reaccionaba o público e ao mesmo tempo tiña a visión de cómo estaban reaccionando as miñas fillas.

[I used to visit to see how it (ludic activities) was being implemented, as the person in charge of these activities all over Galicia, and at the same time, got the most out of those ludic activities including storytelling, concerts and theatres among others with my daughters. Therefore, I used to go to assess the programme and the linguistic quality it was offering, and at the same time, I had a vision of how these (experiences) could be useful for my daughters.]
(Emphasis added)

Claudia's emic or insider's perspective from the top offers an insight into status and acquisition planning for Galician during the early years of the coalition Government. At the same time, her initiatives as a mother also point to her language management decisions for her daughters.

Although this decree just intended to reinforce the already existing language policy, it came up against a lot of resistance from certain sectors including the upper middle class and Castilian-speaking elites, who saw the implementation of the *Decreto 124/2007* as an "imposition" of Galician on Castilian (Álvarez-Cáccamo 2011; Gómez-Ocampo 2016). Organisations such as *Galicia Bilingüe* (Bilingual Galician) were created in July 2007 to defend the linguistic rights of Castilian speakers in Galicia. Martín both as a father and as an implementer of LPP on the ground did not share the interpretation of the sociolinguistic situation of Galicia provided by *Galicia Bilingüe*, as Galician remains a lesser-used language in several domains including education, the media and even at home. To express his opinion, he wrote a letter to *Galicia Bilingüe* asking the reasons behind creating such an organisation:

Entón, eu o que lles preguntaba era que, atendendo á miña experiencia persoal, eu tiña unhas nenas, pois estaba empezando a escolaridade, e dice “mira, a miña nena falaba en galego antes de entrar na escola, entrou na escola e ahora fala en castelán. Eu como cidadán galego non me irrito nin me altero. Porque sei que a miña filla acabará falando as dúas. E si o caso fora o contrario? É dicir, si un de vostedes *tuvera* unha filla que falaba en castelán na casa e que ó, ó metela no sistema educativo automaticamente pasara a falar en galego, ¿ustedes serían tan tolerantes coma min? (pausa) Evidentemente nunca me contestaron.

[Then, what I have asked them was that, remembering my personal experience, I have four daughters, well they were starting school, they went to school and now speak (only) in Castilian. As a citizen of Galicia, I am neither irritated, nor am I bothered. Because I know that my daughter will end up speaking both languages. And if: the situation was the other way around? That is to say, if one of you have a daughter who speaks in Castilian and the moment she starts her schooling, she automatically shifts to Galician, would you be that tolerant like me? (Pause) Obviously, they never responded.]

Martín’s above attempt to contest the hegemonic discourses of Castilian from the ground positions him as a counter-elite.

During the 2009 pre-election campaign in Galicia, as discussed before, the centre-right wing (PPdeG) capitalised on public dissatisfaction stemming from the 2007 Decree and made it a political agenda. Later, when PPdeG gained power in 2009, they introduced changes to the existing language education policy through the *Decreto del Plurilingüismo* (DDP). As a counter-elite, Martín analyses this socio-political situation in a critical manner and laments how the PPdeG used Galician to achieve their political goals:

(...) o partido popular utiliza o idioma como arma política e empeza a espallar por todo o país que o galego está sendo imposto á forza, etcétera etcétera, entón *eso* cáusalle un dano tremendo ao idioma e á cultura, e, ao gañaren as eleccións, o que, o que fan é promover un Decreto do Plurilingüismo, *donde* evidentemente o que che comentaba antes, hasta hai uns anos as matemáticas dábanse en galego, ahora xa non, etcétera. O que se está facendo é, claro, deteriorar e degradar o idioma.

[(...) *Partido Popular uses the language (Galician) as a political weapon and starts spreading all over the country that Galician is forcefully imposed, etc. Then it caused huge damage to the language and culture, and, after winning the elections, what they do is promote the Decree of Plurilinguism, where obviously what I was telling you, just a few years before mathematics was taught in Galician, and now it’s not, etc. What it is doing is, obviously, discouraging and degrading the language (Galician).*] (Emphasis added)

The interaction between politics, nationalist sentiments and language policy is also apparent from Martín's comments where he refers to Galicia as a country or nation. This is noteworthy whilst considering that "national" pride would perhaps conventionally be associated with or at least prescribed to be linked with Castilian. Although DDP ensures the continuation of Galician in primary and secondary school systems along with Castilian, in pre-school, it allows the medium of instruction to be the home language of the children. Since Castilian is the predominant language in urban areas, a majority of the children are brought up speaking it. Therefore, this present language policy further constricts the domain of Galician among urban pre-school children. As a practitioner of top-down LPP in the school context, Martín analyses the outcomes of this policy in the following comment:

<p>Pois, amigos meus e coñecidos, que falan habitualmente castelán, dicen "mira, é que, como na casa non llelo falamos, eu agradezo un montón que na escola se lle fale para que lle compense". Claro, esa faceta quedou destruída por completo co decreto do plurilingüismo. E o resultado vai ser pois, que en poucos anos, xa o estamos vendo, pois que o nenos non dominen en absoluto as dúas linguas igual.</p>	<p>[Well, my friends and other acquaintances who are Castilian speakers, they say "look, the thing is, as we don't speak it (Galician) at home, I thank a lot to the school for speaking it (Galician) so that it can compensate for them (their children). Obviously, this side has been completely destroyed by the Decree of Plurilingualism. The result will be, that in a few years, we are already seeing it, the children do not have the same level of competence in both languages.] (Emphasis added)</p>
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The above comment points to the parental expectations from top-down LPP especially from many Castilian-speaking parents who do not speak Galician at home. Other Castilian-speaking parents I interviewed during my study from urban or semi-urban settings also underscored the role of the school in the maintenance of Galician. Therefore, in terms of Martín's perspective, the Decree of Plurilingualism not only reinforces the knowledge of Castilian at school, but puts a question mark on the language policy goal of achieving "balanced bilingualism" in urban Galicia.

Even though government employees are obliged to attend to the public in Galician according to the *Lei de Función Pública de Galicia* (Law of Public Function of Galicia) of 1988, the actual use of Galician remains restricted among civil servants. Both the parents consider that a large number of civil servants (*funcionarios*) who are supposed to use Galician at work still have prejudices towards the minority language.

Claudia puts forth her own workplace experience to describe the changing role of Castilian-speaking public sector employees:

No ano dous mil nove a dous mil dez en que se afloraron moitos tópicos, volveron a aflorar en contra do galego. O peor do pensamento uniformizador do castelán é como se volvemos a ser outra vez colonizados polo castelán. Entonces, ahora de repente, funcionarios que falaban castelán na época do bipartito pasaron a falar o galego, cambiou o goberno e pasaron ao castelán. [In the year two thousand and nine to ten in which many prejudices against Galician started to reappear *the worst ideology was that of Castilian as a unifying factor, it is something like we have become colonised once again by Castilian. Then, suddenly the Castilian speaking government employees who were shifted to Galician during the coalition government (BNG and PSdeG), with the change of government, again shifted to Castilian.*] (Emphasis added)

The above observation from Claudia not only underscores the gap between policy documents and implementation in the government sectors of the *Xunta de Galicia*, but also points to the ideological dominance of Castilian over Galician in society. This situation puts the prestige and acquisition planning of last thirty years under a critical scanner.

During the interview, Martín further underlines the family's role in the perpetuation of negative prejudices towards Galician:

Pero, donde temos os prexuízos? é nas familias (pausa) (...) É dicir, hai xente que sigue pensando que “eso de hablar gallego, es una pérdida de tiempo” (...) [But, *where do we find these prejudices? It is inside the family (pause).* (...) *There are people who keep thinking that “speaking Galician, is useless”* (...) (Emphasis added)

The above observation from Martín not only consolidates Claudia's argument about prejudices, but also underscores the elevated status that Castilian possesses in Galician society. Therefore, it is due to Castilian's symbolic control in society that many parents irrespective of whether they are from urban or rural Galicia, consider speaking Galician to be largely useless.

Martín also recognises the role that school plays in developing competence in minority languages. While talking about the recently introduced Plurilingual model of educational language policy, he maintains a negative stance towards using English as

a language of instruction in the early years of school. As discussed before, the Plurilingual model of language policy allows the school to select 33% of the subjects in Galician, another 33% in Castilian and the final 33% in English. Martín, states that he is not against teaching English or other foreign languages such as French or German. However, he is unable to understand the reasons behind reducing the number of hours of Galician to teach English or French while the hours dedicated to Castilian remain intact:

Ademais, as materias que se está permitindo impartir pois en inglés, en francés, son materias que se impartían en galego Por que? (pausa) Por que non se imparten en inglés ou en francés materias que se impartían en castelán? É dicir, o trilingüismo a parte do absurdo de intentar dividir en tres partes as materias en dúas linguas que son as nosas con unha lingua estranxeira.	[Besides, the subjects that are now taught in English or French are the subjects which were taught before in Galician. Why? (Pause) Why is it the subjects that are taught in Castilian are not given in English or French? That is to say, the trilingualism model (i.e. Plurilingual) is absurd which intends to divide the subjects in three parts instead of the two languages we have, with a foreign language.]
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The above remark from Martín points to his pro-Galician attitude and expectations from the top-down language policy. His analysis, both as a parent and LPP practitioner, also suggests the discrimination that he perceives Galician experiences in the education system. At the same time, he maintains a tolerant attitude towards Castilian, whereas many other new speaker parents in my study were in favour of a more Galicianised education system (see case examples from next chapter). He argues more in support of the language education policy implemented by the coalition Government where both Castilian and Galician are used as mediums of instruction and foreign languages were taught only as subjects.

Claudia too votes for a more Galicianised education system while at the same time she maintains a positive attitude towards multilingualism and linguistic diversity. However, she criticises the notion of plurilingualism in the Galician society calling it a “utopia”. In her view, it is impossible to become completely bilingual. Therefore, she wants her daughters to be monolingual speakers of Galician with an excellent competence of Castilian:

<p>Eu quero que dominen as dúas, que falen as dúas (linguas), que dominen tamén o inglés e a ser posible outro idioma máis. Quero que, que ao final, que é unha utopia. É imposible ser bilingüe, quero que sexan monolingües en galego con gran dominio do castelán, así que é imposible, pero eu, a min gustaríame que dominaran o galego, e tamén <i>tuveran</i> amplos coñecementos do castelán.</p>	<p>[I want them to become competent in both, that means they speak both (the languages), and also become proficient in English and if it is possible other languages as well. I want, finally it is utopic... <i>It is impossible to be bilingual, I want them to be monolinguals in Galician with an excellent proficiency in Castilian, which is (also) impossible, but, I would like that them to have a good competence in Galician, and also to have a broader knowledge of Castilian.</i>] (Emphasis added)</p>
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The above comment from Claudia further underscores parental expectations from the top-down language policy. While all the top-down language policy documents in Galicia aspire to achieve what is sometimes referred to as “balanced or harmonious bilingualism”, pro-Galician counter-elite parents such as Claudia find that situation to be utopian and therefore, impossible to achieve. Claudia’s observation further highlights the symbolic control of Castilian that exists in Galician society and the perceived incompetence of three decades of top-down language policies to resolve this sociolinguistic inequality.

When discussing future of the language, she asserts that she wants to be positive about the future of Galician. Despite Castilian’s hegemonic control in the society, she finds that there is development in the field of Galician literature, culture and music. Galician enjoys better social status than it did during the Franco regime. She also highlights the significance of the urban new speaker adolescents who have taken up an important role in the revitalisation and maintenance of Galician:

Un adolescente galegofalante sempre falará galego, o sea, cando, ó mellor é nalgúnhas momentos da súa vida fala castelán, pero, sempre falará galego. En cambio, hai adolescentes que son os que tú decías, neofalantes, hai moito neofalante, que cambiou de idioma conscientemente, racionalmente. Porque pa min, no meu caso non ten ningún valor usar o galego, e manter o galego. É o idioma que aprendín e é o idioma das miñas referencias vitais, emocionais, porque os idiomas tamén son emoción, e son raíces e son historia.

[A Galician speaking adolescent will always speak Galician I mean, when, may be at some point of his life, he may speak Castilian, but, he will always speak Galician. Whereas there are adolescents to whom you referred to as new speakers, there are many new speakers who consciously and rationally changed their language. Because for me, in my case, there is no bravery in using Galician, and maintaining Galician. It's the language I learnt and it is the referential language of my life, emotions, because the languages are also emotion, and are roots and are history.] (Emphasis added)

Although the linguistic vitality of Galician is often associated with an aging rural-based population, due to Galician's presence in the education system, a generation of new speakers has emerged who do not have Galician as their first language, but are influenced by a strong ideological bond with the minority language. These new speakers have also started broadening the symbolic space for Galician in urban or semi-urban contexts (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2015). As described in the previous case study, traditional speakers' linguistic variety often works as an identity control mechanism creating a social closure for the new speakers. Unlike some other traditional speakers of the language who claim a legitimacy of Galician and criticise the new speakers for their bookish knowledge of the language (O'Rourke et al. 2015), Claudia not only recognises their part in reversing language shift, but appreciates new speakers' role in the process of language maintenance (also see sections 4.4 and 4.5 of Chapter 4 for more discussion on characteristics of Galician new speakers).

Individual interviews and a family language audit (FLA) including the audio data from four informal communications ranging from eight to ten minutes each during dinner and homework suggest that the home language of Alicia, Susi and Rosa is Castilian, whereas both the parents and Cecilia, their eldest daughter use only Galician. During my fieldwork, I was invited twice for dinner in their house where I also witnessed this. In FLA, the parents also note that Cecilia, their eldest daughter although speaks Galician in the home, she speaks Castilian to her friends and classmates. Since the children study in the same school where their father works, Martín further observes

that they use only Castilian with their classmates. The situation slightly changes during the weekends when the family visits the grandparents; both the grandparents speak only Galician. Therefore, as FLA shows, Alicia, Susi and Rosa sometimes introduce Galician to communicate with their grandparents. Martín further notes an interesting change in Alicia's behaviour when she came to know that their informal conversations would be recorded and analysed by some outsider. She declared that she would be speaking Galician when the recorder is on. As the audio data shows, even though sometimes during dinner she starts talking in Galician, she was unable to continue speaking in the language for a longer period (see Appendix B. 2 for English translation of the FLA observation template of Quintana family). This inconsistency between affirmation of Galician and capitulation or submission to Castilian denotes the practical and ideological dominance of Castilian outside the home. An analysis of the reported linguistic practices in this case indicates that Martín and Claudia both maintain pro-Galician ideologies and are stakeholders and/or implementers of individual language management decisions in their home, emphasising the role of individual agency inside the home domain.

The next case study is about the Penabade family from Santiago de Comostela. The following chart provides an overview of basic socio-economic and sociolinguistic details of the family.

6.4. Case study 3: Penabade Family- Active new speakers

Parents: Salvador (40 years): Active new speaker

Mercedes (39 years): Active New speaker

Occupations: Small to medium enterprises (SME). They own a souvenir shop in the old town of Santiago de Compostela. Salvador mainly works in the shop while Mercedes from time to time comes to help him. She also prepares leather crafts for the shop and to sell elsewhere. In terms of socio-economic status, this family also belongs to an urban middle-class background.

Residence: Santiago de Compostela.

Work: Santiago de Compostela.

Children: Two children. Their eldest daughter, Noelia, is six years old and is studying in the *Escola Semente*, a pre-primary school funded by a Cooperative of Galician counter-elites offering a language immersion programme in Galician. Their youngest son, Brais was seven months old when the fieldwork took place.

Language with spouse: Galician. Both confirm that they use standardised Galician.

Language at home: Galician

Place of interview: *Escola Semente* (Semente School) in Santiago de Compostela

I met Salvador, one of my key participants in Santiago, for the first time when I was searching for parents who send their children to the cooperative funded schools in Santiago. His six-year-old daughter attends *Escola Semente*. Salvador has a souvenir shop called *The Galician Shop* in the old town close to the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Unlike other souvenir shops, it sells Galician nationalist merchandise including statues and quotes from the Galician intellectuals, traditional musical instruments, maps of the ancient kingdom of Galicia since 1603, different Celtic symbols and replicas of different monuments among other items. After a few visits to his shop and after spending some time there, we became acquainted. Later, he introduced me to his partner Mercedes who also works in the shop. She fashions leather handicrafts bearing different Celtic symbols and Galician nationalist logos. These crafted items are sold in the shop, online and in fairs.

Both Salvador and Mercedes are actively involved with *Escola Semente*. When fieldwork for this research took place, Mercedes was the acting president of the *Asociación de Nais e Pais* (Association of Parents, henceforth ANP) of the school. Her main role as the president of ANP was to negotiate parental demands with the school management. Both are also active members of *Tribo* ('Tribe' in Galician), a pro-Galician collective that wants its children to socialise in Galician (see section 5.4.1 of Chapter 5 for more discussion on *Tribo*). Later, Salvador and Mercedes took part in the focus group discussion I conducted in Santiago de Compostela.

In the context of this analysis, the nationalist merchandise in Salvador's shop are symbolically interlinked to the Renaissance movement of Galicia (*Rexurdimento* in Galician). The *Rexurdimento* started in the latter half of the nineteenth century and was dominated by a small group of nationalist intellectuals such as Manuel Murguía, Vicente Risco and Fermin Bouza among others who believed that the Galicians had a Celtic origin (Díaz-Santana 2002; González-García 2007). These intellectuals maintained that Galicia should be incorporated as a Celtic nation along with Britany, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and the Isle of Man. Even though Celticism began in the late nineteenth century, a sector of Galician nationalists still preserves this historic ideology; Salvador, who is a strong believer of the aforementioned traditional Celtic narrative lived in Scotland and Ireland for several years. This experience directly informed Salvador and his associates' decision to sell flags of all the Celtic nations including the Galician flag in his shop. Another popular product in this shop that underscores the aforementioned notion of Celtic origin and its relationship with present day Galician nationalism is the creation of the Galician Kilt. Incorporating the colour of the Galician flag, Salvador and his other business associates designed a kilt from blue tartan in 2007. A flag of all the Celtic nations (Pic 1) and (Pic 2) a Galician Kilt are examples of the nationalist merchandise sold in Salvador's shop:



Pics 9 and 10: A flag of Celtic nations (left) and a Galician kilt with belt and bag (right) Source: the website of The Galician Shop: <http://www.galicianshop.com/>

Historically the term Celtic refers to several tribes such as Britons, Celtiberi, Gauls, and Helvetii among others whose existence in Europe was attested by the Romans (Nic Craith 2002: 84). In modern times, the notion of Celtic identity is often associated with people who speak one of the recognised Celtic languages (Alberro 2005). Although there is strong archaeological evidence of the existence of the Celts in Galicia, no Celtic language has been spoken in Galicia since ninth century AD (Berresford-Ellis 2002). Although the modern day Galician lexicon includes a significant number of words with Celtic roots, it is predominantly based on vulgar Latin (Mariño-Paz 1998). It is important to note that the reconstruction of Galician nationalist identity since the nineteenth century centred very much on the historical discourse of Celticism (see section 4.4 of Chapter 4). History, archaeology and heritage, as discussed previously (see section 2.3 of Chapter 2), are often used as a tool to underpin these nationalistic discourses since heritage is closely linked with group identity (Nic Craith 2010). It is important to note that heritage may also epitomise “the dominant ideological discourse, but that also ensures that it can become the focus of alternative meaning for those who dissent” (Graham et al. 2000: 258). Therefore, what qualifies as the nation’s heritage and what does not, depends to a large extent on the ideologies of the ruling-class elites who endorse the knowledge that heritage is about a common national inheritance and ancestry.

In the Galician context, societal power relations, as this case demonstrates, operates through the ancillary arms of ideology, heritage and “imagined nation” (Anderson 1991). According to Anderson (1991: 6), a nation is politically and culturally constructed; he further notes that the political and cultural bodies of society often make people “imagine” that they share in general beliefs, knowledge, attitudes

and identify a collective as having similar views and sentiments to their own (section 2.3 of Chapter 2 for more discussion on this concept). In the context of my study, Renaissance Galician counter-elites took up the “imagined” discourse of Celticism to contest and, at the same time, exclude themselves from the authorised grand heritage discourse of Hispanic identity. Their intention to associate Galicia with other Celtic nations remembering their Celtic roots, created a parallel discourse of Galician nationalist identity based on Celticism. In modern times, a section of Galician nationalist counter-elites, such as Salvador and his associates who trade in heritage, use the ideological discourse of Celticism as a counter-hegemonic strategy from the ground to preserve their Galician identity. Several visits to ‘the Galician shop’ allowed me to observe closely how these nationalist ideologies work in developing bottom-up discourses of resistance through commercialising heritage. At the same time, I got to know more about Salvador’s LPP at the individual level and inside the family.

