

1-1-1991

Linguistic and cultural crisis in Galicia, Spain.

Pedro Arias-Gonzalez
University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

Recommended Citation

Arias-Gonzalez, Pedro, "Linguistic and cultural crisis in Galicia, Spain." (1991). *Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014*. 4720.
https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/4720

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.

UMASS/AMHERST



312066013810334

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL CRISIS IN GALICIA, SPAIN

A Dissertation Presented

by

PEDRO ARIAS-GONZALEZ

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May, 1991

Education

© Copyright by Pedro Arias-Gonzalez 