Salvador was born in Cangas do Morrazo, a small coastal town in the province of Pontevedra in Galicia. His parents were Castilian speakers; therefore, Castilian was his first language. The linguistic situation in the home domain changed when his mother was hospitalised for months. Therefore, he started living periodically with his paternal and maternal grandparents who were traditional speakers of Galician providing him with significant input from the language during his childhood. He used both the languages until his adolescence and later when he was in high school, he decided to become a monolingual Galician speaker:

<p>(...) na casa, os pais castelán falantes, eu falaba en castelán aos trece anos mais ou menos podo dicir que collín un pouco de conciencia lingüística (pausa) e: progresivamente, <u>bueno</u>, dende aquela xa practicamente, a práctica, <u>bueno</u>, sempre fun galego falante.</p>	<p>[(...) at home, my parents are Castilian speakers, I used to speak Castilian more or less when I was thirteen years old, I became linguistically aware (pause) a little and: well, since then, I practically always speak in Galician.]</p>
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The above declaration from Salvador where he enacted a change in his linguistic repertoire to become an active new speaker, can be considered as an example of high school muda (see section 4.4 of Chapter 4 for more discussion on muda). According to him, his linguistic awareness of the sociolinguistic situation in Galicia that he studied in the school curriculum and observed in society, played a significant role in his decision to become an active new speaker.

Salvador's partner Mercedes was born in Cambados, a coastal town in the province of Pontevedra. Although her father used to speak Galician outside home, the language at home has always been Castilian as Mercedes' mother is from León, a city located in the northwest of Spain. Therefore, she has Castilian as her L1. Mercedes states that although her mother understands Galician quite well, she never uses the language in everyday communication. Thus, Mercedes's home language was Castilian during her childhood. Even though she learnt Galician at school, she never attempted to speak the language in day-to-day life till she was eighteen. Nowadays she speaks mostly Galician with all her family members except her brother and her mother. As Mercedes states, the most significant change in her linguistic trajectory came when she started her relationship with Salvador:

<p>(...) meu pai falaba en galego, miña nai falaba castelán, pero na casa falábase en castelán (...) Eu arredor dos dezaioito/dezanove anos, empecei xa a interesarme máis polo galego i empecei a falar un pouquiño así, a escribir en galego. Pero sobre todo cando conocín a Salvador, sobre os vintedous anos é cando empecei a falar máis en galego. Sabía falar galego, pero Salvador axudoume moito, en plan de <i>perfeccionar</i> o galego, i é algo que eu agradecín tamén.</p>	<p>[(...) my father spoke Galician, my mother spoke Castilian, however, at home we used only Castilian (...) When I was around eighteen/nineteen years, I began to have some interest in Galician and started to speak and write a little. But, above all, when I was around twenty-two years old, I started going out with Salvador and that's the time when I started speaking more in Galician I knew how to speak Galician, but Salvador helped me a lot to improve my Galician and that is something I thank always.] (Emphasis added)</p>
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According to their reported language practices during childhood, the couple came across pro-Castilian family language policies in their respective homes. It is also important to note that the education system plays a significant role in their knowledge and linguistic *mudes* towards Galician. Whereas Salvador became an active new speaker when he was in high school, the above declaration from Mercedes underlines at least two critical moments in her life when linguistic *mudes* took place. Although she initiated the process of becoming a new speaker during her university days, the shift was not complete until she met Salvador. Analogous to Javier in Case study 1, Mercedes's *mudes* further demonstrate that new speakerness is not a static category, rather a continuous process (Jaffe 2015; Hornsby 2015).

The changing status of every individual's "habitus" and "field" (Bourdieu 1991) also play a significant role in Mercedes's *mudes*. While elaborating on her decision of linguistic change, Mercedes cites her conscious decision to speak Galician that she started before knowing Salvador. In so doing, she draws on her individual agency in order to address the fluctuating field that constitutes the exteriority of the Castilian/Galician sociolinguistic terrain. It could be argued that her habitus, which is her individual psychic structure essentially shaped by external social stimuli, is itself in arbitration with her eventual individual decision to adhere to Galician. Her internal dialogue is interlocked in negotiation with multiple factors in the extraneous sphere, such as Salvador's influence and the ideological impact of nationalistic Galician discourse.

Both the parents confirm during the focus group discussion that there was no second thought in accepting Galician as the home language for their children:

Salvador: (...)	non sei se	[Salvador: (...)	I don't know whether we
chegamos a falar algunha vez	que debíámoslle falar galego e	have ever talked about it (language choice	in home domain) that we should speak to
tal. <u>Osea</u> , eramos nós galego	falantes e:	her in Galician and all that. I mean, we	were speakers of Galician and:

Mercedes:	Non	houbo	Mercedes: We did not have any discussion
discusión.			on this.]

The above declaration from the couple highlights the de facto pro-Galician family language policy present in their home domain.

Even though both use mostly Galician at home, the couple confirm that they often attend customers in their shop in Castilian. Being situated in the old town of Santiago de Compostela, their souvenir shop often receives visitors from outside Galicia. Salvador states that he always attends his customers first in Galician irrespective from where they are. While discussing more about the workplace situation, both expressed their discontent with customers who are from Galicia and according to them, "pretend" not to understand Galician. Salvador shares his own experience in the following lines:

<p>Ó cabo de tempo dis, <i>mi má</i>, estes que viñan con un <i>acentaco</i> resulta que son de Vigo ¡ tal, <i>joder</i>, ¡ eu aquí de <u>tonto</u> falando en castelán con eles.</p>	<p>[After a while you say, oh my (God)! They have such a strong accent from Vigo and all, damn it (frustration) and I am here like a fool speaking in Castilian with them!]</p>
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Unlike the previous two case studies (see Case 1 and 2) where the participants were government employees having Galician as the conventionalised mode of communication at work, Salvador faces a different kind of reality. Salvador's experience where people from Galicia "pretend" not to understand the language and demand implicitly or explicitly to attend them in Castilian points to the hegemonic control of Castilian present in the Galician society. In spite of more favourable institutional support for Galician in society, opportunities to use the language in urban domains remain restricted and the use of Galician in an urban space is often seen as breaking long established social norms (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013a).

The inconsistent nature of "field" and "habitus" and their immediate impact on individual agency is further evident from Salvador's workplace experience. It further exhibits how the exterior penetrates the interior creating fluctuations, vacillations and inconsistencies in language practice in the work field. Even though Salvador maintains a pro-Galician individual language policy for family and other private fields, his articulations and attestations of fidelity to Galician in the work space seems to be challenged by interruptions and intrusions in this claimed commitment to Galician by his intermittent lapses into Castilian. This inconsistency between an affirmation of Galician and finally capitulation or submission to Castilian outside the private field where the individual interacts with external agents for a diversity of reasons denotes the hegemonic dominance of Castilian in the Galician context.

The power of Castilian's practical and ideological dominance in Galician society is further evident from an anecdote Salvador shared during the focus group discussion, regarding their daughter's first language use. Before residing in Santiago de Compostela, they used to live in Allariz, a small township in the interior of the province of Ourense, Galicia. There they sent their daughter to a pre-school when she was around a year old. Since both the parents only speak Galician at home, the basic vocabulary that their daughter developed was in Galician. However, one day she began introducing Castilian words such as *cuchara* ("spoon" in Castilian) in her speech instead of *culler* ("spoon" in Galician) - something that surprised her parents:

Pois chegou un día que *vamos*, escoitándolle primeira palabra esdrúxula, e a primeira palabra esdrúxula na casa foi corrixíndonos a nós, logo claro, axiña deducimos que alguén lle tiña corrixido a ela, non? Osea, nós sempre lle dicíamos, mira que eso cómese coa culler, non? Mira, colle a culler, Noelia, tal. “Cu-cha-ra!” (...) Cu-ller! Que dis? Cu-ller. E ela, “Cu-cha-ra!” (...)

[Well she returned home one day: we were about to hear her first word using dactylic stress. The first word with dactylic stress what she pronounced was correcting us, obviously, we understood that someone has corrected her (language use) no? I mean, we used to say to her that this should be eaten with *Culler* (Spoon in Galician), right? Look, take the *Culler* Noelia. She said “*Cuchara* (Spoon in Castilian)!” What are you saying? This is *Culler*. And she, “*Cuchara!*” (...)]

This above situation where someone from Noelia’s pre-school deployed the *Repressive State Apparatus* (Althusser 1971) to correct her use of Galician, not only underscores the conventionalising of Castilian in the Galician society, but the sociolinguistic inequality that exists between these two languages. It further points out that even after thirty years of seemingly pro-Galician LPP, a greater degree of social and symbolic capital is still afforded to the dominant language – Castilian. Even though the parents speak only Galician at home, the change of “field” from home to kindergarten where the exterior permeates into Noelia’s habitus is impacting on her language practice.

While framing pro-Galician bottom-up LPP in the family domain, Salvador recognises the vehicular role that Castilian plays in the Galician urban context. He is also aware of the fact that the children will inevitably learn Castilian due to its hegemonic domination in society. He is not against Castilian and wants to give his children the opportunities to learn as many languages as possible which shows his positive attitude to multilingualism. However, what annoys him as a parent is that their Galician-speaking daughter is often considered as someone odd and unusual by Castilian-speaking kids:

(...) o sea, o contacto co castelán vaino ter, dende o principio antes ou despois vaino aprender, pois que o aprenda e que aprenda máis linguas, non? o que máis nos *fastidiaría* en todo este proceso neste agasallo que entendemos nós que lle estamos a dar, o galego como primeira lingua, e: é que: que pase por circunstancias polas que ó *millor* pasamos nós nalgún momento. Non? Circunstancias desagradábeis. E os nenos, bueno, pois en principio, a ver, son mui inocentes mais tamén son mui crueis en certas cousas, e transmiten mui rápido os prexuízos, eh. Entón, hai nenos con dunha maneira ou outra pois chegan ó seu entorno que entenden eso, que falar castelán é a lingua correcta e falar galego é a lingua rara.

[(...) I mean, she (Noelia) will always have contact with Castilian, since the beginning sooner or later she will learn it (Castilian), I want her to learn it, and learn more languages. Right? what would really annoy me in this process. This gift what we understand that we are giving her as a gift, Galician as a first language, and she would go through a better situation what we went through at some point of time, right? Unpleasant circumstances and the children, well, initially, they are very innocent and at the same time, they are very cruel in certain aspects, and they pass on the prejudices very fast, eh. Therefore, there are kids who, in one way or the other, come to know in their environment that, *that speaking Castilian is correct and speaking Galician is something weird.*] (Emphasis added)

Castilian's ideological dominance in the Galician urban milieu and the role of child agency (King and Fogle 2012; Fogle 2013b) in language maintenance are evident from above comment by Salvador where he defines children as carriers and implementers of family ideologies. Since the majority of the children in urban/semi-urban contexts are brought up speaking Castilian, they may see any Galician-speaking child as the "other". As discussed before in the previous case study, children's "Acts of Identity" (le Page and Tabouret 1985) where they may shift to a different language other than their parental language due to peers' influence and/or symbolic power afforded to a majority language outside home. The attendant language shift toward Castilian invoke discourses of language maintenance as it can be seen in Salvador's preoccupations. Since intergenerational transmission of a language within the family is a significant marker of language maintenance (Fishman 1991), pro-Galician new speaker counter-elite parents like Salvador and Mercedes play a significant role in reversing this aforementioned language shift by reinitiating the intergenerational transmission of Galician in their home.

Power in the sociolinguistic context of Galicia, as this study underlines, operates through the ancillary arms of ideology, heritage and nationalism. Despite some favourable institutional support for Galician, opportunities to use the language in urban domains remain restricted and there are people who often link politics and linguistic nationalism in a Galician context (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013b). Language policies in Galicia, as discussed before, further strengthens the bond between language, heritage, political and nationalist ideologies. While discussing about parental expectations from language policy and planning, Mercedes criticises how the right-wing government of the PPdeG gained power in 2009 through politicising the language issue:

<p>(...) o problema (risa) do goberno actual por exemplo, é que politizou ese tema. Entón parece que falar galego é unha opción política, cando non debería ser así, non? O galego é a lingua de Galicia, entón é unha visión persoal, vamos (...)</p>	<p>[...] The problem (laughing) of the present government for example, is that they <i>politicised</i> this topic (language). Therefore, <i>it seems that speaking Galician is a political option, when it should not be like that, isn't it? Galician is the language of Galicia, therefore, it's a personal choice, right (...)</i> (Emphasis added)</p>
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Mercedes's interpretation of the present sociolinguistic situation of urban Galicia where Castilian is the conventional form of communication underscores how societal power relations operate through the auxiliary arms of nationalist and political ideologies. This political perspective is very much in debt to the supporters of the BNG, a left-wing nationalist party who base their political ideologies on the Galician language as a symbol of national identity. As a counter-elite, she interprets how the dominant Castilian speaking elites utilised the language inequality in Galicia to conceive power and at the same time, she develops her bottom-up discourse that speaking Galician is a personal choice rather than a political option. The notion of personal choice in bilingual society further underscores the role of individual agency in ideology formation at the grassroots. Her pro-Galician nationalist outlook can be located in her argument when she states that Galician is the language of Galicia ignoring the existence of Castilian.

Participant observation, focus group discussions and family language audit including the audio data from four short informal interactions ranging from eight to ten minutes each during breakfast and dinner suggest that the home language of Penabade

family is Galician. Even though the parents intend to offer their children a favourable Galician-speaking environment at home, the contact with Castilian is almost unavoidable for Noelia since it is the language of television and the exterior. As the parents observe, Noelia often sings in Galician while playing alone with her dolls (see Appendix B. 3 for English translation of the FLA observation template of Penabade family). Although Salvador and Mercedes selected a Galician medium pre-primary immersion school for her, Noelia continuously needs to negotiate between Galician and Castilian as soon as she interacts with her fellow classmates since many of them are Castilian-speaking. Everyday language practice inside the family domain slightly changes during the weekends when Noelia visits her grandparents. Although both the grandfathers speak only in Galician to Noelia, both her grandmothers have Castilian as their first language, therefore speak predominantly in Castilian. It is also important to note that there are also some extended family members who speak only in Castilian. As the parents observe, at the age of five, Noelia communicates with ease in both the languages spoken to her.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter concentrated mainly on the interaction between macro-level language policy and parental agency through three representative families from the urban domain of Galicia. An analysis of the parental linguistic practices in this section indicates that these parents based on their individual language beliefs, ideologies and management decisions become stakeholders or implementers of language policy in family domain. The analysis further illustrates that the language requirements of the individual (micro), the community (meso) and the country (macro) may differ in a bilingual society as everyone has his or her own language practices. One of the major aims of this research is to investigate how individual agency (relating to parents) interprets language policy on the ground. Reported language practices of the family members and FLA data confirm that language policy at the individual level, like all other domains of language policy, includes aspects of practice, ideology and management. Therefore, individual language policy can provide a valid description of the latent linguistic ideologies of an individual (what he/she believes about language), language management (what endeavours he/she makes for language maintenance) and his/her linguistic practices (what they do with language).

The above case studies further exhibit that the field or sites for the intersection of the two linguistic discourses is subject to daily variations and mutations. The instantiation of the multi-modal arbitration between the discourses of power, ideology and language is played out on a daily basis through various actors and stakeholders who are implicated in a constantly fluctuating field of agonistic negotiation. In essence, the conflicts that these counter elite parents must negotiate between the realities of social pressure, political impositions, and public education demands on the one hand, and the desire for cultural loyalty and linguistic intergenerational transmission on the other. A careful analysis of the profiles discussed in this section reveals that symbolic capital, evident in the privileging of Castilian as the language of communication is to some degree offset by these counter-elite parents from the micro level aiming to destabilise the normalisation and legitimisation of the dominant discourse through different counter-hegemonic strategies. These measures include language management in the home space, interaction with social groups through social media and technological interfaces, formation of co-operative mobilisations, and informal social interactions with other parents and their children, outside the school space. Using interview data from fifteen families, the following chapter will demonstrate how one section of Galician parents are part of a multitude of urban counter-elites taking the discourse of Galician as a minority beyond the home space and engaging in contesting the conventionalising of Castilian.

Chapter 7

CONTESTING THE CONVENTIONALISING OF CASTILIAN: PARENTAL LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT IN URBAN GALICIAN HOMES

7.1. Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapters, LPP is not a straightforward process where only top-down verdicts matter. Instead, it is a multidimensional mechanism where numerous actors or agents are continuously at play at different levels. Revealing the intricacies of the connections between language policies and actors at different layers, further highlights how societal power relations work and are represented through languages. Although LPP is strictly context dependent, a desired outcome of a language policy depends to a large extent on the continuous interplay between the agency of these actors and their interpretation and implementation of top-down LPP decisions (see section 2.6 of Chapter 2). The implementation of any top-down language policy may occur at different levels, ranging from macro (governmental organisations), meso level (educational institutions, local community groups) and micro or individual level (parents, teachers, students) where decisions about language use are made in domains such as the workplace or home. An individual's habitus, his/her access to different forms of capital and a community's linguistic culture, play a significant role in this process (see case studies from the previous chapter). Therefore, language policy whether macro or micro, as Spolsky (2009: 1) argues, "is all about choices", and one of the major objectives of a language policy is "to account for the choices made by individual speakers on the basis of rule-governed patterns" (ibid.) generally accepted across the members of a determined speech community. In this vein, family as a micro social unit can be considered as a "community of practice" (Lanza 2007: 46) with its own norms for language use (also see sections 3.2 and 3.3 of Chapter 3).

Language policies at any level, as pointed out before, include three interrelated factors: language practices, language ideologies and language management. Language ideologies that form the basis of any language policy are manifested through language practice. Therefore, in the family context, individual parents often transmit their ideologies through their "language choices in interaction and hence socialize their children into this ideology (...)" (Lanza 2007: 61). Language decisions or "management", on the other hand, have been defined as conscious and explicit efforts by actor(s) who maintain(s) or intend(s) to exert control over the subjects in a specific

context to modify their language behaviour (Spolsky 2009: 1-4). Since parents are the *in situ* language managers in the home domain, language management at the family level refers to the decisions and attempts that parents make to maintain a language or languages. Therefore, any analysis that seeks to investigate language management in the home domain, needs to take into consideration parental beliefs, attitudes, latent ideologies and choices made about language use and the reasons for doing so. In this chapter, I intend to explore how the above factors influence language management in Galician urban homes.

This chapter commences with a parental assessment of contemporary educational language policy and their expectations from it. The following section elaborates on various types of ideologies associated with the symbolic capital of Castilian, societal bilingualism, language revitalisation, linguistic nationalism and legitimacy of standardised Galician, all of which influence language planning in the home domain. The final section of data analysis offers an overview of language management strategies from counter-elite parents and demonstrates how their individual linguistic management and practices, when galvanised into collective mobilisations, can impact language behaviour on the ground.

7.2. Parental appraisal of Educational Language Policy and their expectations from it

Since this study attempts to investigate parental expectations from state-driven educational language policies and their immediate impact on parents' language choice in school, a range of questions were directed at parents, asking them about their assessment of top-down language education policy. As indicated previously, at present, the majority of public schools in Galicia follow a language policy model where 50% of school subjects are taught in Galician and 50% have Castilian as the medium of instruction. The contemporary PPdeG Government which is in power since 2009 in Galicia does not allow any kind of immersion programme in public schools. Additionally, from 2010 onwards, the Government has put in place a plurilingual model (*Escola Plurilingüe*) of language policy in certain schools, where 33% of the total subjects are taught in Galician, another 33% are taught in Castilian and the remaining 33% in English. Once decided by the managing committee of the school, the school authority can ask for the plurilingual model of teaching curriculum to be implemented. However, not every school gets accepted for this programme. Privately run schools

have the freedom to choose their language of instruction but they have to offer Galician and Castilian as subjects in the school. A number of private schools which offer English as medium of instruction follow this language policy. It is worth mentioning here that I collected the interview data from parents who send their children to both public and cooperative funded schools. While the schools in Bertamiráns, Vigo and Esteiro are public schools, the schools in Santiago de Compostela and Narón are private pre-primary schools funded by pro-Galician cooperatives called *Cooperativa de Raiola*, *Asociación Semente* and *Galiza co Galego* respectively, offering immersion programmes in Galician.

Interview data from individual parents and focus groups suggest that the majority of parents from urban and semi-urban areas prefer exclusively or mainly Galician as the language of instruction at school, while a small number of parents favour Castilian or remained neutral in their views. At the same time, all the parents irrespective of urban or rural setting unanimously stated that they want their children to be bilinguals. An awareness of the existing language education policies can also be noted among the parents from Bertamiráns, Vigo and Santiago de Compostela. For instance, the school at Bertamiráns follows a language policy model where 50% of subjects are taught in Galician and 50% in Castilian. While discussing what they would prefer as the language of education, parents from the Perez, Quintana and Penabade families (see Chapter 6) clearly stated that they would prefer a Galician-centric educational language policy. Fernando, a father from Bertamiráns echoes this choice. According to him, school is an important site where children can learn Galician since many parents including himself do not speak sufficient Galician with their children at home - a consequence of historical disjuncture in the intergenerational transmission of the language. He believes:

Fernando: Preferiría que a lingua de ensino solo fora en galego. Porque, como na casa, non o mamanan, gustaríame que o mamaran na escola. Eu preferiría que fora así. Entón, para os que queren que a súa filla fale galego, é importante que na escola se fale galego.

[Fernando: *I would prefer that the language of teaching should only be in Galician. Because, as they (children) do not suck [using the metaphor of mother's milk for Galician] it at home, I would like them to learn it at school. I would prefer that it should be like this. Therefore, people who want their children to speak in Galician, it is important that Galician should be spoken in school*]. (Emphasis added)

Marisa, his wife, like Fernando, maintains the opinion that the medium of instruction in school should be entirely or mainly in Galician. She further elaborates that in Bertamiráns, children are brought up in a Castilian-speaking home environment. Therefore, school is the only place where the children can learn Galician. She says:

Marisa: Yo creo que debería ser más en gallego, o sólo en gallego. Porque el resto del entorno es tan castellanizante, que, sino, va a ser difícil.	[Marisa: I believe that it (the education system) should be more in Galician or only in Galician. Because the rest of the environment is Castilian-speaking, otherwise it will be very difficult (for them to learn Galician)].
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Similarly, when asked about what would be an adequate educational language policy (henceforth, ELP) for their children, all the focus group participants in Santiago de Compostela unanimously agreed that they would prefer either an increased level of or an exclusively Galician-based language education policy at school:

Bea: [A min gustaríame que lle falaran] en galego, sobre todo nas idades primeiras.

[Bea: *I would prefer that Galician should be used (as a language of instruction), above all during the initial years (of schooling).*]

Adam: Eu para min debería ser absolutamente en galego, a: a escola. I o castelán, pois as mesmas horas que lle dedican ó inglés, osea, dúas ou tres horas para reforzalos, para que non cometan erros nas diferencias que hai co galego (...) i con eso terían de sobra para saber falar moi ben o castelán (...)

Adam: *For me, (the language of) school should be only in Galician. And Castilian, well, should be taught the same hours as it is given to English, I mean, two or three hours just to reinforce them, so that they (children) do not make mistakes recognising differences that exist between Galician and Castilian (...) and with this they would have enough to speak well in Castilian (...)*

Lara: Eu estou d'acordo (...) o principal digamos o: a lingua primeira ten que ser o galego na escola. E: e despois, pois evidentemente estudar tamén castelán, como outras linguas (...)

Lara: *I completely agree (...) the main, that is to say, the first language in school has to be Galician. And later, well obviously children will study Castilian like other languages (...)*

Virgilio: Eu tamén, tamén coincido. Galego e inglés, castelán, así por: ese orden e en canto a distribución de horas eu faríao así porque como coincidimos todos o castelán e algo: que, que están aprendendo de maneira natural.

Virgilio: *I also, also concur. Galician and English, then Castilian, this way: in this order and regarding the distribution of hours I would have done it this way because as we all agree that Castilian is something: that they are learning in a natural way...*

Elena: Eu creo que is# tamén, é dicir, hai a escola o que ten é que ofrecerlle a unha poboación e saír con competencia nas linguas oficiais, e se se pode noutras linguas, ¿non? E a realidade é que moitos dos nenos que saen do sistema educativo non teñen un galego fluído, quere dicir que porque e a escolarización non lles dá ó mellor, suficiente ferramenta pra poder facelo... Entón, bueno, e do que se trata é de buscar o número de horas necesarias pra que esa competencia sexa real (...)

Elena: *I believe the same, that is to say, it is the school that has to offer people competence in official languages, and if possible, in other languages as well, right? And the reality is that many children who come out from this education system and don't have a fluency in Galician because school does not offer them the best, proper supporting tool to do that. Then, well, it is about searching the number of necessary hours so that the competence (in Galician) becomes real (...)]. (Emphasis added)*

The above discussion clearly indicates parental preferences in terms of languages taught in the Galician education system. While most of the parents are unequivocal about their language choices in ELP, Elena, a mother from Santiago de Compostela, evaluates the existing ELP and questions the LPP goal of a “balanced bilingualism” for children by the end of their schooling. From the outset, LPP in Galicia has centred on the Laws of Linguistic Normalisation (1983) that set out to ensure bilingual competence in both Galician and Castilian at the end of compulsory education (see section 4.2 of Chapter 4). However, in practice, as Elena points out, many children who study in this education system do not achieve fluency in Galician. Her interpretation of Galician ELP further underscores the gap between policy rhetoric and its implementation at the grass roots level.

The focus group participants from Vigo who send their children to both private and public schools also recognise the importance of Galician in the education system. While debating about an effective ELP for school, most of the Galician-speaking parents consider school as one of the places where their children’s language shift takes place. Since most of the urban children have Castilian as their first language, the language socialisation of school-going children predominantly takes place in Castilian. Therefore, although the parents speak Galician at home, as soon as the children start school, most of them accept Castilian as their language of communication. Parental concern about the intergenerational transmission of Galician is evident from the following discussion:

<p>Sabela: hai unha temporada aínda me enterei con dor do meu corazón que chegan á escola a, ó instituto, e xa se relacionan en castelán.</p> <p>Inma: <asentimento> Hum</p> <p>Paloma: [<asentimento> Hum]</p> <p>Sabela: [Aquí] donde se desgaleguizan absolutamente, [é na escola.]</p> <p>Xoan: [É na escola.]</p>	<p>[Sabela: sometime back, I came to know with lots of pain in my heart that they (the children) come to school or to secondary school and start socialising in Castilian.</p> <p>Inma: <affirmation> Hum.</p> <p>Paloma: <affirmation> Hum</p> <p>Sabela: (This is the place) <i>where they shift completely to Castilian (is at school).</i></p> <p>Xoan: <i>yes (it is at school).</i>] (Emphasis added)</p>
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This above situation again refers to the children’s “Acts of Identity” (le Page and Tabouret 1985; le Page 1998) where they diverge from parental or home language and accept another language for socialisation. As le Page and Tabouret (1985: 181) argue,

an individual often realigns “the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group with which from time to time he wishes to be identified (...)”, and children are no exception. In Vigo, like other urban arenas, children who became Castilian monolinguals in spite their Galician-speaking parents, highlight the hegemonic power of Castilian in children’s language socialisation. While discussing the language management measures parents take to contest the conventionalising of Castilian, Dario and Sabela reveal that they chose to enrol their daughter in a private pre-primary school that offered 50% of its subjects in English and another 50% in Galician, rather than a public school that followed a pro-Castilian ELP:

Dario: Que a cincuenta por cento da (...)	[Dario: (The school) offers fifty percent of its subjects (...)]
Sabela: Se da en inglés.	Sabela: (Fifty percent of its subjects) are taught in English.
Dario: En inglés. [Entón dixemos, xa, bueno, é millor] Que se corrompa, pero (...)	Dario: <i>in English. Then, we said, well, that’s better. That they would be corrupted [by Castilian], but (...)</i>
Sabela: Pero [menos.]	Sabela: But less.
Dario: [Nunha] lingua non..., non necesariamente cen por cen español.	Dario: <i>In a language that is not..., not necessarily Spanish.] (Emphasis added)</i>

Dario and Sabela’s decision to enrol their daughter in a school which offers English as a medium of instruction instead of Castilian once again epitomises the strident contestation of the conventionalising of Castilian that is pervasive amongst a large section of the urban middle class parents I interviewed. Dario’s metaphoric use of the word “corrupt” for a Castilian and English-centred education policy could also be analysed as being tantamount to a call for Galician “national” pride. This further highlights their preference for an exclusively Galician-focussed ELP.

While most of the parents from the urban domain prefer the education system to be mostly or entirely in Galician, a few couples such as Ana and Manolo from Bertaminrán did not offer any explicit opinion as to their preferred language of instruction at school. For instance, Manolo expresses his satisfaction with the present language policy in school and states that it is more important for him that his children learn the subjects well:

Manolo: A ver, opino que el cincuenta está bien. Porque para mí lo importante es la materia que aprenden.

[Manolo: Well, I think fifty percent is fine. Because, for me what is most important is that they (children) learn the subject.]

Ana, on the other hand, without offering any concrete opinion regarding educational language policy, articulates her disagreement with the set pattern of the school curriculum where every language has specific hours. According to her, no language can be learned within the time frame of two or three hours during the week:

Ana: O sistema educativo e xunto coa familia o lugar onde os nenos se forman e os nenos aprenden. Hai que darlle, non podemos aprender un idioma, sexa o que sexa, cunha hora, dúas, tres á semana.

[Ana: The education system, along with family are the places where the children learn. We cannot learn a language, whatever happens, in an hour or two or three during a week.]

Unlike the others, Ana and Manolo present an alternative view about the educational language policies, where their focus is on the educational aspects rather than the language(s) of instruction.

Interview data from individual parents also suggests that there are parents who view Galician as a medium of instruction an imposition on children and favour a more pro-Castilian ELP. For instance, Lucía, a mother from Narón (Ferrol) argues that children should not be obliged to learn Galician in the name of language revitalisation:

Lucía: Yo, por exemplo, ya defiando que el niño tiene que saber el gallego. (...) Es una regeneración de idioma, pero, no impuesto. No vale poner darle palos al castellano para poner en su lugar el gallego. No. No. Así no.

[Lucía: I, for instance, defend that the child has to know Galician. (...) *It is revitalisation of a language, but, it should not be imposed. It is not valid to blame Castilian and substitute Galician in its place. No. No. Not this way.*] (Emphasis added)

In a similar vein, Raúl, her husband also criticises the educational language policy stating that the education system should be only in Castilian:

<p>Raúl: (...) Una cosa que aprenda el niño el gallego, se hable en una parte de su educación y otra cosa es que la educación sea en gallego. Entiendo que tenga que aprender el gallego, que tenga que hablar en gallego, que tengo que saber de la gramática del gallego, pero, las asignaturas que son generales que sean en castellano (...)</p>	<p>[Raúl: (...) One thing is that the child learns Galician, it is spoken partly in his education and another thing is having the whole education in Galician. I understand that he should learn Galician, that he has to speak in Galician, that I have to know the grammar of Galician, but, <i>the subjects that are general should be in Castilian (...)</i>] (Emphasis added)</p>
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Unlike the other parents from urban domains including Bertamiráns, Vigo and Santiago de Compostela, who argue for a more Galician-centred educational language policy, the above statements from the couple exhibit discontent with such a language policy. For them, Galician should only be a subject in the education system, not a medium of instruction. As mentioned earlier, in the late seventies, when Galician was first introduced into the education system, it was taught only as a subject. Later, when the Law for Linguistic Normalisation was passed in 1983, it was decided that at least two to four subjects in the school curriculum would be transmitted in Galician. However, in practice, the PPdeG government of the period maintained a non-interventionist approach towards the grassroots level implementation of the legal stipulation. The Galician Socialists and Galician Nationalist Party formed a coalition government in 2005 and intended to reinforce and implement a pro-Galician language policy where at least 50% of subjects should be taught in Galician. However, their actions met with a lot of resistance - mainly from the Castilian-speaking urban middle class including people such as Lucia and Raúl, who perceived these mobilisations as an imposition of Galician in the compulsory education system.

7.3. Language ideologies

As discussed before, any language policy whether top-down or bottom-up is essentially based on linguistic ideologies (see Blommaert 2006a; Woolard 1998, 2008; Shohamy 2006). Irvine (1989: 55) defines linguistic or language ideologies as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests.” Therefore, any research on language ideologies is oriented towards examining how people interpret the role of language(s) in a socio-cultural context, and “how their construals are socially positioned. These construals include the ways people conceive of language itself, as well as what they

understand by the particular languages and ways of speaking that are within their purview” (Irvine 2012). In other words, these beliefs or ideologies about language(s) shape a speech community’s consensus on what value to apply to each of the languages or language variables that make up its repertoire (Spolsky 2004: 14). Therefore, someone’s language ideology can be detected through what he or she utters about language, both explicitly and implicitly, and in the language choices he or she makes (Lanza 2007; Woolard 2016). In the following section of data interpretation, I will centre on different types of ideologies related to language management by Galician parents within individual and family domains:

7.3.1 Dominant language ideology and symbolic capital of Castilian

Among all the interviews conducted in both urban and rural settings, one of the recurring themes was the ideology of dominance of Castilian over Galician. In contrast to minoritised languages, as Woolard (2016: 25) points out, “hegemonic languages [such as Castilian in case of Galicia] in modern society often rest their authority on a conception of anonymity”. In the context of my research, Castilian plays the role of a hegemonic language; this ideology of the dominance of Castilian becomes clearer when Ana, a mother from Bertamiráns, speaks about its importance and the limitations of Galician within Galicia:

<p>Ana: O galego é unha lingua que soamente se fala en Galicia. Pero o castelán se fala en España; se fala en Arxentina e en casi toda a Iberoamérica.</p>	<p>[Ana: <i>Galician is a language that is only spoken in Galicia. But Castilian is spoken in Spain; it is spoken in Argentina and spoken in almost whole South America.</i>] (Emphasis added)</p>
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Raúl, a father from Narón (Ferrol) echoes Ana’s point of view. According to him, Castilian should be prioritised, since Galician is no more than a regional language:

<p>Raúl: Español es el idioma nacional. (...) El gallego no te abre puerta, pero, a ver el castellano tampoco hace (riéndose), pero, no te cierra. Primero castellano siempre y luego gallego.</p>	<p>[Raúl: Spanish is the national language. (...) Galician does not open doors, neither Castilian does it (laughing), but, does not close it to you. Always Castilian first and later Galician.]</p>
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Similar to these urban parents, parents from rural settings such as in Esteiro where Galician is spoken on a daily basis also recognise its territorial limitation and

acknowledge the dominance of Castilian at national level. For instance, according to Leo, a father from Esteiro:

Leo: O primeiro, antes de nada, o castellano. Porque ti si, si sabes falar ghallego e sales, sales para fóra de Ghalisia, ¿qué falas? [Leo: Castilian is the first. Because if you only know Galician and go outside Galicia, what will you speak?]

Lorena, another mother from Esteiro, resonates with the same ideology:

Lorena: (...) o castellano é o que lle vai valer se salen de Ghalisia. Porque aquí, o ghallego solo che vai a valer aquí (pausa). Na comunidá. Fóra no. [Lorena: (...) Castilian is the language that will serve him (their child), if he immigrates from Galicia. Because Galician will serve him if he stays here (pause). In this community. Not outside.]

While talking about his childhood days, Fernando, a father from Bertamiráns, also talks about the dominance of Castilian in the seventies, when Galician was considered a peasant language. The informant also thinks that now Galician has achieved some social prestige, but, this is not sufficient:

Fernando: Home, cando eu era pequeno, no claro, naquela época era os que falaban galego, pois, eran da aldea (...) O fino era falar castelán, claro, e hoxe en día aínda hai moito de aquilo, claro, menos, eu vexo que menos (...)" Fernando: [When I was a child, at that time ... who used to speak Galician, well, they were from the village (...) obviously, *speaking Castilian was prestigious and nowadays still there is a lot of this, true, less than before, I see that it is less (...)*] (Emphasis added)

He also believes that it is the enormous pressure of Castilian over Galician in society that compels children to speak in Castilian. The hegemonic control of Castilian in the present day context can be seen in Fernando's following comment:

Fernando: Castelán van aprender de todas e todas. Aínda que o escondas debaixo dunha pedra. Ese vai aprender castelán igual. Fernando: [*Everyone will learn Castilian. Even if you hide it beneath a rock. (Children) will learn Castilian in one way or the other.*] (Emphasis added)

As stated before, when Galician was introduced into the education system, media and public administration in the early eighties, the status of the language was enhanced. However, the vulnerability of Galician is still largely attributable to an aging and rural-

based population. Gradual emigration to urban areas of Galicia since the mid-twentieth century has destabilised the demographic base of Galician and is facilitating the process of language shift towards Castilian, since Castilian has always been the predominant language in Galician cities (Ramallo 2010). Therefore, speaking Galician in urban spaces is often seen as breaking long established social norms (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013a: 291).

The following anecdote from Sabela, a mother from Vigo, whose daughter was ridiculed by some older girls for speaking Galician further consolidates Fernando's argument relating to the long-standing prejudices about the minority language:

<p>Sabela: (...) houbo un momento no que estaba xogando nun parque de bólas cunhas nenas maiores, non? Que tiñan así como sete anos, oito anos e tal. Entón, vin que e houbo un momento que lle dicían "ay, y tú hablas galeguiño?" Como xa vacilando, ¿non? A miña filla así "si, eu falo galego, si ¿por qué?"</p> <p>Dario: Pero é unha inconsciencia, porque a nosa nena [aínda non é consciente con tres anos das circunstancias]</p> <p>Sabela: [Efectivamente. claro, claro.]</p> <p>César: [Claro.]</p> <p>Maite: [Das circunstancias.]</p> <p>Xoan: E que hai cambio, <énfase> eh, [cando chegan ós oito ou nove (...)]</p> <p>Sabela: [Efectivamente. No, no, claro. Evidentemente aí vai falar castelán] (...)</p> <p>Paloma: [Claro, eso (...)]</p>	<p>[Sabela: (...) there was a moment when she was playing with a ball in a park with some older girls, no? who might be around seven or eight years old. Then, I saw that at some point they were asking her "ayy, do you speak Galician?" as if already pulling her leg (for speaking Galician). Right? My daughter said "yes, I speak Galician, yes. Why?"</p> <p>Dario: But, she is unaware, because our daughter who is just three years old is not aware of the circumstances.</p> <p>Sabela: Indeed.</p> <p>César: Right.</p> <p>Maite: of the circumstances.</p> <p>Xoan: There will be a change <with emphasis> eh! When she will be eight or nine years old (...)</p> <p>Sabela: Of course. She will speak Castilian for sure.</p> <p>Paloma: Indeed, that's it.</p>
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The preoccupation of counter-elite parents with the maintenance of Galician is evident from the above extract. In Vigo, as discussed before in this section, most of the children have Castilian as their first language. Therefore, many children often adopt monolingual practices in Castilian in early adolescence in spite of their Galician-

speaking parents. The hegemonic control of Castilian in urban Galicia and children's "Acts of Identity" can be seen to contribute to this language shift.

An analysis of the comments discussed in this segment places a question mark on the top-down "status" and "prestige" planning (Cooper 1989; Ager 2001, 2005) goal of achieving so-called "balanced bilingualism" in a Galician society, where both Galician and Castilian co-exist as official languages of the community without conflicting with each other. However, as previously discussed, after more than thirty years of Linguistic Normalisation, as the data interprets, Castilian still possess a greater degree of social and symbolic capital than Galician. This further underscores the gap between policy rhetoric and implementation on the ground.

7.3.2 Ideologies towards societal bilingualism and language revitalisation

Another recurrent type of ideology related to what was understood by societal bilingualism. As pointed out before, Galician's linguistic vitality is very much attributable to an elderly and rural-based population. Additionally, Castilian has always been the predominant language in the cities which facilitates language shift towards Castilian. These societal flows and the attendant language shift toward Castilian invoke discourses of language maintenance and revitalisation among the majority of urban parents. In fact, all the participants irrespective of rural or urban settings consider bilingualism to be an asset for Galicia and want their children to speak both the languages. For instance, Marisa, a mother from Bertamiráns, states that she wants her children to be able to speak both languages and at the same time, recognises the role of parents in achieving bilingual competence for their children:

Marisa: Mi intención es esa, que dominen las dos. Pero bueno, sé que a lo mejor debería hacer más esfuerzo para hablarles en gallego, para conseguirlo. Pero mi intención es que puedan hablar las dos perfectamente.	[Marisa: My intention is that they can speak both. But, well, <i>I know that maybe I should make an effort to speak more in Galician with them to achieve that.</i> But but my intention is that they can speak both (the languages) perfectly.] (Emphasis added)
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While Marisa recognises her parental role for not speaking sufficient Galician at home, Fernando, her husband, continues to criticise the top-down status planning of Galician for not resolving the sociolinguistic inequality between the majority and minority. He thinks that the survival of Galician depends on societal bilingualism. He considers

Galician as an endangered language and that the sociolinguistic dominance of Castilian has a colossal effect on the vitality of Galician. According to him, if Galician does not have intergenerational transmission, it may end up as a mere piece of decoration or only to be read in books:

Fernando: É que bilingüismo é a única alternativa para que sobreviva o galego. Castelán van aprender de todas e todas. (...) O que hai que defender o galego para que tamén sexan competentes en galego e aprecien o galego como idioma. Porque si non vaise perder. Vaise converter nunha figura decorativa que quede nos libros.	Fernando: [<i>Bilingualism is the only alternative through which Galician can survive. (...) What we should defend is Galician so that they [children] should also be competent in Galician and start giving importance to Galician as a language. Otherwise it will be lost. Galician will turn into a piece of decoration and will remain in the books.</i>] (Emphasis added)
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The above comments further demonstrate how the exterior permeates the interior (Foucault 1994) creating ambivalence, uncertainty and inconsistencies in language practice on the ground. Marisa's utterances of fidelity to Galician and her hope for its furtherance in the home space seem to be contradicted by disruptions and inconsistencies in this claimed commitment to Galician by her continuous lapses into Castilian. This deviation between affirmation of Galician and ultimate submission to Castilian underscores Castilian's ideological dominance and sociolinguistic inequality between these two languages in urban/semi-urban contexts. Counter-elites' interpretation of the top-down LPP and preoccupation with the survival of Galician is also evident from Fernando's comment.

Unlike Fernando, who sees the survival of Galician in societal bilingualism, Samuel, a father from Santiago de Compostela who takes his daughters to Semente School does not find any trace of "balanced" bilingualism in present day Galician society. According to him, instead of bilingualism what one comes across is diglossic bilingualism with Castilian on the top. He is critical of the LPP goal of "balanced bilingualism" over the last thirty years:

Samuel: E iso hoxe en día non se está conseguindo, pero nin de lonxe, e máis, as novas xeracións nesta era estanse distanciando máis, non? O bilingüismo que temos en Galiza é un bilingüismo diglósico que é discriminatorio e que crea desigualdades a respecto da lingua propia do país (...)

[Samuel: *And this (bilingualism) does not exist nowadays: it is not being achieved either but it (LPP) is far from it and above all the younger generations are distancing more (from Galician), right? The bilingualism that we have in Galicia is a diglossic bilingualism which is discriminatory creating inequality towards the own language of the country (...)*]. (Emphasis added)

Similar to Samuel, his partner, Raquel in an individual interview echoes Samuel's words. She also thinks that "balanced bilingualism" is a myth and this balance does not exist in Galician society. She sees the hegemonic control of Castilian as responsible for this sociolinguistic inequality:

Raquel: O bilingüismo harmónico non existe (pausa). O galego está perdendo falantes. Hai unha hexemonía do español, osea por derriba do galego. Non, osea non existe o bilingüismo, o que hai é unha diglosia.

[Raquel: Harmonious bilingualism does not exist (pause). Galician is losing its speakers. There is a hegemony of Castilian, I mean it (Castilian) is above Galician. *No, I mean bilingualism does not exist, what we have here is a diglossia.*] (Emphasis added)

As discussed previously (see section 4.2 of Chapter 4), the term *diglossia* was first defined by Ferguson (1959) to explain the complementarity and inequity of the two existing speech forms (one high and another low) in a society. The complexity of the concept and its difference with bilingualism was later elaborated by Fishman (1967, 1970). However, their definition does not answer more complex sociolinguistic situations where diglossia is evolved due to hegemonic control of the dominant language. Several later researchers (see Bourdieu 1982; Williams 1992), have pointed out that longstanding sociolinguistic inequality may instigate linguistic conflicts among different social classes or ethnic groups in apparently stable diglossic societies. Such conflicts, often arise where a majority language takes over a minority one through language shift as it is occurring in urban Galicia. In the above comments, both Samuel and Raquel as new speaker counter-elite parents criticise the top-down LPP for not resolving this sociolinguistic imbalance between Castilian and Galician causing language shift among the younger generations.

This discourse of sociolinguistic inequality becomes further evident during the focus group discussion in Santiago de Compostela where Bea, a mother from the Raiola School and Salvador, another father from Semente School question the top-down notion of “balanced or harmonious bilingualism” in top-down ELP. Bea believes that a goal of balanced bilingualism is difficult to achieve in a social context of total imbalance, where Castilian is in a dominant position over Galician. According to her, even if all the school subjects are taught in Galician, Castilian will never be an endangered language:

Bea: O equilibrio é complexo. Porque chamarlle equilibrio a unha situación de total desequilibrio social (...)

[Bea: *The balance is difficult. Because calling balance to a situation of complete social imbalance (...)*

Salvador: Xa.

Salvador: yes.

Bea: Pois, entón nunca podes. Non sei como, cal sería a fórmula que calculase cal sería a porcentaxe adecuada na escola de castelán para (pausa). Penso que non habería ningún problema si tuveran todas as, osea, tódolos mestres falaran en galego, osea, o castelán non correría [(risa)] [absolutamente] ningún perigo (...)

Bea: Well, then you never can. I don't know how, what should the formula that can calculate what should be adequate percentage of Castilian in the school (pause). *I think that there will not absolutely be any problem if all the teachers speak only in Galician, I mean, Castilian is not at all an endangered language (...)* (Emphasis added)

In Galicia, as discussed above, the correlation between social and symbolic capital manifests in the status afforded to the majority language - Castilian, widely perceived to possess a greater degree of symbolic capital. This in turn informs the wider dimension of social capital in the form of collective or cooperative mobilisation at the grassroots level to interrogate the dominant discourse of Castilian. Therefore, symbolic capital, evident in the privileging of Castilian as the language of communication is to some degree offset by the parents - as discussed earlier, or in the form of the cooperative contestation by the Semente School and Raiola School from the micro level by Galician counter elites, aiming to contest the conventionalisation and legitimisation of the dominant discourse through counter-hegemonic ideologies.

Unlike other parents who interrogate the sociolinguistic inequality in the Galician urban terrain, Ana, a mother from Bertamiráns, questions the monolingual ideology of

the people who want their children to only speak in Galician. She underscores the issue of personal choice of the speaker in a bilingual context. According to her, bilingualism is an option and to have that option one needs to learn both languages:

Ana: Eu oyo moitas veces e que “que o meu fillo estivo falando galego, ensineilles falar galego toda a vida e agora se poñen a falar castelán”. E qué problema hai ahi? Penso eu. ¿Cal é o problema? Pois, o teu fillo sabe galego, sabe castelán e neste momento fala galego e neste momento decide falar castelán. En ningún caso está traicionando a ningunha das outras lingua. Eu penso que é unha opción. Para ter esas opciones tes que aprenderlas porque se non eu non teño opción de falar ruso porque non sei. [Ana: I often hear (people complaining) that “my son used to speak Galician. I have been speaking Galician to them through my whole life and now they speak only in Castilian”. And I want to know what’s the problem? Well, *your son knows both Galician and Castilian. At this moment, (he decides) to speak Galician and another time, he decides to speak in Castilian. He is not betraying any of the languages. I think that this is an option. To have these options, you have to learn them because otherwise, such as, I do not have any option to speak Russian since I do not know it.*] (Emphasis added)

Unlike other parents presenting the discourses of societal bilingualism, linguistic inequality and language revitalisation, Ana puts forth the discourses of “elite” and “additive” bilingualism at the individual level. As discussed earlier, following Spain’s transition to democracy in the late seventies, Galician received greater visibility due to its increased presence in the education curriculum, the media and public administration and certain sectors of the Castilian-speaking urban middle class in Galicia started learning Galician as a second language for better employment opportunities in the government sector. Many latent new speaker parents like Ana, who speak mostly Castilian in everyday life, learnt Galician as a second language at school. Therefore, her discourse represents the ideologies of “elite” and “additive” bilingualism where Galician remains a second language and speaking Galician for her is optional or a question of personal choice.

7.3.3 Ideologies of authenticity and legitimacy: issues of standardisation of Galician

Another theme which emerged during the interviews was the contrasting opinions of the interviewees regarding the linguistic normalisation/standardisation process. Most of the interviewees from urban domains, who spoke Galician during the interview, used standard Galician, a variety that they learned at school as opposed to a

more traditional colloquial variety of the language more often associated with people who acquire the language at home and/or live in rural areas (i.e. Esteiro). All the interviewees from urban areas unanimously recognise the importance of linguistic normalisation; however, apart from the active new speakers, almost everyone including the traditional speakers from Esteiro complained about the number of changes that had taken place during the normalisation or standardisation process (see section 4.2 of Chapter 4 for an elaborate discussion about standardisation issues of Galician). For instance, Bernardo, a father from Esteiro, expresses his discontent about the changes that took place in normalised Galician. According to him, these changes take place because the *Real Academia Galega* (Royal Academy of Galician Language, RAG) wants Galician to differ from Castilian:

<p>Bernardo: Ahora, duns anos para aquí, a Academia da Lingua dálle por cambiar palabras (risas), para diferensialas do castellano, co cal a min... pois, a min e máis a moita xente da nosa edá parésenos ridículo, absurdo. Se xa tes a lingua feita, para que a queres estar cambiando cada dous por tres? Se a xente que a aprendeu hai des anos, agora lle cambias cincuenta palabras, parece que xa non sabes falar ghallego.</p>	<p>[Bernardo: Now, a few years from now, the Royal Academy of Galician Language suddenly decides to change certain words (laughing) <i>just to differ Galician from Castilian, what for me, well, to me and many others of my age appears ridiculous, absurd to us. If you already have a language, why do you want to change continually? If people who have learnt it (standardised Galician) ten years ago, if you change fifty words seems that you don't know how to speak Galician.</i>] (Emphasis added)</p>
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Standardisation plays a significant role for the survival of a minority language in decline (see Haugen 1983; Clyne 1997; Baldauf 2005a). While standardising a minority language, the standardisers often stress the purity of the language and intend to get rid of the influences of the dominant contact language. Therefore, standardisers from the top may endorse policies that can disempower certain vernacular forms of the language spoken in day-to-day contexts (Fishman 2006; Woolard 2016), as seems to happen in the case of Galician (see Monteagudo 1997, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2004). Bernardo's comment underlines the gap between language planning and policy implementation at the grassroots level. The above statement from Bernardo, however, differs from the urban traditional speakers such as Martín and Claudia (see Chapter 6, Case study 2).

Whilst several traditional speakers such as Bernardo, from rural areas, termed standardised Galician as something artificial or unintelligible and difficult to learn, Claudia and Martín as counter-elites underscore the importance of linguistic normalisation and maintain a positive attitude towards the standardised version of the language. To explain such polarised views, Trudgill's (1974, 2002) model of social class and language variation in Great Britain can be useful. Trudgill claims that the amount of regional variation in English is much greater amongst people from the working class than the upper or middle class, which according to Monteagudo (2004: 389), is identical in the Galician case. In the above situation, Bernardo, a fisherman from a rural area, who speaks only the dialectical variation of Galician, criticises the standardisation process; Martín and Claudia who are upper middle class government employees use more standardised version of Galician.

While Bernardo finds the linguistic normalisation process as “ridiculous” and “absurd”, Lorena, another mother from Esteiro, believes that children should know both standardised and dialectical versions of Galician:

<p>Lorena: Penso que teñen que saber-e, ver os dous (...) Porque de ir ó cole falan máis o galego que eu. Dinme moitas palabras en galego que eu as digho. Penso eu que as digho mal, non sei se as digho mal. Eles fálanas, o galego máis normativo cá min.</p>	<p>[Lorena: <i>I think that they have to know and see both (dialectical Galician of Esteiro and standardised Galician) because they go to school, so they speak more Galician (standardised) than me. They say many words to me in standardised Galician that I speak. I think that I speak them wrong, I don't know whether I speak them wrong. They speak more standardised Galician than me.</i>] (Emphasis added)</p>
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The 1983 Law of Linguistic Normalisation in Galicia made essential the knowledge of standard Galician for employees in its Government sector and rendered it compulsory in schools. Therefore, new speakers' competence in standardised Galician received through the education system to some degree facilitates them with better job opportunities. It also to an extent links them with a higher degree of cultural and social capital than the traditional speakers (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2011, 2013b; O'Rourke et al. 2015). The above situation where Lorena largely locates Standard Galician as the new prestige norm, reflects one of the stigmas associated with dialectal forms of

Galician and prejudicial beliefs held particularly by several traditional speakers about their local versions of Galician (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2011, 2013a).

Another emerging theme amongst the interviewees was whether or not the type of Galician that these interviewees were speaking was an authentic form of Galician. The ideology of authenticity, as Woolard (2008: 304) argues, “locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community”. According to this logic, a speech variety must be perceived as deeply rooted in social and geographic territory in order to be authentic; if such social and territorial roots are not apparent, a linguistic variety lacks value in this system (Woolard 2016). In this study, this ideology of authenticity is more prominent among latent and semi-active new speakers of Galician who often associate Galician with the rural context and see standardised Galician as something artificial. For instance, Lucía, a mother from Narón is more comfortable with hearing traditional Galician from the rural domain rather than standardised Galician:

Lucía: Hay gente que viene de la zona más rural y habla siempre gallego. De hecho, se ve la diferencia entre gallego que fue aprendido en la zona rural y el gallego aprendido en la escuela, el gallego normativo como quien dice. Yo me siento más cómoda con el gallego rural que con el gallego normativo. Con el gallego normativo, no me parece natural. [Lucía: *There are many people who come from more rural areas and always speak Galician. In fact, the difference between Galician that is learnt in the rural context and Galician learnt in the school, the standardised Galicia as they say. I find myself more comfortable in Galician from a rural context than standardised Galician. I don't find standardised Galician as natural.*] (Emphasis added)

Similar to Lucía, Marisa, another mother from Bertamiráns also finds normative Galician as artificial and associates Galician with a rural context:

Marisa: (...) Me parece un poco artificial, en cuanto a que no es el gallego que se suele oír, a la gente del rural. Muchas de las palabras que se hablan en gallego normativo en muchos entornos no las entienden (...) [Marisa: (...) It appears to me a bit artificial, regarding the Galician what people from a rural context speak. Many of the words that standardised Galician have are not understood in many contexts (...)]

Traditional native speakers' linguistic variety, as O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013: 290) underscore, may create a “social closure” that works as an identity control mechanism, which may cause “frustration on the part of newcomers to the language,

sometimes deterring them from using it altogether”. This inherent insecurity of the new speaker, whether he or she is speaking an “authentic” Galician or not, comes to the fore as Ana starts evaluating her use of Galician. She states that she cannot speak or write everything in “correct” (i.e. standardised) Galician and neither does she want to get obsessed with the correct form of each word. Therefore, if she does not feel comfortable with speaking Galician at any point, she does not speak the language:

Ana: (...) eu cando falo galego non, [Ana: (...) when I speak Galician, I am tampouco me preocupo ni me neither preoccupied nor do I get obsessed obsesiono porque sexa a palabra with absolutely correct (Galician), I speak correcta, eu falo e punto. Se non and that’s all. *If I don’t feel comfortable me sento cómoda falando galego, speaking Galician at some point, I don’t speak non o falo. the language.] (Emphasis added)*

The previous comment from Ana points to the aforementioned frustration of newcomers to the standardisation rules of Galician. Language standardisation, as Cooper (1989) points out, may also bring in adverse effects on the ground; instead of reinforcing the dignity and self-worth of the speakers, standardisation may in fact further stigmatise and isolate existing minority language speakers thus facilitating continuous language loss.

Fernando, another father from Bertamiráns who is a semi-active new speaker states that he prefers using the standardised version of Galician for writing and intends to avoid the influence of Castilian. Whenever in doubt, he looks for the correct word in the dictionary:

Fernando: No. O único o que hai [Fernando: No. The only thing is that que como hai palabras que no there are words that you don’t know, coñeces, moitas veces xa che sona sometimes when you feel that you are que esa palabra que estas poñendo using a word from Castilian instead of é castelán, non é galego. Entón, eu Galician (...) *I use dictionaries quite a lot. uso bastantes dicionarios. (...) Uso I have dictionaries at home, I search in bastantes dicionarios. Teño the dictionary, let’s see whether I find dicionarios en casa, busco no them or not, you know, if it (the word) is diccionario, a ver si lle atopo, sabes, well expressed or not. Do you si eso está ben escrito ou tal. understand? I try to do it correctly.] Entendes? Moléstome en facelo ben. (Emphasis added)*

Unlike other semi-active and latent new speakers, Fernando’s interest in using and learn the standard variety of Galician is evident from the above excerpt.

In the context of my research, the negative approach towards standardised Galician changes in the case of active new speakers. The following extract from the focus group discussion in Santiago de Compostela where most of the parents were active new speakers, underlines their effort and interest to use the standard variety of Galician:

- Elena: (...) si que é unha pelexa diaria que temos na casa e por intentar que a lingua deles tamén sexa o mellor posible non no sentido do vocabulario, senón no sentido tamén das estruturas e, por exemplo, na colocación [dos pronomes]
- Bea: [Dos pronomes.]
- Elena: Que iso [é] (...)
- Adam: [Si.]
- Elena: [Unha batalla terrible!]
- Bea: [É unha loita]
- Elena: [Sabes?] Ó principio eu por exemplo, co primeiro neno pois cando os colocaba mal, saltábame, pero agora ás veces con Lola escóitao e xa non reparo, non? Aí Virgilio sempre lles insiste bastante, [non?]
- Virgilio: [Si, bueno eu] Como típico neofalante atévome a corrixir os demais, os meus fillos, sabes? (risas)
- [Elena: (...) yes. *It is true that it is a regular struggle at home and we try that their (children's) language becomes better, not only in terms of vocabulary, but in terms of structure, for instance the position of the pronouns.*
- Bea: yes. *The pronouns.*
- Elena: which is (...)
- Adam: *yes.*
- Elena: *a terrible battle.*
- Bea: *It is a battle (...)*
- Elena: do you know? In the beginning, for instance, with my first child I used to correct him instantly when he used to put the pronouns in the wrong place, but now with Lola, I hear it but I don't jump to correct her no? By the way, Virgilio always insists a lot, no?
- Virgilio: Yes, well. *As like a typical new speaker, I dare to correct others, especially, my children, you know? (laughing)* (Emphasis added)

Most of the interviewees who participated in the focus group discussion in Santiago de Compostela fall into the category of activist new speakers. An active new speaker in the Galician sociolinguistic context, as discussed before, is a person who has learnt Castilian as a first language and at some point in his/her life, abruptly shifts from Castilian to Galician and currently speaks only or mostly Galician. They are the outcome of language revitalisation strategies in Galicia since the early eighties, following Spain's transition to democracy and the inclusion of Galician in domains of use from which it was previously absent such as education and public administration. Over time, these active new speakers have started widening the symbolic space for

Galician by contesting the hitherto dominance of Castilian as the sole manifestation of symbolic capital.

Among the active new speaker counter-elites, there are a small number of parents who are associated with the cooperative mobilisations (e.g. *Escola Semente*) and support re-integrationist ideologies in language standardisation. Re-integrationism refers to a cultural movement headed by a small number of pro-Galician counter-elites that took place in Galicia during the initial days of linguistic normalisation in early eighties. As opposed to the isolationist ideologies of the *Real Académica Galega* (RAG), positioning Galician and Portuguese as two different languages, the re-integrationists find RAG's orthography to be based on Castilian and proposed a linguistic standard (especially in orthography) closer to that of Luso-Brazilian (Portuguese) system. They took the orthography of medieval Galician-Portuguese as a point of reference something which did not have much connection with modern Galician (see González-González 2001; Monteagudo and Casares Berg 2008; Monteagudo 1993, 2004). However, this debate was initially resolved when the Galician Government rejected their proposal and maintained the proposal of the RAG.

Many members of the *Escola Semente* Cooperative subscribe to re-integrationism. This is evident when Samuel, one of the important figures of the *Semente* Cooperative and a father, declares explicitly that *Escola Semente* is based on the re-integrationist ideology:

Samuel: É dicir, nós, eu falo portugués. A miña avoa falaba portugués, aínda que lle chamemos outro nome. É unha cuestión supoño que de etiquetaxe, non? Entón non é que nós, non é que os nosos fillos e as nosas fillas na Semente, ou nós mesmos os reintegratas, na nosa vida diaria nos asimilemos co léxico portugués, coa fonética portuguesa (...)	[Samuel: That is to say, <i>we</i> , I speak Portuguese. My grandmother spoke Portuguese, even though we call it in a different name (Galician). It is a question of giving it a label, right? Therefore, it's not us, it's not that our children in Semente, or we the re-integrationists, in our everyday life we speak with Portuguese lexicon, with Portuguese phonetics (...)
Si, un dos puntos centrais da Semente é o Reintegracionismo. É o Reintegracionismo observando e respectando calquera outra norma escrita da lingua galega.	Yes, one of the pivotal aspects of <i>Semente</i> is re-integrationism. Although we follow re-integrationist orthography, we respect other written forms of standardised Galician.] (Emphasis added)

Societal power relations in Galicia, as discussed before, operates through the appurtenant arms of ideology, heritage and “imagined nation” (Anderson 1991). As

Anderson (1991: 6) argues that a nation is politically and culturally constructed; he emphasises that the political and cultural bodies of society often make people imagine that they share general beliefs, knowledge, attitudes and identify a collective as having similar views and sentiments to their own. The above comment from Samuel essentially refers to the re-integrationist ideology that a sector of Galician counter-elites took up as the “imagined” discourse of Lusism to contest and, at the same time, decouple from the authorised grand heritage discourse of Hispanic identity. A sense of tolerance can also be found in Samuel’s comment when he states that they respect other forms of Galician orthography as well. During my fieldwork, I also observed that the re-integrationist ideology is gaining importance in Galician urban domains such as in Vigo, Ferrol and Santiago de Compostela. As discussed in this section, many counter-elite parents find that top-down language policy and planning are not pro-Galician enough; therefore, parents such as Salvador and Adam who do not support re-integrationism ideologically, enrolled their children in Escola Semente.

However, new speakers’ language use is often criticised by traditional speakers of the language (O’Rourke and Ramallo 2011, 2013a; Ramallo 2013). Since the new speakers of Galician have Castilian as their L1, their Galician is not completely free from the influence of Castilian. One of the major difficulties that new speakers often come across, as Elena describes in the previous extract, is the use of pronouns. In Castilian pronouns come before the verb while in Galician it comes after the verb. For instance:

In Castilian: Me levanto a las siete de la mañana. (I get up at seven in the morning.)

In Galician: Levántome ás sete da mañá. (I get up at seven in the morning.)

In the above situation, where new speaker parents describe their efforts to use pronouns properly in Galician as a constant struggle, this points to their profound interest to use the “correct” standardised version of Galician. The parental role as home language managers or stakeholders is also evident in the above extract, as Victor and Elena accept that they often insist on their children using the “correct” form of standardised Galician. Language management of urban Galician parents will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

7.3.4 Language ideologies associated with politics and nationalism

Contrasting views on the interrelationship between language, politics, heritage and nationalism in the Galician context, was another recurring theme of the interviews. As discussed in literature review sections, gaps between policy rhetoric and implementation of the same often leave many policies ineffectual (Romaine 2002; Shohamy 2006). Galicia is one such cases where the implementation of language policies remained lackadaisical since the earliest days of Autonomy. As pointed out earlier, during the first phase (1981-2004) of LPP in Galicia, the centre-right wing Government maintained a non-interventionist approach through lukewarm policies thus maintaining the status quo of equal co-existence of Castilian and Galician. Bottom-up nationalist support from pro-Galician parents, language activists and new speakers played a crucial role in language maintenance during these years (O'Rourke 2011a). The tepid policies and non-interventionist approach of the previous government for more than twenty years had a negative impact when the Socialist (PSdeG) and Nationalist (BNG) parties' coalition government wanted to implement a pro-Galician language policy in 2007, through a decree. The Castilian-speaking urban middle class perceived it as an imposition of Galician (see section 4.3 of Chapter 4 for further discussion). Since Castilian is the language of wider communication and possesses a greater degree of symbolic capital in urban settings, using Galician in urban spaces is often seen as breaking long established social norms (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013a, 2015), and there are people who often link politics with linguistic nationalism in a Galician context (Ramallo 2010; O'Rourke and Ramallo 2011, 2013b, 2015). In my study, a majority of parents from an urban context, except those of activist new speaker parents, relate speaking Galician with linguistic nationalism.

For instance, Fernando, a semi-active new speaker parent from Bertamiráns, states that if someone speaks Galician in the street, many people still think that he/she is either from a village or is a supporter of the *Blouque Nacionalista Galega* (BNG):

Fernando: Penso que aínda está muy politizada e unha especie de, como decilo, bueno, de ideas preconcebidas non? No sentido de que ti oes alguén falar galego, entón, dis bueno, ese ou é da aldea ou é do Bloque. [Fernando: I think that still it (Galician) is still much politicised and a type of, how can I say, well, of perceived ideas, isn't it? It means that you hear someone speaking Galician, then, you say well, that person is from village or supporter of *Blouque Nacionalista Galega*]. (Emphasis added)

Lucía, a latent new speaker mother from Narón, echoes Fernando's opinion. According to her, there are people in Narón who speak Galician to impose their political ideologies on others:

Lucía: Aquí hay mucha gente, por ejemplo, yo puedo ser más simpatizante en determinados grupos. Por ejemplo, de Bloque o quien sea. Yo puedo tener mis ideas políticas y me da igual que tú hablas en castellano o tú hablas en gallego. Sin embargo, hay determinada gente que utiliza el gallego como (...) si vinera hablando gallego para imponerte sus ideas (...)	[Lucía: Here there are many people, for instance, I can support any specific group (political). For instance, of BNG or whoever. I can have my political ideas and I am fine if someone speaks Galician or Castilian. However, there are a few people who use Galician as (...) as if they are speaking Galician to impose their political ideologies on you (...)] (Emphasis added)
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On the other hand, Javier, another father from Bertamiráns, thinks that in Galicia, extreme nationalist sentiments often have a negative influence on people's linguistic ideologies and there are people who may not like nationalism, and therefore, may not like Galician. He further elaborates that it is not that people see Galician as good or bad, but associate it with ideologies linked to the language:

Javier: (...) se vinculas o galego ó nacionalismo pois haberá xente que non lle guste o nacionalismo e por eso non lle gusta o galego (...) O que pasa é que moitas veces non é que o galego o vexan ben ou mal, senón que se vincula a outras cousas (...)	[Javier: (...) <i>If you relate Galician with nationalism, well there will be people who may not like nationalism and that is the reason they do not like Galician (...)</i> what happens quite often is that <i>it's not Galician that people see as good or bad, but with other things (i.e. ideologies) it is related to (...)</i>] (Emphasis added)
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These aforementioned statements from Fernando, Lucía and Javier underscore the political ideologies associated with Galician nationalism. Many interviewees, irrespective of their rural or urban background, share a strong ideological bond with Galician, but maintain a cautious distance from nationalist political ideologies.

On the contrary, most of the interviewees who participated in the focus groups contest this political stigmatisation of their nationalist sentiments. For instance, Inma,

a new speaker mother from Vigo, states that although she is a political figure of the BNG, her continuous effort to maintain the intergenerational transmission of Galician should not be associated with her political ideologies:

Inma: [Eu son neofalante que tódolos días me esforzo duramente por manter o galego que lle falo galego ós meus fillos i que] teño que escoitar que como son do BNG i no se qué, politizo o tema da lingua. [Inma: I am new speaker who struggles continuously to maintain Galician I speak Galician with my children and I have to hear that since I am from the BNG and whatever, politicise the language.]

Similar to Inma, Xoan, another claimed supporter of the BNG and a traditional speaker states that his attachment to Galician has no relation with his political outlook. His primary preoccupation is the survival of Galician. His nationalist sentiments and anxiety about intergenerational transmission is evident from the following discussion:

Xoan: (...) A min claro que me gustaría. Pero escapar de cualquier connotación política, <énfase> eh. Gustaríame, porque é a nosa lingua, joder, porque é a nosa singularidad, igual que me gustaría [que non desaparecerá (...)] [Xoan: (...) obviously I would like to. But, to escape from any kind of political connotation, <emphasis> eh. *I would like to because it is our language, damn it, because it is our singularity, and I don't like it to be disappeared (...)*

Inma: [Digamos] que escapando de calquera connotación partidista (...) Inma: We would say that *escaping from any sort of biased connotation (...)*

Xoan: Si. Xoan: yes

César: [Partidista, política (...)] César: *politically biased (...)*

There appears to be a disjuncture between Inma's interiority of professed language policy and "the exteriority" (Foucault 1994) of language that is always already appropriated by ideology. In other words, Xoan claims his investment in Galician is purely for the purpose of intergenerational transmission and in his opinion devoid of any ideological inflections. However, the majority discourse of "imagined nation" (Anderson (1991) in the post-Autonomy Galician context has witnessed an ideological re-territorialisation of Galician, adopting it as a nationalistic or nation-building tool by agents such as the *Bloque Nacionalista Galego*. This renders it problematic to consider

language as neutral or benign in the context of the larger macro discourse of Galician being populated and often manipulated by political ideology. How the Castilian dominated exterior infiltrates the interior home domain creating indecisions, vacillations and discrepancies in language practice on the ground, will be further discussed in the following section.

7.4. Resistance from below: home language management of counter-elite parents

It has been argued that a gap in the intergenerational transmission of a language within the family is a significant marker of language loss (see Fishman 2006, Schwartz and Verschik 2013a; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014b). As pointed out previously, every individual within the family has his or her own linguistic practices and beliefs about language choice; therefore, an overview of linguistic ideologies and practices of individual parents can offer a valid description of how languages are planned, managed, learned and negotiated in the home domain (Caldas 2012; Ó hÍfearnáin 2012). Reported language practices seem to confirm that each of the parents exercises his/her individual language practices at home. In this study, all the parents unanimously emphasised the role of family in intergenerational transmission. Traditional and active new speaker parents confirmed that they had no reservations in choosing Galician as their home language, while semi-active and latent new speaker parents are in constant negotiation about their language choice within the family. For instance, Ana, while talking about her day-to-day language use, affirms that the family speaks mainly Castilian at home. But in the present time, she intends to incorporate Galician into her daily life.

Ana: Co paso de tempo, si que é verdade que eu pola miña conta pois tratei de aprender e de tratar de aplicar o galego a vida cotidián, no solamente sabelo académicamente. Pero bueno, a miña lingua fundamental si que é verdade que é o castelán. Trato de falar cada minuto en galego.	[Ana: With time, yes, it is true that I am on my own, well, I have tried to learn and tried to apply Galician in my life, in day to day life not knowing it only academically. But, well, my main language is Castilian. I try to speak Galician every moment though.] (Emphasis added)
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Even though her knowledge of Galician is mostly imbibed from books, Ana clearly states that she attempts to exceed her academic knowledge of Galician and expand its horizons by incorporating it practically, in her daily life. She further claims to speak with her daughter in Galician for at least an hour every day. Ana adds that if they start

speaking in Galician during dinner, her partner, Manolo, and their eldest son, normally participate in the conversation, switching from Castilian to Galician:

Ana: (...) hai pouco a miña nena que fala castelán habitualmente dixo: "Por que non buscamos un momento para falar un ratiño en galego todos en casa?" E pareceunos moi ben. E buscamos a hora da cea que e cando estamos todos xuntos. [Ana: (...) a few days back my daughter who speaks mostly Castilian said: "*Why don't we find a moment when all of us will speak in Galician?*" And we liked the proposal. And we find the time of dinner since that's the time when we all are together.] (Emphasis added)

Significantly, Ana's conscious personal decision to expand the domain of Galician in her everyday life is crucially instantiated by its deployment as language management in the home domain.

Fernando and Marisa, a couple from Bertamiráns, mostly communicate in Castilian. Both of them learnt Galician at school and currently have two school-going children, with whom Fernando claims to speak Galician often. Sometimes, when his children come back home from school, Fernando makes it a point to speak with them only in Galician. He states that he wants his children to understand that Galician is not an unfamiliar language and can be used in everyday life, akin to the Castilian they are familiar with in school and the outside world:

Fernando: Pero falo con eles en galego en bastantes ocasións para que vexan esta lingua como algo normal e que serve para a vida diaria e non algo que só se da na escola. [Fernando: But I often speak to them in Galician so that they can see *this language no different; it is something normal and serves for everyday life and not something that is only studied in school.*] (Emphasis added)

Fernando considers that the children may not understand the difference between Galician and Castilian, and that they respond in the language they want to speak in at that moment. He also adds that he does not want to force them to speak any specific language. In essence, Fernando claims to adopt an approach of tolerance to both languages in his home linguistic practice.

Apart from speaking in Galician, Fernando devotes a considerable amount of time especially in maintaining his written Galician and implementing the language in his daily life. He has a kitchen garden and he claims to write a diary about it in Galician:

<p>Fernando: (...) cando fago un informe, fágoo en galego. Despois, algunha cousa privada que teño, tamén intento facela en galego: a listaxe da compra pois fago en galego. Entón agora estou facendo unha especie de diario non? Hoxe fun alí, tal, tal. Estouno facendo en Galego (...)</p>	<p>Fernando: [(...) when I write any official document, I do it in Galician. Then I have something private that I also try to do in Galician: the list for shopping I do it in Galician. Now I am also writing a sort of diary, you know? I went there today and all that. I am doing it in Galician (...)]</p>
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The above declaration could be interpreted as an interesting linguistic practice for language revitalisation and maintenance at individual level. Reported language practices in the above case studies also demonstrate how the exterior Castilian-dominated sphere ideologically penetrates the interior home space, creating discrepancies, contradictions and irregularities in language practice on the ground. Fernando and Ana's claims of faithfulness to Galician, and their hope for its furtherance in their home space seem to be contradicted by their continuous lapses into Castilian.

These reversions could be interpreted as dominant linguistic reverberations - the traces and residues of the family's Castilian-suffused social, occupational and scholastic interactions and experiences in the outer domain. This contrast between the family's assertion of Galician and their occasional submission to Castilian reiterates the potency of Castilian's practical, symbolic and ideological dominance. It nonetheless underscores the agency exerted by counter-elite parents, such as Fernando and Ana, to consciously interrogate the Castilian linguistic monopoly, particularly within the contours of their home, and increasingly, as we shall see, beyond its confines.

Several pro-Galician parents from the focus group conducted in Santiago de Compostela, highlight the insufficiency and inadequacy of learning materials in Galician available to children. These parents further voice their relentless efforts to locate and access such literacy related resources:

Virgilio: [O que pasa é que] é unha desvantaxa numérica.	[Virgilio: What happens is that there is a numerical disadvantage.
Elena: Claro.	Elena: Of course.
Bea: [Efectivamente]. Si.	Bea: Indeed.
Lara: E que é o dobre (...)	Lara: The thing is that it's double (in Castilian)
Elena: A tele pesa moitísimo. E a tele si que maioritariamente o produto que tes é en castelán.	Elena: The television influences a lot too. And in the television most of the programmes that you have is in Castilian.
Mercedes: É que non hai.	Mercedes: The thing is that we don't have (sufficient TV programmes in Galician).
Virgilio: Que estar facendo como pais [un labor]	Virgilio: That we have to do lot of effort as parents.
Mercedes: [Claro.]	Mercedes: Of course.
Virgilio: Que ás veces o facemos polo que estou escoitando [todos].	Virgilio: That we often do as I am hearing from other parents.
Salvador: [Xa.]	Salvador: Yes.
Adam: [Nós <i>vamos</i> , nós tódalas] semanas ou casi tódalas semanas <i>vamos</i> á biblioteca a buscar [pelis]	Adam: We go to the library almost every week to search films.
Lara: Si.	Lara: Yes.]

The above situation underscores the pro-Galician parents' language management (Spolsky 2009) to develop a favourable literacy atmosphere in relation to the minority language inside home and their efforts to continue intergenerational transmission of Galician. It also spotlights the state's failure to provide adequate audio-visual implements and other learning support mechanisms to augment the assimilation of Galician amongst children and the next generation.

Some counter-elite parents also show awareness of this cultural as well as ideological dominance of Castilian and are involved in a bottom-up discourse that melds their individual efforts with broader collective mobilisations. Since Castilian is the language of children's socialisation in the Galician urban contexts, these parents often emphasise the "prestige planning" (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997) of Galician in the home domain. Aspects of prestige planning are evident from the following comment by Dario, a discussant from Vigo, who underscores the parental role in developing prestige for the minority language at home so that his children should not feel ashamed of while speaking Galician:

<p>Dario: (...) Eu creo que o papel das familias, ou polo menos o que eu sinto que teño que realizar co neno e coa nena, é de dar orgullo ós nenos de ser quen son, non so lingüisticamente, senón que se sintan dignos, que se sintan valentes, que teñen que ser independentes e teño a esperanza que si están reforzados desta maneira poderán defender o galego que se fala na casa (...)</p>	<p>[Dario: (...) I believe that the role of families, or at least what I feel that what I have to carry out with my children, is giving pride to the children of what they are, not only linguistically, but they should feel dignified, that they should feel courageous and brave and they feel that they have to be independent and I have the hope that if they are educated like this they can defend Galician what we speak at home (...)]</p>
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To a large extent, Dario’s language management strategy indicates his desire to enrich the symbolic capital of Galician inside home, by instilling a sense of pride and self-identification in the use of the minority language. This active proliferation of Galician at home, as Dario expects, will help his children to enunciate and enact their Galician identity without “fear” or “shame”, in the Castilian-dominated exterior.

In the same vein, Elena, a mother from Santiago de Compostela who has her eldest son studying in a public school, explains to him in the following anecdote that he should not feel alienated for speaking Galician:

<p>Elena: (...) o outro día, pois por exemplo, comentábanos “ás veces estou incómodo e prefiro pasarme ó castelán, e non sei que facer”, non? Entón nós tamén lle dicimos, “pois mira, nós tamén pasamos por esas. Pero igual que ti non renuncias a outras da túa personalidade ti es galego falante e non tes por que renunciar a ela no patio. Os teus amigos vante querer igual, i os que non te queren, non te queren por iso, non?” Quero dicir, si que llo racionalizamos dalgunha maneira, non? Non simplemente educámolo en galego e pra diante, senón que dalgunha maneira sabemos que se vai enfrontar con iso.</p>	<p>[Elena: (...) the other day, for instance, he was telling us “sometimes I am uncomfortable and I prefer to change to Castilian and I don’t know what to do? Then we also told him, “<i>look we also went through this. But, it’s the same like other characteristics of your personality where you don’t renounce them, you are a Galician speaker and there is no reason why you abandon it when you are in the playground. You friends love you, and others who don’t like you, they don’t do this because you speak Galician, right?</i>” I would like to say that atleast, we try to rationalise this (situation) in one way. Not just that educate them and go ahead, if not, we know that he will confront this.] (Emphasis added)</p>
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The above comment from Elena, further underlines the parental role in prestige planning of a minority language in the family context. It reveals how these parents are

not only preparing their children to face the hegemony of Castilian in the larger society, but also providing them with the necessary psychological strength and linguistic skills to contest the dominant discourse from the bottom-up.

Bea, another mother from Santiago de Compostela, states that as parents, they are conscious about the socio-lingual inequality existent in Galician society. Therefore, to minimise language shift during their children's initial years, they formed a pro-Galician parents WhatsApp group entitled *Tribo* ('Tribe' in Galician), comprising a collective that wants its children to be educated and socialise in Galician (see section 5.4.1 of Chapter 5 for more discussion on *Tribo*):

Bea: Entón se ti tes o grupo de fóra habitualmente <u>si</u> cho falara castelán, o máis habitual supoño que será que muden de lingua. Pero nós a <i>verdá</i> é que fixemos así o grupo de amizades de Susi é galego. <u>I</u> como na escola tamén lle falan galego e tamén hai moitos nenos que falan galego na escola (...)	[Bea: Therefore, if you have a group (of friends) outside that normally communicates in Castilian, most usual, as I think would be that they (Galician speaking children) shift from the language (Galician). <i>But, we, the fact is that we made a group (in WhatsApp), for Susi (their daughter) and her friends to socialise in Galician. And the medium of instruction in school is also Galician and there are many Galician speaking kids in school (...)</i> (Emphasis added)
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The above strategy can be considered as one form of bottom-up resistance from pro-Galician parents contesting the conventionalisation of Castilian. It further gestures towards parental language governmentality demonstrated by the parents selecting peers for their children. As discussed before, this can be considered as an aspect of parental language management. This scenario also evokes the discourse of bio-power (Foucault 2007), where Bea and like-minded parents as progenitors take up the role of LPP stakeholders and attempt to control their children's language practice.

Unlike Bea, Paloma, another mother from Vigo, shows a more tolerant approach towards her son's occasional use of Castilian in the exterior terrain. She recognises that although her Galician-speaking son shifts to Castilian as soon as other children communicate in Castilian with him, he does not change his language while talking to adults. She further clarifies that she does not want to "impose" Galician on him:

Paloma: (...) Se fala con nenos e lle falan castelán el cambia, pero se fala con adultos e un adulto lle fala castelán é distinto, el sigue co galego. Eu teño moita sorte polo de agora co mayor, si fai esos cambios que tampouco me preocupa, non lle vou a impoñer nunca.

[Paloma: (...) If he speaks with other children and they speak to him in Castilian, he changes (the language), but if he speaks with adults and an adult person speaks Castilian to him, it's different, because he continues in Galician. I am lucky for now, with my eldest, *even if he makes these changes, it does not concern me, I will never impose (Galician) on him.*] (Emphasis added)

There is a marked disjuncture in Paloma's declaration. Her articulations and attestations of fidelity to Galician and her intention to facilitate its furtherance in the home/school space seem to be contradicted by her tolerant approach towards her son's occasional use of Castilian in the exterior. This further demonstrates the organic and flexible nature of some counter-elites.

7.5. Conclusion

Breaking the binary of interior/exterior domains in the above-described scenarios involving pro-Galician parents demonstrates the innate plasticity in the deliberation between Castilian and Galician. In essence, the sites for intersection and imbrication of the two linguistic discourses are subject to daily negotiations, variations and mutations. The habitus of the various participants in these arbitrations constitute a variegated and shape-shifting topography. Several labile vectors also play a role, with multiple endogenous and exogenous factors influencing the inter-osculation between the interior and exterior realms that impact the counter-elite parents and their families' linguistic lived experience. These reagents include the media, peer-influence, tacit social mores and language practices that are linked to governmentality and bio-power. The latter two can stem not only from the government, but also from parental control over children. These interlinked multivalent factors map out in concentric circles of power, from the micro level of parental jurisdiction to the custodians of political power at the executive policy-making echelons of the government (including regional to federal levels and the layers in-between).

Due to Galician's growing presence in the education system, a generation of counter-elite parents such as Paloma, Bea, Victor, Elena and Fernando has emerged, who do not have Castilian as their home language, but are influenced by an ideological bond with Galician. These counter-elite parents have started widening the symbolic space for Galician. In a community, such as Galicia, where the existence of orthodox

native speakers perceptibly shrinks due to language shift, counter-elite parents, by creating alternative bottom-up language policies, can occupy an important role in the language revitalisation process from the ground. However, it still remains to be ascertained whether counter-elite parents can effectively restore the process of intergenerational transmission of Galician in the home domain and within the community, and in turn, create new generations of speakers. This is because, as this study reveals, Castilian still maintains greater degree of symbolic power in the urban Galician society creating fluctuations, vacillations and inconsistencies in language practice in Galician speaking homes. Therefore, parents such as Claudia, Martin, Sabela, Dario and Elena who maintain a pro-Galician FLP, although they receive some positive results during the initial years of their children's education, the situation changes as soon as these children develop their own "acts of identity" (also see case study 2 of Chapter 6 for detailed account on children's agency).

The parent profiles discussed in chapter 6 and 7 further underscore that symbolic capital, evident in the privileging of Castilian as the language of communication is to some degree offset by pro-Galician counter-elite parents at home and through their cooperative contestation (involving *Raiola* and *Escola Semente*) from the micro-level. These language management endeavours could be interpreted as counter-hegemonic strategies to destabilise the normalisation and legitimisation of the dominant discourse. However, it must be reiterated that the circuits and corridors of ideology, linguistic culture and power dynamics informing the conventionalising of Castilian in the Galician urban terrain are polymorphous and cannot be reduced to a bipolar model of interior and exterior. An analysis of the parental linguistic management and practices in this chapter further indicates that these parents, based on their individual language beliefs, ideologies and management decisions become stakeholders or implementers of language policy within the family domain. Their 'under-the-radar' participation in LPP, as it is demonstrated in this study, may appear extremely intermittent and ad hoc, but their individual ideologies towards language use, when galvanised into collective mobilisations, can cause an impact in their immediate society's language behaviour. The following concluding chapter will synthesize the various arguments raised in the above chapters of this thesis. While discussing the key issues, this chapter will provide answers to the main research questions and will reach a final amendment.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

8.1. Introduction

This concluding chapter commences with a brief reminder of the research goals, followed by a discussion of the empirical findings in which I will sum up the analysis. The next section will elaborate on the theoretical implications and limitations of this study. The final section will put forward questions for further research.

In 2010, the centre-right wing Galician government introduced changes to the existing language education policy through a new decree entitled *Decreto de Plurilingüismo* (The Decree of Plurilingualism, henceforth DDP). Although this new policy claims to ensure the use of Galician in primary and secondary schools along with Castilian, it allows the medium of instruction to be that of the children's home language. There is a discordant, and indeed, a paradoxical element to this policy. Since Castilian has been, and still is, the most widely used language in urban/semi-urban spaces, a majority of children tend to be brought up speaking Castilian by Castilian-speaking parents, who are also, in the majority of cases, the outcome of pro-Castilian FLPs. Therefore, with the implementation of the DDP, Castilian automatically became the medium of instruction in the urban pre-school and primary school educational curricula, which further restricts the domains in which Galician is to be found among urban pre-school and primary school pupils. Children between the age group of five to fourteen years are directly affected by this language policy and ever since this LPP model was put into practice, language shift to Castilian in urban domains has gained a momentum. This is evident from recent macro level sociolinguistic data, as the number of adolescents who never speak Galician has increased by 17% in the last five years (see IGE 2014; Loredó and Monteagudo 2017 in press).

As soon as the above data was made public, the *Decreto de Plurilingüismo* came under criticism. While responding to their critique, government stakeholders including the President of the Xunta de Galicia (Government of Galicia), and the former Education Minister of Galician government put forward the discourses of “responsibility of family” and “individual freedom of language choice in a bilingual society” as justifications for the incessant language shift to Castilian (Hermida, 2014; Álvarez, 2014). The above circumstances in which government stakeholders made family members responsible for language maintenance raised an issue about whether

the intergenerational transmission of Galician was a result of Galician parents' individual language management decisions, or whether there were larger socio-political, economic, cultural and structural variables at play, in determining the future of Galician.

Therefore, the primary focus of this study was to investigate the impact of top-down language policies within the family domain and examine the degree to which individual linguistic practices and ideologies amongst Galician parents act as visible and/or invisible language planning measures at home influencing their children's language attainment. This study took into account parental expectations of top-down language policy, their language management decisions and the factors that are responsible for success or failure of these home language policies. The aim was also to ascertain whether pro-Galician parents' family language policies could restore the process of intergenerational transmission of Galician in urban contexts and also if their interrogation of the dominant discourse could lead to bottom-up language policies of resistance on the ground.

By implementing multiple ethnographic research tools, primary data was gathered from observations, eighteen semi-structured interviews, two focus groups with four families each and family language audits with seven previously interviewed families. Data is drawn from fieldwork in five different areas of Galicia including Santiago de Compostela, Bertamiráns, Narón, Esteiro and Vigo. For this study, I centred on parents between the age group of 35-55 years from various occupations who have gone through the Galician education system since 1980, and experienced the aftermath of the post-Franco political regime's (1939–1975) language policies. These parents are the outcomes of language revitalisation strategies in Galicia since the early eighties, following Spain's transition to democracy and the inclusion of Galician in domains of use from which it was previously absent, such as education, public administration and the mass media. Although the implementation of top-down LPP started from the early eighties in Galicia, the upper age-range of the sample assures the incorporation of parents who have experienced the education system's transition from the Franco regime to Galician Autonomy.

8.2. Research findings

The empirical findings of this study are as follows:

8.2.1 LPP as a multi-layered mechanism

The results of the study confirm that LPP is not a one-way process where only a set of governmental judgements matter. It is instead, a multi-layered mechanism where various actors or agents including parents, family members, teachers, students, counter-elites and other members of civil society are continuously at play at different levels. Although LPP is strictly context dependent, a desired outcome of a language policy, therefore, largely depends on the continuous interplay between the agency of these actors and their interpretation-implementation of top-down LPP decisions. This thesis further demonstrates that these actors if disillusioned with top-down language policies may create their own language agenda and resist from the bottom-up; this formulation of an autonomous language agenda in the face of disillusionment with official policy is sometimes enacted inside the family and/or at the individual level.

8.2.2 Individual agency in LPP

Reported linguistic practices and family language audits including audio data of the parents also reveal that individual agency in language policy, like all other domains of language policy, includes aspects of ideology (what someone believes about language), management (what endeavours one makes for language maintenance) and practice (what he/she ultimately does with language). In the context of my research, based on their individual language beliefs, ideologies and management decisions, Galician parents become stakeholders or implementers of language policy in the home domain. Their under-the-radar participation in LPP may appear extremely intermittent and ad hoc, but their individual language management and practice, taken together, can have an impact on their immediate society's language behaviour.

The analysis further elucidates that the language requirements of the individual (micro), the community (meso) and the country (macro) may differ in a bilingual society, as everyone has his or her own language practices. The language policies of the individual, as this dissertation reveals, entail an imbrication between the interiority of ideological assimilation and the discursive exteriority of top-down language policy; this dialectical arbitration influences the language choice of a person in a bi(multi)lingual scenario. Individual's habitus, his/her access to different forms of capital and to the community's linguistic culture also play a significant role in this whole process.

8.2.3 Parental expectations for a more pro-Galician ELP

In the Galician sociolinguistic situation, “prestige” is afforded to the dominant language – Castilian. Top-down LPP during the Franco regime (1939–1975) made the use of Castilian obligatory as the only language for administration, education and media in Galicia. When democracy returned to Spain, top-down language policy models were put in place in Galicia in line with the *Lei de Normalización Lingüística* (Law of Linguistic Normalisation) in 1983. Ever since, the top-down LPPs in Galicia centre round this law. During the first phase (1981-2004) of Galician LPP, the legal stipulation was that apart from Galician language and literature, a minimum of two to four school subjects should be taught in Galician (Monteagudo and Bouzada 2002). However, in practice many schools, particularly urban schools where Castilian was already a predominant language, were in fact not fulfilling the stipulated legal obligation (Silva-Valdivia 2008). Additionally, the PPdeG government which was in power almost continually (1981-1986 and 1989-2005) maintained a *laissez-faire* approach as a means of maintaining the status quo of equal co-existence of Castilian and Galician. This is because they did not want to disappoint certain Castilian-speaking urban middle class sectors of Galician society.

Later, when the coalition Government of the PSdeG and BNG (2005-2009) came into power and attempted to implement the Normalisation laws through a decree (*Decreto 124/2007*), they came up against significant resistance from Castilian-speaking sectors of Galician society including the middle class and the bourgeoisie, who saw their language policy as an “imposition” (Gómez-Ocampo 2016) of Galician. The PPdeG capitalised on this public dissatisfaction and made it a political agenda during the 2009 pre-election campaign, promising to abolish the decree when they came to power. This witnessed the return of the PPdeG to power in 2009. Following their pre-electoral promise, they further introduced a Castilian centred LPP, the Decree of Plurilingualism. This decree, as this thesis has set out to show, is actually a language policy of erosion of Galician which can be seen to protect only the interests of dominant social groups, marginalise Galician in the education curriculum and perpetuate systems of sociolinguistic inequality.

Qualitative interview data from individual parents and focus groups in this thesis suggest that the majority of parents from urban and semi-urban settings prefer a Galician-centric educational language policy, while a small number of parents favour

Castilian or remain neutral in their views. This outcome opposes the general trend of the macro level quantitative data published by the *Observatorio da Cultura Galega* (2011b: 53-55). According to this data, 58% of Galicians do not want Galician to be the predominant language of the school curricula. One of reasons behind this discrepancy may be that most of my research samples belong to a middle-class and urban-based demographic that speak both Castilian and Galician to varying degrees in everyday contexts. Their preference of a Galician-centric education underscores ideologies of elite and/or additive bilingualism. In the Galician sociolinguistic context, following Spain's transition to democracy in the early eighties, Galician received greater visibility in education, the media and public administration. Additionally, the 1983 Law for Linguistic Normalisation in Galicia made essential, the knowledge of standard Galician for all public sector employees. One sector of the Castilian-speaking middle-class in Galicia perceived this as an opportunity and learned Galician as a second language for better employment opportunities and a better standard of living. Thus, a generation of new speakers have emerged who do not have Castilian as their first language, but who are influenced by an ideological attachment to Galician. Many new speaker parents who have Castilian as their first language and learnt Galician as a second language at school call for a Galician-centric education system.

8.2.4 Heterogeneity amongst Galician new speakers

It is also important to note that Galician new speakers have initially been defined as persons who have learnt Castilian as a first language and at some point of his/her life, abruptly or gradually shifts from Castilian to Galician and currently speaks only or mostly Galician (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2011, 2013b). However, while researching the language ideologies and practices of new speaker parents, I found the above definition to be somewhat restrictive and it excludes the heterogeneous profiles of Galician speakers present in society who may learn the minority language at school or in societal interaction, but who are not necessarily "active" users of the language (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013a, 2015). Therefore, based on my respondents' reported language practices, I divided these new speaker parents into three basic profiles: active, semi-active and latent new speakers. This distinction is primarily based on their intensity of using Galician in various domains including the home, work and in the larger society. In this thesis, I used the term active new speakers for those who were brought up speaking Castilian, but at some stage in their life became monolingual speakers of Galician and reject speaking Castilian in everyday life. I term this collective

as “active new speakers” owing to their active participation in language revitalisation discourses both inside and outside of the home domain. Several parents involved in cooperative mobilisations can be considered as examples of this category. The next group is what I termed “semi-active new speakers”. These are comparatively a larger and more heterogeneous group than the active new speakers. The semi-active new speaker’s use of Galician is occasional, less conscious and more adaptive. Therefore, their use of Galician often calls for some interactional stimuli from another speaker. Several parents from Bertamiráns who work in the public sector fit into this category. Many of them, although they speak Galician at work, continue speaking Castilian in several other domains such as at home or while socialising. Finally, “latent new speakers” are those who have learnt Galician at school, yet remain predominantly Castilian speaking monolinguals. Parents interviewed from Narón fit into this profile. This thesis also demonstrated that, in the Castilian-dominated Galician linguistic landscape, these active and semi-active new speakers have started widening the symbolic space for Galician. In a community, such as Galicia, where the existence of traditional native speakers is shrinking perceptibly due to incessant language shift, new speaker parents play an important role in the language revitalisation process on the ground by creating bottom-up language policies.

8.2.5 The counter-elites: a driving force for bottom-up LPP in Galicia

Another distinguishing characteristic of many of my respondents that explains their pro-Galician ideologies is their “counter-eliteness” (Nandi 2015b; Nandi and Devasundaram 2017 in press). In the context of this study, counter-elites are described as the educated Galician population including teachers, parents, family members, language activists and new speakers who if disillusioned with policy decisions of the government, may develop alternative discourses of resistance to hegemonic ideologies. This may then lead to enactments of de facto language policies at the grassroots level. Some of the parents interviewed in relation to this study who maintain pro-Galician ideologies and practices map onto this definition. These parents act as counter-elites, as this thesis underscores, by deploying multifarious mechanisms to contest the ruling elites’ (i.e. government stakeholders) implicit and paradoxical patronage of Castilian in Galicia. Their bottom-up efforts include pro-Galician FLP in the home space, interaction with similar social groups through social media and technological interfaces, formation of co-operative mobilisations like *Galiza co Galego* (Galicia with Galician), *Cooperativa de Raiola* (Riola Cooperative) and *Asociación Semente*

(Semente Association) to fund Galician medium schools. Therefore, symbolic capital, evident in the privileging of Castilian as the single language of communication is to some extent offset by these counter-elite parents aiming to destabilise the normalisation and legitimisation of the dominant discourse from the ground. Language management mechanisms of counter-elite parents, as this thesis demonstrates, are essentially linked to governmentality and bio-power, which can stem not only from the government but also from parental control over children. These interlinked multivalent factors map out in concentric circles of power, from the micro-level of parental jurisdiction to the custodians of political power at the executive policy-making echelons of the government (including regional to federal levels and the layers in-between).

8.2.6 FLP in Galician urban homes: crisis and aftermath

All top-down language policies in the Galician context, aspire to achieve, what is sometimes termed as “balanced or harmonious bilingualism” (Regueira 2006), where both Galician and Castilian co-exist as official languages of the community without conflicting with each other. However, after more than thirty years of linguistic normalisation in Galicia, several pro-Galician counter-elite parents find discrepancies and disparities in the top-down discourse of this bilingualism which reveals gaps between the top-down language paradigms and their practical implementation on the ground. This is because, as this study reveals, Castilian still retains a greater degree of symbolic power in urban Galician society creating fluctuations, vacillations and inconsistencies in expected linguistic behaviour in Galician speaking homes. For instance, although several Galician-speaking counter-elite parents such as Martín, Sabela, Salvador, Paloma and Elena among others, seemed to succeed in embedding Galician in the home during their children’s initial years, this situation changes as soon as the children develop their own agency and come to know that they speak a different language than their peers or classmates. In the majority of the cases, these children shift to Castilian. This situation is no different in other pro-Galician homes.

The lived linguistic experiences of several semi-active new speaker parents such as Ana, Manolo, Julia, Marisa and Fernando demonstrate how the broader Castilian-speaking environment in contemporary Galician society infiltrates the home space, creating discrepancies in language practice on the ground. Although these parents profess explicit support for the minority language, their linguistic practices are not representative of their claimed commitment towards Galician. In other words, their

articulations and attestations of fidelity to Galician and their hope for its furtherance in the home/school space seem to be contradicted by their intermittent lapses into Castilian. This inconsistency between the affirmation of Galician and reconciliation to Castilian further underscores the aforementioned influence of Castilian and its practical as well as ideological dominance. Case studies discussed in the previous two chapters also reveal that the field or sites for the intersection of the two linguistic discourses is subject to daily variations and mutations. The instantiation of the multi-modal arbitration between the discourses of power, ideology, imagined nation and language is played out on a daily basis through various actors and stakeholders who are caught up in a constantly fluctuating field of agonistic negotiation. In essence, the conflicts that these pro-Galician counter-elite parents must negotiate, are between the realities of social pressure, political control, and public education demands on the one hand, and the desire for cultural loyalty and linguistic intergenerational transmission on the other.

8.2.7 How do macro and micro level LPP interact in the Galician context?

While investigating bottom-up language policies in the Galician sociolinguistic setting, this thesis concludes that there is a marked disjuncture between the government's intention to separate the ideological dimensions of the public sphere and "individual" parental agency inside the home space. It could be argued that the latter is always-already linked to ideology. In essence, the state is responsible for creating and implementing the LPP and injecting it into the public domain through various ideological state apparatuses like schools, religious institutions, mass media, and indeed, through the institution of the family itself. These apparatuses are often used to perpetuate top-down ideologies as a "false consciousness" amongst civil society (Eyerman 1981). So, when there is a continuous transference of majoritarian ideological influences through top-down LPP and media messages from the public sphere into the home domain, the school and home spaces become entangled. In this regard, the statements by the government stakeholders of the *Xunta de Galicia* appear all the more contradictory and baseless, because they attempt to empower the Galician families with "false agency" (Eagleton 1991), when in actuality the families are always-already ideologically controlled. Therefore, their dissociation of the home domain as a space of individual language choice, distinct from the exterior and/or wider dimensions of society (Foucault 1994) is indeed contestable. Ultimately, state-driven macro-level language policies are designed to address and regulate social structures at all possible levels. Home language choices and practice are therefore unavoidably biased by the

individual family's perception of these dominant macro political policies and their reverberations in wider social structures (Nandi 2016a).

8.3. Theoretical implications of this study

This thesis, theoretically as well as methodologically, contributes to the bottom-up LPP research, specifically in the domains of family language policy, ethnographic research in family language policy and ultimately, in Galician sociolinguistics. Guided by the principles of critical theory (Gramsci 1971; Althusser 1989; Bourdieu 1991; Foucault 1978, 2008), it expanded on the notion of FLP as a private family matter to a broader theoretical conceptualisation of FLP, underlining the essential interaction between micro level family language practices and macro level LPP decisions. As family is considered a crucial domain determining to a large extent the maintenance or shift of minority languages, using ethnographic research tools, this thesis offers significant insights into the everyday processes of parental language selection, management and practices in a bilingual society. Whereas it is impractical to think that FLP alone is enough to secure the survival of a minority language, the presence of such support is nonetheless a critical factor for its continued vitality. Knowing about and understanding these grassroots level LPP mechanisms provide important guidelines for language planners, educators and policy stakeholders who are in a position to intervene and stimulate linguistic behaviour of a community through top-down LPP. In this regard, the outcomes of this study can be useful for the betterment of top-down linguistic management and practices advocating language revitalisation policies both in Galicia and in other minority language settings outside Galicia.

As this investigation took place in the Galician context, it also contributes to contemporary research in Galician sociolinguistics. The history of Galician sociolinguistics, as Monteagudo (2012d: 271) states, dates back to the early sixties. Since the late seventies, researchers of the Galician language have been producing extensive research on aspects of sociolinguistics both individually as well as under the jurisdiction of the *Real Academia Galega* and/or *Instituto da Lingua Galega* (also see Rei-Doval 1999, 2015 for a chronological development of Galician sociolinguistics). Their macro level research has offered important insights on various aspects of LPP including language practice both inside home and in the exterior (see Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia 1995, 1996, 2004; Rei-Doval 2007; Observatorio da Cultura Galega 2011), language attitudes (see Observatorio da Cultura Galega 2011b;

González-González et al. 2011; O'Rourke 2011a), use of Galician in the education system (see Monteagudo 2009a, 2009b, 2010a, 2012b, 2010b; Silva-Valdivia 2008, 2010), language planning and standardisation processes (Monteagudo 2004, 2012b, 2012e; Monteagudo and Bouzada 2002, 2003; Monteagudo et al. 2006), new speakerness (O'Rourke 2011a; Ramallo 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014; Ramallo and O'Rourke 2014) among others. It is also important to note here that Galician sociolinguistics until very recently, with some exceptions such as Iglesias-Álvarez (2002, 2012); Formoso-Gosende (2013); Álvarez-Cáccamo (1997); O'Rourke and Ramallo (2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2015) among others, adopt mainly a quantitative approach.

Additionally, since the outset of Autonomy, LPP research in Galicia remained mostly top-down, concentrating largely on state-run language education policy formulation and planning programmes. However, the role of the actors or agents within this discourse, such as parents, classroom teachers, students and other counter-elite members of civil society for whom LPP has been created and their role in interpretation-implementation of LPP received less attention. Therefore, there is a lack of bottom-up ethnographic research that can evaluate the impact of top-down LPP on human agency (Rei-Doval 2015). This thesis bridges that gap to a certain extent. Using multiple ethnographic research tools, it not only offers a valid understanding of the contemporary Galician sociolinguistic context – specifically in relation to the promotion and maintenance of the minority language, but also demonstrates how languages are managed, negotiated and practiced in Galician urban/semi-urban homes.

Moreover, one ethic of particular value to ethnographic research demands the researcher to make some return to the community. This can be done by sharing findings in public domain by publishing non-academic articles, reports and through presentations in public forums. In the context of my research, I have been presenting the results in Galician and Castilian in various public seminars and forums organised by the *Consello da Cultura Galega* (Council of Galician Culture), a government organisation dedicated to the promotion of the minority language (see *Consello da Cultura Galega* 2015, 2016) and *Instituto da Lingua Galega* (Institute of Galician Language), an autonomous institution dedicated to research on Galician. Due to its presence in the public sphere, this study also received some media attention in Galicia and I was interviewed by a few local news agencies such as *Nós Televisión*, *La Voz de Galicia*, *Culturagalega* and *Galicia Confidencial* (see *Nós Televisión* 2016; Hermida

2016; Galicia Confidencial 2016; La Voz de Galicia 2016). Consequently, I was asked by the Department of Language Policy of Galician Government to prepare an official report on FLPs of urban Galician parents, which I submitted in June 2016. A part of that report was published in Galician in a non-academic journal entitled *Grial* (see Nandi 2016a). Above activities certainly created an awareness about bottom-up language policies and their impact on the ground; nonetheless, the participants interviewed in this study provided valuable insights on grassroots level language policies, whether or not they reflect general FLPs of other Galician parents.

Language policy and planning processes has often been compared to a metaphorical onion (Ricento and Hornberger 1996; Cassels-Johnson 2013a); whereas the outer layers of the ‘onion’ refer to macro level policy processes, the interior layers represent policy interpretations, accommodations and negotiations that take place on the ground. It has been argued that the gap in the literature on language policy interpretation and implementation can better be explained by slicing the LPP onion ethnographically (Hornberger 2015). I have used EFLP as a research method which, as this dissertation manifests, is capable of providing a valid description of the processes through which parents interpret, resist, create and accommodate policy in everyday social practice. To address the validity and reliability of the data explored in the current study, I adopted a mixed method approach for data gathering looking at the same research questions through diverse ethnographic data collection techniques such as observations, in-depth fieldwork interviews, focus groups and family language audits (FLA) at different stages of the research. All these methods, as this thesis indicates, can be considered as useful tools to evaluate the dissonances in parents’ overt expressions of language ideologies and language practice communicated at a more understated or subtle level during social interaction. Whereas observations and interviews are commonly used tools in the ethnography of LPP, family language audits (Curdt-Christiansen 2016) add a new paradigm to this field. This form of auto-ethnography involving observation checklists and various short self-recorded audio footage of parent-child informal interactions from the parents themselves were used to validate the parental claims they made about their everyday language use.

8.4. Conclusion

As discussed in previous sections, this study offered many insights on how language policy operates beyond the strictures of the school system and how individual agents, particularly parents on the ground interpret and implement language policy.

However, due to the micro-analytical nature of this study, the findings presented here are discussed in terms of specific actors (i.e. parents) in limited settings, rather than offering an overall analysis of all the factors responsible for bottom-up LPP in entire Galicia. In other words, many interesting facets of grassroots level LPP that determine the intergenerational transmission of Galician could not be fully explored, it is hoped that their identification in this thesis might stimulate subsequent research. For instance, no matter how rich the ethnographic account is, it is not perfect. While conducting multi-sited ethnography of LPP research, it becomes difficult for a single researcher to focus on one specific site. This may reduce the investigator's capacity to offer a full description of a larger geopolitical area. On the other hand, LPP, as a multi-layered field, calls for multi-sited research. Multi-sited ethnographic research essentially contributes to a broader understanding of hegemonic strategies that the policy makers employ to perpetuate control over people's linguistic lives and the role of LPP actors (i.e. parents in this study) in the interpretation and transformation of repressive language policies. Moreover, this study centred mostly on the urban/semi-urban areas. Therefore, for a better understanding of the issue and greater validity of research, more extensive fieldwork in other regions of Galicia including the rural areas is required. It is also important to note here that I only recruited parents who had a Galician origin and did not include immigrant parents whose FLPs towards Galician could have offered interesting insights, particularly in the context of framing bottom-up language policies.

FLP, as discussed earlier in this thesis, is an interdisciplinary field that borrows extensively from various disciplines incorporating language socialisation theories, cultural psychology, family studies, sociolinguistics, ethnography, critical theories, language policy and planning among others. However, while analysing the data I had to limit my interpretations to the field of sociolinguistics as this research focussed on the FLPs of Galician parents. In other words, the data presented in this study can be analysed from multiple point of views. For instance, each parent is an individual and therefore, exercise his/her own agency inside home. Individual agency of each parent can be further researched from the perspective of gender studies or by using theories from family studies. Additionally, role of mothers in implementation of home language policies can be further studied using the doctrines of feminism.

Furthermore, while researching parental agency in the intergenerational transmission of Galician, this study recognises the need for a new research paradigm within Galician FLP research, addressing children's perspective in language

socialisation. This is because while socialising, they develop their own unique children's agency and start contributing to the reproduction of the public sphere in the family domain. Research on children's agency in other minority language situations underscores that although parents often attempt to control children's linguistic practices by exercising bio-power, they may resist and differ from parental language choices by exerting their own agency. In the Galician sociolinguistic context, as discussed in this thesis, several early adolescents become monolinguals of Castilian despite their parents' pro-Galician FLP. This highlights the dominant role Castilian has in children's language socialisation in the urban/semi-urban domains of Galicia. For an effective understanding of the issue, more extensive research in other areas of Galicia is necessary. Linguistic practices between family members inside the home domain investigated through family language audits also provide the basis for further research.

It would also be enlightening to investigate further the role of counter-elites as bottom-up language revitalisation discourse. In the context of this study, ever since the DDP is put into practice as LPP in Galicia, it has been contested by pro-Galician counter-elites in society. As a reaction to this pro-Castilian top-down LPP, Galician counter-elites formed co-operatives such as *Galiza co Galego*, *Asociación Semente* to fund Galician medium immersion schools. Many pro-Galician parents made this attempt as an extension of their Galician-centric FLP, as public schools were becoming a space for de-Galicianisation of young Galicians. Although cooperative funded schools such as Avoescola (in Narón) and Escola Semente Compostela (in Santiago de Compostela), where I conducted fieldwork, struggled initially due to lack of students, they are now opening more centres in other Galician cities. During my final phase of fieldwork in January 2016, I came to know that the *Asociación Semente* had also grown bigger through crowd-funding and was opening more immersion schools at Vigo (a coastal city in south-west of Galicia), Lugo (an interior city in north-east of Galicia) and Trasancos (a municipality near Ferrol, a coastal city in northern Galicia), whereas *Galiza co Galego* was planning to open a new pre-primary school in the city of Ourense, capital of the province of the same name in the south-east of Galicia. These schools are indeed results of bottom-up reaction to and dissatisfaction with the DDP from the counter-elites of Galicia. Ultimately, an examination of the actions and decisions of *Galiza co Galego* and *Asociación Semente* juxtaposed with the attitude, ideologies and linguistic practices of parents and teachers can provide useful insights into the role of counter-elites in the Galician sociolinguistic terrain.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview templates

Appendix A. 1: Guiding questions for individual interviews (in Galician)

1. En que lingua queres que falemos? Galego ou castelán?
2. Cal era a lingua da túa infancia? En que lingua falabas na túa casa e fóra da túa casa?
3. Como aprendiches o galego? na casa ou na escola?
4. En que lingua falas habitualmente no ámbito familiar? É dicir coa túa parella, cos teus pais, cos teus irmáns e outros parentes, co teu fillo e filla. En que lingua responden eles?
5. En que lingua falas habitualmente cós teus amigos? En que lingua responden eles?
6. En que lingua escribes mais? E por que? Atopaches algún problema escribindo en galego normativo?
7. En que lingua falas no ámbito laboral? En que lingua responden os teus compañeiros do traballo? Que tipo de actitude atopas no teu traballo cara a lingua galega?
8. Que opinas sobre o galego normativo dos libros de texto? É diferente o galego que falas ti? Axudas aos teus fillos para facer os seus deberes en galego ou castelán?
9. Que opinas sobre o galego da televisión? É diferente ao galego que falas ti?
10. Cambiaches algunha vez a túa lingua? Se fose o caso, Cando e por que?
11. Queres que os teus fillos e fillas dominen tanto o galego coma o castelán? Cal che gustaría que fose a lingua do ensino: só en galego, só en castelán ou máis en galego, máis en castelán ou as dúas e porqué?
12. Cres que o idioma que se utiliza nas clases ten importancia na vida familiar? Cres que á escolla do idioma na escola ten importancia na lingua usada na casa?
13. Paréceche que a política da Xunta é a axeitada para promover o galego no ensino e fóra do ensino? - Se a resposta fose negativa, como queres que fose?

English translation of the interview questions:

1. In which language do you prefer us to talk: Galician or Castilian?
2. What was your language during your childhood? In which language did you talk to your family members? What was your language outside home?
3. Where did you learn Galician? At home or in the school?
4. What language do you use with your partner? What language do you use with your children? Which language do you use to talk to other family members including your parents, in-laws, siblings and cousins? In which language do they respond?
5. What language do you use to communicate with your friends? In which language do they respond?
6. What language(s) do you use the most for writing and why? Have you ever come across difficulties in writing in standardised Galician? If yes, what kind of difficulties did you find?
7. What language(s) do you use at work? In which language(s) do your colleagues respond? What kind of attitude do you find towards Galician from your colleagues?
8. What do you think about standardised Galician in the textbooks? Is it different from the Galician you usually speak? Do you help your children doing homework in Castilian and/or Galician?
9. What do you think about the Galician spoken in the TV? Is it different from the Galician you usually speak?
10. Did you ever change completely your first language (Galician to Castilian or vice versa)? If yes, when and why?
11. Do you want your children to have equal competence in Galician and Castilian? What language would you prefer as a medium of instruction in the school curriculum: only in Galician or only in Castilian, more in Galician or more in Castilian or both equally distributed and why?
12. Do you think the languages used in the school curriculum have some importance in the home domain? Do you think the language used in school has some influence over the home language practice of the children?
13. Do you think the language policy of the *Xunta de Galicia* is appropriate enough to promote Galician inside and outside the education system? If the response is negative, how would you prefer it to be?

Appendix A. 2: Guiding questions for focus group interviews (in Galician)

Presentación: Nomes, idades e profesións.

1. Cántame como foi a túa biografía lingüística dende a infancia ata a actualidade? De onde eres? Como aprendiches o galego?
2. En que lingua falas habitualmente no ámbito familiar? Cos teus pais, cos teus irmáns e con outros parentes.

Traxectoria lingüística coa parella: práctica lingüística na casa

3. En que lingua comezou a vosa relación de parella? En que lingua falas actualmente coa túa parella? Cambias de lingua cando estades con outra xente (coma os pais da parella ou outra xente)?
4. Para as parellas mixtas (castelán - galego): Como foi a decisión sobre a lingua de uso? Houbo algún tipo de negociación/debate/proposta entre vós?
5. En que lingua falades cos fillos? En que lingua responden eles?
6. En que lingua falan os rapaces? Que é o que inflúe mais no contexto da casa: os pais/os avós, ou a escola, os amigos e compañeiros da clase?
7. En que lingua ven os programas da televisión? En que lingua realizan outras actividades: escoitar música, contos, etc.?

Debate:

8. Cando decidistes ter fillos houbo algún tipo de xestión lingüística na casa? Houbo algún tipo de normativa explícita para a elección da lingua na casa?
9. Queres que os teus fillos e fillas dominen tanto o galego coma o castelán? Cal che gustaría que fose a lingua do ensino: só en galego/castelán ou as dúas mais ou menos equilibradas? Como queredes que fose?
10. Cal é a responsabilidade das familias para o futuro da lingua galega a medio prazo?

English translation of the interview questions:

Tell us about yourself including name, age and profession.

1. What was your language during your childhood? Where are you from? How did you learn Galician?
2. Which language do you use at home? What language do you use to talk to other family members including your parents, in laws, siblings and cousins?

Linguistic trajectory with partner: language use at home

3. What was your language during courtship? Did you influence each other linguistically? Which language do you use at present when you talk to your partner? Do you change your language when you are with other people (i.e. extended family members, in-laws, cousins)?
4. For mixed couples speaking Castilian/Galician: How did you decide the language use? Was there any kind of prior discussion/debate/proposal between you both?
5. What language do you use with your children? In which language do they respond?
6. What is the predominant language of your children? What language according to you influences them the most: language of the parents, grandparents or peers?
7. In which language do they watch TV? In which language do they carry out other leisure activities such as listening music and bedtime stories?

Debate:

8. When you decided to have children, was there any prior discussion about what should be the predominant language at home? Is there any explicit rule about the language choice at home?
9. Do you want your children to have equal competence in Galician and Castilian? What language would you prefer as a medium of instruction in the school curriculum: only in Galician or only in Castilian, more in Galician or more in Castilian or both equally distributed and why?
10. What according to you is the responsibility of the family for the intergenerational transmission of Galician?

Appendix B: Examples of observation checklist used in family language audit

The observation checklists were originally conducted in Galician. The following charts offer first the original and then, an English translation of the checklists.

Appendix B. 1

Perez family: Javier (pai), Julia (nai), Nélica (filla) e Aitor (fillo).

Horario	Actividades	Interactivo/ Pasivo	Xente da familia	Lingua(s) utilizadas	Comentarios
7:30 - 8:45 AM	Levantarse /almorzar/prepararse para o colexio	Interactivo	Pai e nenos	Galego/castelán/as dúas	Principalmente o castelán, o pai tamén emprega o galego.
8:45 AM	O camiño á escola	Interactivo	Pai e nenos	Galego/castelán/as dúas	Principalmente o castelán, o pai tamén emprega o galego.
11:00 AM	Recreo/xogando	Interactivo	Amigos da escola	Galego/castelán/as dúas	Xogan con nenos e nenas do colexio. Fanno en castelán. Algún dos seus amigos sí emprega o galego de forma habitual.
11:30 AM	Escoitando relatos	Pasivo	Profesor/a da escola	Galego/castelán/as dúas	Se é Lingua galega, en galego; se é en Lingua castelá, en castelán.
14:00 PM	Xantar (na escola)	Interactivo	Monitores e amigos da escola	Galego/castelán/as dúas	En función do monitor a lingua empregada por estes é unha ou outra.
16:00 PM	Volvendo a casa dende a escola	Interactivo	Nai e nenos	Castelán	
16:30 PM	Merenda/mirar televisión	Pasivo	Nenos	Castelán	A oferta de debuxos en galego neste horario non é axeitada para as idades dos nenos.
17:30 PM	Actividades extraescolares	Interactivo	Monitores e compañeiros	Galego/castelán/as dúas	En función do monitor a lingua empregada por estes é unha ou outra.
19:00-21:00 PM	Tarefas/baño/cea	Interactivo	Pais e nenos	Galego/castelán/as dúas	Principalmente o castelán, o pai tamén emprega o galego

21:30-21:40 PM	Conto	Pasivo	Pais e nenos	Galego/castelán/as dúas	Principalmente o galego, xa que temos moitos libros neste idioma.
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Durante a fin de semana:

Varían os horarios pero ós hábitos lingüísticos son os mesmos. Na vida diaria estamos os pais e os nenos. Empregamos principalmente o castelán e o pai emprega tamén o galego. Se imos de fin de semana a ver aos avós (os paternos empregan os dous idiomas e os maternos o castelán) a situación repítese.

English translation of the checklist:

Family members: Javier (father), Julia (mother), Nélica (daughter) and Aitor (son).

One day during the week:

Time	Activities	Interactive/Passive	People involved	Language(s) used	Remarks
7:30-8:45 AM	Wake up/ Breakfast/ prepare for school	Interactive (when children participate in the interaction)	Father and children	Castilian and Galician	Although father often uses Galician, Nélica and Aitor predominantly speak Castilian.
8:45 AM	Walk to school	Interactive	Father and children	Castilian and Galician	Mainly in Castilian, while father intends to use Galician quite often.
11:00 AM	Recess/play	Interactive	Classmates	Castilian/ Galician/ both	Most of their friends are Castilian-speaking, therefore, they socialise mostly in Castilian.
11:30 AM	Hearing stories	Passive	Teacher	Castilian/ Galician	If the class is in Galician, they receive it in Galician; if the class is in Castilian, they receive it in Castilian.
14:00 PM	Lunch (at school)	Interactive	Monitor/ friends	Castilian/ Galician/ both	Depending on the monitor, they hear Castilian or Galician
16:00 PM	Returning home from school	Interactive	Mother and children	Castilian	

16:30 PM	Taking rest/ watching TV	Passive	Children	Castilian	The cartoons broadcasted in Galician during this time of the day are not suitable for kids.
17:30 PM	Extracurricular activities	Interactive	Monitor/ friends	Castilian/ Galician/ both	Depending on the monitor, they hear Castilian or Galician.
19 – 21:00 PM	Homework, shower, dinner	Interactive	Father	Castilian and Galician	Mainly in Castilian, while father often uses Galician.
21:30- 21:40 PM	Hearing stories or music before sleep	Passive	Father	Castilian and Galician	Mainly in Galician as we have many books in this language.

During the weekend:

During the weekend, although the timetable varies to certain extent, the linguistic practices inside the home are more or less the same. In daily life we are the parents and children. We use mainly Castilian at home, while the father often uses Galician. Sometimes we visit the grandparents during the weekend. Whereas the paternal grandparents speak both Castilian and Galician to the children, the maternal grandparents use only Castilian.

Appendix B. 2

Quintana family: Martín (pai), Claudia (nai) e catro fillas (Cecilia, Alicia, Susi e Rosa).

Horario	Actividades	Interactivo/ Pasivo	Xente da familia	Lingua(s) utilizadas	Comentarios
8:00 AM	Levantarse /almorzar	Interactivo	Pai	Galego/ castelán/as dúas	As palabras utilizadas para as comidas están en galego/castelán ou nas dúas linguas. O Pai e Cecilia (a maior) empregan o galego. Alicia, Susi e Rosa, o castelán.
8:30 AM	Prepararse para o colexio	interactivo	Pai	Galego/ castelán/as dúas	O Pai e Cecilia empregan o galego. Alicia, Susi e Rosa, o castelán.
8:45 AM	O camiño á escola	interactivo	Pai	Galego/ castelán/as dúas	Cecilia vai ao Instituto con compañeiros/os. Pasa a falar castelán. Alicia, Susi e Rosa van co Pai para o colexio. O pai fala en galego, elas en castelán.
11:00 AM	Recreo/ xogando	interactivo	Amigos da escola	Galego/ castelán/as dúas	Xogan con nenos e nenas do colexio. Fanno en castelán. Na escola empregan o galego nas materias impartidas nesta lingua.
11:30 AM	Escoitando relatos	Pasivo	Profesor/ a da escola	Galego/ castelán	Se é Lingua galega, en galego; se é en Lingua castelá, en castelán.
12AM	Biblioteca	Pasivo (lendo)	Profesor/ a da escola	Galego/ castelán	Se é Lingua galega, en galego; se é en Lingua castelá, en castelán.
14:15 PM	Volvendo á casa desde escola	interactivo	Pai	Galego/ castelán/as dúas	Repítese a situación da ida. Cecilia en castelán cos compañeiros/as e as irmás falan castelán acompañadas do pai que o fai en galego.
14:30 PM	Xantar (na casa)	interactivo	Pai e axudante	Galego/ castelán/as dúas	Axudante, pai e Cecilia, en galego e Alicia, Susi e Rosa, en castelán
15:30 PM	Descanso/ mirar televisión	Pasivo	Pai	Galego/ castelán/as dúas	Pai e Cecilia en galego e Alicia, Susi e Rosa, en castelán
17:00 PM	Dando paseo/xogan do no parque	interactivo	Pai/Nai/ Contacto con outra xente/	Galego/ castelán/as dúas	Os pais e Cecilia en galego. Alicia, Susi e Rosa, en castelán. Outros pais poden falar galego ou castelán. O

			outros nenos		resto dos nenos maioritariamente falan en castelán.
18:00 PM	Actividades (música, deporte, ...)	interactivo	Profesores/as e monitores/as	Galego/castelán/ (máis castelán)	En xeral as actividades impártense máis en castelán que en galego. Cecilia contesta ou fala no idioma en que se dirixen a ela. Alicia, Susi e Rosa, contestan en castelán.
19:00 – 20:00 PM	Facendo tarefas da casa/	interactivo	Pai/Nai	Galego/castelán/as dúas	Os pais e Cecilia en galego. Alicia, Susi e Rosa, en castelán.
20:00-21:00	Mirar televisión	Pasivo	Pai/Nai	Galego/castelán/as dúas	Os pais e Cecilia en galego. Alicia, Susi e Rosa, en castelán.
21:00 PM	Cea	interactivo	Pai/Nai/ irmás	Galego/castelán/as dúas	Os pais e Cecilia en galego. Alicia, Susi e Rosa, en castelán.
21:30 PM	Escoitar contos ou música na cama	Pasivo	Pai/Nai/	Galego/castelán	Os pais e Cecilia en galego. Alicia, Susi e Rosa, en castelán.
22: 00 PM	Durmir				

Durante a fin de semana:

As situacións repítese tal como viñemos describindo. Na vida diaria estamos os pais e as fillas. Os pais e Cecilia na relación familiar falamos sempre en galego. Alicia, Susi e Rosa, fanno en castelán. Se imos de fin de semana ver aos avós (os catro falan en galego) a situación repítese. Os pais e Cecilia falan sempre en galego e excepcionalmente algunhas veces Alicia, Susi e Rosa, falan en galego cos avós.

Nota:

Estes días, coa novidade de Anik, cando lles falamos que iamos gravar unha comida... Alicia fixo a reflexión de que ela ía falar en galego. De feito na primeira das gravacións que fixemos (breve) aparece falando na nosa lingua. Na gravación da cea que achegamos despois, Alicia volta falar sobre todo en castelán. Casualmente no colexio a Alicia dalle clase seu pai dunha materia que se imparte en galego. Nas sesións desa materia Alicia, igual que o resto de compañeiros/as, fala en galego.

English translation of the checklist:

Family members: Martín (father), Claudia (mother) and four daughters (Cecilia, Alicia, Susi and Rosa).

One day during the week:

Time	Activities	Interactive/ Passive	People involved	Language(s) used	Remarks
8:00 AM	Wake up/ Breakfast/ prepare for school	Interactive	The father and daughters	Castilian and Galician	Words used for food are both in Castilian and Galician. Father and Cecilia speak Galician, while Alicia, Susi and Rosa use Castilian.
8:30 AM	Prepare for school: discussing school bag, lunch box etc.	Interactive	The father and daughters	Castilian and Galician	Father and Cecilia speak Galician, while Alicia, Susi and Rosa use Castilian.
8:45 AM	Walk to school	Interactive	The father and daughters	Castilian and Galician	Cecilia goes to high school with her friends. As soon as she steps out from house, she speaks Castilian to her friends. Whereas Martín speaks in Galician, Alicia, Susi and Rosa use only Castilian.
11:00 AM	Recess/play	Interactive	Classmates	Castilian	Most of their friends are Castilian speaking, therefore, they socialise mostly in Castilian.
11:30 AM	Hearing stories	Passive	Teacher	Castilian/ Galician	If the class is in Galician, they receive it in Galician; if the class is in Castilian, they receive it in Castilian.
12:00 PM	Library	Passive (reading)	Teacher	Castilian/ Galician	If the class is in Galician, they receive it in Galician; if the class is in Castilian, they receive it in Castilian.
14:15 PM	Returning home from school	Interactive	The father and daughters	Castilian/ Galician	Cecilia returns with her friends and speaks Castilian.

					Her sisters return with the father who speaks in Galician, whereas Alicia, Susi and Rosa use only Castilian.
14:30 PM	Lunch (at home)	Interactive	The father, helper and daughters	Castilian/ Galician/ both	Father, helper and Cecilia speak in Galician, while Alicia, Susi and Rosa use only Castilian.
15:30-17:00 PM	Taking rest/ watching TV	Passive	The father and daughters	Castilian	Father and Cecilia speak Galician, while Alicia, Susi and Rosa use Castilian.
17:00 PM	Playing in the park	Interactive	The parents/ siblings/ other parents and children	Mostly Castilian	The parents in Galician, whereas Alicia, Susi and Rosa use Castilian. Other parents may speak Galician or Castilian. Children speak predominantly in Castilian.
18:00 PM	Extracurricular activities (music/ sports etc.)	Interactive	Monitor/ teachers/ friends	Mostly Castilian	Extracurricular activities mostly take place in Castilian. Cecilia responds in Castilian or Galician depending on the language used by the interlocutor. Alicia, Susi and Rosa speak only Castilian
19 – 20:00 PM	Homework, shower, dinner	Interactive	The parents	Castilian and Galician	The parents and Cecilia use Galician while Alicia, Susi and Rosa use castilian
20:00	Watching TV	Passive	The parents and siblings	Castilian and Galician	
21:00 PM	Dinner	Interactive	The parents and siblings	Castilian and Galician	The parents and Cecilia use Galician, while Alicia, Susi and Rosa use castilian
21:30 PM	Hearing stories or music	Passive	The parents	Castilian and Galician	
22:00 PM	Sleep				

During the weekend:

During the weekend, although the timetable varies to some extent, the linguistic practices inside the home are more or less the same. In daily life, we are the parents and daughters. We, the parents and our eldest daughter always speak in Galician at home, whereas Alicia, Susi and Rosa use always Castilian. During the weekend, we often visit the grandparents (four of them speak only Galician). While the parents and Cecilia always speak Galician to the grandparents, Alicia, Susi and Rosa sometimes make an exception and speak Galician to their grandparents.

Note:

Recently, after Anik's visit to our house, when we told our daughters that we would be recording our conversations during one meal, Alicia stated that she would be speaking Galician. In fact, during one of our first recordings, Alicia appears speaking in our language. However, in the next dinner conversation, once again she shifts to Castilian. It is also important to note that Alicia eventually receives one class from her father who is also a teacher in the primary school of Bertamiráns. The medium of instruction is in Galician. In that class, Alicia, along with all her classmates, speak in Galician.

Appendix B. 3

Penabade family: Salvador (pai), Mercedes (nai), Noelia (filla) e Brais (fillo).

Horario	Actividades	Interactivo/ Pasivo	Xente da familia	Lingua(s) utilizadas	Comentarios
7:30 AM	Levantarse /almorzar	Interactivo	Pai/nai	Galego	Só en galego
8:30 AM	Prepararse para o colexio	interactivo	Pai ou Nai	Galego	Só en galego
8:45 AM	O camiño á escola	interactivo	Pai ou Nai. Poucas veces os dous ou con algún outro familiar	Galego	Só en galego
11:00 AM	Recreo/xogando	interactivo	Amigos da escola	Galego	Escoita as dúas, galego e castelán, xa que hai nenos na escola que se expresan maiormente en castelán. Mais ela usa só o galego.
11: 30 AM	Escoitando relatos	Pasivo	Profesor/a da escola	Galego	Só en galego
12AM	Biblioteca	Pasivo (lendo)	Profesor/a da escola	Galego.	Polas tardes, cando vai a biblioteca municipal, ata onde sabemos nós, os animadores e contacontos son sempre en galego. Na escola cando lle len contos sempre en galego ou portugués.
14:00 PM	Volvendo a casa dende escola	interactivo	Pai ou nai	Galego	Só en galego
14:30 PM	Xantar (na casa ou no centro)	interactivo	Na escola. Entre nenos da escola e monitores ela usa o	Galego	Só usa galego mais hai algún neno castelanfalante co que tamén interactúa.
15:30 PM	Descanso/ mirar televisión	Pasivo		Galego/castelán	Ainda que maioritariamente en castelán nos debuxos animados da TV. Ás veces canta ou intenta cantar as cancións dos

					debuxos animados en castelán. Cando xoga soa e fala cos bonecos faino en galego. Ao xogar con nós, tamén.
17:00 PM	Dando paseo/xogando no parque	interactivo	Pai ou Nai. Contacto con outra xente e outros nenos	Galego	Galego na maioría dos casos, aínda que tamén interactúa con nenos castelán falantes, pero polo de agora sempre dende o galego. A maioría dos nenos e pais cos que está, falan en galego (A Tribo).
18:00 PM	Actividades (música, deporte, ...)	interactivo	Monitores	Galego	Sempre en galego, aínda que tamén asistiu a aulas de música e inglés.
19:00 – 20:00 PM	Facendo tarefas da casa	interactivo	Pai/Nai	Galego	
20:00-21:00 PM	Mirar televisión	Pasivo	Pai/Nai		Maioritariamente en castelán na tv, aínda que tamén escoita inglés ocasionalmente (BBC News International Channel) e nós procuramos porlle videos de youtube en galego ou portugués.
21:00 PM	Cea	interactivo	Pai e nai	Galego	Só en galego
21:30 PM	Escoitar contos ou música na cama	Pasivo	Pai/Nai/	Galego	Só en galego. Pola noite, ao durmilla ou ao acordar pola mañá, sempre en galego.

Durante a fin de semana:

Na fin de semana é cando máis intervén a presenza do castelán na presenza dos pais, xa que se reúne cos curmáns e algúns familiares que sempre lle falan nesta lingua. O avó materno sempre lle fala en galego, a avoa materna sempre en castelán. O avó paterno case sempre en galego e a avoa paterna case sempre en castelán. Os tíos e tías sempre en galego, outros familiares e amigos indistintamente nas dúas linguas máis maioritariamente en galego.

English translation of the checklist:

Family members: Salvador (father), Mercedes (mother), Noelia (daughter) and Brais (son).

One day during the week:

Time	Activities	Interactive/ Passive	People involved	Language(s) used	Remarks
7:30 AM	Wake up/ Breakfast	Interactive	The parents	Galician	Words used for food are only in Galician.
8:30 AM	Prepare for school: discussing school bag, lunch box etc.	Interactive	The father or the mother	Galician	Only in Galician.
8:45 AM	Walk to school	Interactive	The father or the mother/ sometimes both/ sometimes other members of the family	Galician	Only in Galician.
11:00 AM	Recess/play	Interactive	Classmates	Galician	Most of Noelia's friends are Castilian-speaking, therefore, they speak mostly in Castilian. However, Noelia speaks only Galician with them.
11:30 AM	Hearing stories	Passive	Teacher	Galician	Only in Galician.
12:00 PM	Library	Passive (reading)	Teacher	Galician	Additionally, in the afternoon, we often take Noelia to the municipality library for extracurricular activities where, as far as we know, the storytellers and monitors mostly speak in Galician or Portuguese.
14:00 PM	Returning home from school	Interactive	The father or the mother	Galician	Only in Galician.
14:30 PM	Lunch (in the home or at school)	Interactive	Monitor/ classmates/ parents	Galician	Monitor uses mostly Galician. If Noelia has her lunch in the school, she also hears Castilian from her Castilian-speaking classmates.
15:30- 17:00 PM	Taking rest/ watching TV	Passive	The father	Galician/ Castilian	Most of the cartoons in the TV are in Castilian. We observe that she

					often attempts to sing the songs of the programmes in Castilian. It is also important to note here that when she talks to her dolls or plays with us, she speaks in Galician.
17:00 PM	Playing in the park	Interactive	The parents/ other parents and children	Galician/ Castilian	Although Noelia speaks mostly in Galician, she also interacts with Castilian-speaking friends. But, she always starts speaking in Galician. Most of her friends and their parents (members of <i>Tribo</i>) speak Galician.
17:30 PM	Extracurricular activities (music/ sports etc.)	Interactive	Monitor	Galician	Mostly in Galician. She also attends musical workshops in English.
19 – 20:00 PM	Homework	Interactive	The father or the mother	Galician	
20:00- 21:00 PM	Watching TV	Passive	The father or the mother	Castilian/ Galician/ English	Even though the TV is mostly in Castilian, she also hears English as we watch BBC News International Channel quite often. We also search Youtube videos in Galician or Portuguese for her.
21:00 PM	Dinner	Interactive	The parents	Galician	
21:30P M	Hearing stories or music before sleep	Passive	The parents	Galician	Only in Galician.
22:00 PM	Going to sleep				Before sleeping or in the morning when she gets up, Noelia always speaks in Galician.

During the weekend:

During weekend, Noelia is more exposed to Castilian as the family visits other family members. Some of her cousins and other family members speak only Castilian. Although her paternal grandfather always speaks in Galician to her, Noelia's paternal grandmother speaks only Castilian. While her uncles and aunts speak always in Galician, other extended family members speak both Castilian and Galician.

Appendix C: Interview details

- All the interviews were conducted by the researcher himself.

	Families interviewed	Place of interview	Date of interview
Individual interviews			
1	Perez family: Javier Julia	Bertamiráns Public school	21th November 2013 13th May 2014
2	Rey Family: Fernando Marisa	Bertamiráns Public school Home (Bertamiráns)	25th November 2013 14th May 2014
3	Lema Family: Ana Manolo	Bertamiráns Public school	27th November 2013 16th May 2014
4	Quintana Family: Martín Claudia	Bertamiráns Public school Central library at Santiago	4th December 2013 18th June 2014
5	Castro Family: Lucia Raul	Avoaescola at Narón	12th June 2014 12th June 2014
6	Romero Family: Samuel Raquel	Instituto da Lingua Galega at Santiago	17th June 2014 17th June 2014
7	Riobo Family: Bernardo Angeles	Esteiro Public school	3th June 2014 03th June 2014
8	Ferro family: Leo Yenira	Esteiro Public school	30th May 2014 30th May 2014
9	Sende Family: Victor Lorena	Esteiro Public school	5th June 2014 5th June 2014
Focus groups			
1.	Focus group in Santiago de Compostela	Escola semente Compostela at Santiago	14th December 2014
2.	Focus group in Vigo	Escola semente Vigo at Vigo	20th December 2014

Appendix D: Copy of consent letter (in Galician)

Anik Nandi (alumno de doutoramento)

Email: an230@hw.ac.uk

Telephone: +34663672377

12 de outubro 2013

Prezado participante,

Son Anik Nandi, estudante de doutoramento na *School of Management and Languages* da Heriot-Watt University (Reino Unido). Estou a investigar as prácticas lingüísticas dos pais e nais durante a transmisión interxeneracional e a interpretación-implementación da política lingüística no sistema de educación obrigatoria de Galicia. O título do proxecto é *Language policies on the ground: Parental language management in urban Galician homes*. Este traballo terá lugar en contextos urbanos/semi-urbanos de Galicia. O traballo realízase baixo a supervisión da Dra. Bernadette O'Rourke (primeira supervisora) e Dra. Máiréad Nic Craith (segunda supervisora) da Heriot-Watt University. A investigación é financiada polo departamento de Linguas e Estudos Interculturais.

A miña investigación concéntrase principalmente na interpretación-implementación de políticas lingüísticas tanto dentro coma fóra da escola. Este estudo ten como obxectivo entender os diferentes puntos de vista dos pais e nais no uso da lingua dos rapaces, as súas prácticas lingüísticas dentro da casa e cómo funcionan as políticas lingüísticas individuais en outros contextos informais máis as decisións feitas con respecto á lingua na educación primaria. Polo tanto, estou planeando entrevistar os pais que se formaron no sistema educativo galego dende 1975 e que viviron as diferentes políticas cara a lingua no período post-franquista para comprender as diverxencias entre as normas legais e a súa implementación concreta. A información será recollida aplicando o método de observación, estruturada en dezaioito entrevistas individuais e dous grupos de discusión. Os participantes do meu estudo son cidadáns españois, de ambos os dous sexos cunha idade de 35-55 anos aproximadamente e de diversa ocupación laboral. As gravacións serán transcritas.

Todos os participantes deben saber que son libres de retirarse do proxecto en calquera momento e que non serán citados polos seus nomes nos traballos de investigación, a non ser que o soliciten expresamente. Cando os membros das familias implicadas na investigación sexan menores de 16 anos, será necesario pedir ademais do consentimento verbal pertinente do neno, o permiso paterno por escrito para a participación na investigación. O consentimento para participar nesta investigación será voluntario e así mesmo os participantes saben que poden solicitar aclaracións ou informacións máis detalladas de calquera aspecto. A investigación foi aprobada pola Escola de Administración e o Comité de Ética das Linguas da Universidade Heriot-Watt.

Aínda que o meu estudo non terá lugar nas escolas, estou achegándome ás escolas para contactar cós pais e nais. Principalmente, gustaríame falar cós profesores responsábeis da dinamización lingüística nas respectivas escolas e logo seleccionarei aos participantes. As familias que estean dispostas serán convidadas a unha reunión para tratar todos os detalles. Se ten interese e está disposto a participar neste estudo, faga o favor de contactarme no meu enderezo electrónico an230@hw.ac.uk ou chámeme ao teléfono 663672377.

Se ten calqueira consulta sobre a investigación, non dubide en contactarme.

Graciñas por adiantado,

Saúdos cordiais.

Anik Nandi
PhD student (Estudante de doutoramento)
Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh

English translation of the consent letter

Anik Nandi (PhD student)
Email: an230@hw.ac.uk
Telephone: (+34) 663672377
12th October 2013

Dear participant,

My name is Anik Nandi and I am a PhD student at the School of Management and Languages at the Heriot-Watt University (Edinburgh, UK). My research aims to investigate parental linguistic practices during intergenerational transmission and the interpretation-implementation of governmental language policies in the compulsory education system of Galicia (Spain). The title of the project is “Language policies on the ground: Parental language management in urban Galician homes” and it will take place in urban/semi-urban contexts of Galicia. The research takes place under the supervision of Professor Bernadette O’Rourke (Primary supervisor) and Professor Máiréad Nic Craith (Second supervisor). The research is funded by the School of Management and Languages.

Researching primarily on the interpretation-implementation of state-driven language policies outside school domain, this study seeks an understanding of parental views on language use with young children, their linguistic practices within the home and other informal settings. My dissertation will be theoretically grounded in sociolinguistics where the primary research data will be gathered from observation, eighteen individual interviews and two focus group discussions. Target research samples of my study are Spanish nationals (both male and female) between the age group of 35-55 years from various occupational backgrounds. I am planning to interview parents who have gone through the Galician education system since 1975 and experienced the language policies of post-Franco political regime.

Even though my research will not take place in the schools, I am approaching schools to facilitate access to parents. Primarily, I would like to speak to the teachers responsible for *dinamización lingüística* (linguistic activity) in respective schools and then, through the “snowball sampling” method, I will select the parents. Digital recording will be used to aid transcription. All participants are advised that they are free to withdraw from the project at any time and that participants will not be named in the research findings, unless they state and confirm a request to be named.

Where family members involved in the research are under the age of sixteen, verbal consent will be sought from the child and written parental permission will also be necessary for participation in the research. Consent to take part in this research must be voluntary informed consent and thus participants are encouraged to seek further information or clarification on any matters. The research has been approved by the ethics committee of the School of Management and Languages in the Heriot-Watt University.

I would be grateful if you consider my request to be involved in the research. Where families are willing to participate in further research involving participant observation then this will be discussed and arranged at the meeting. If you are interested and willing to be involved in this study, please contact me at an230@hw.ac.uk or call me at 663672377.

If you have any further questions and/or doubts about the research, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Thanking you,

Best regards

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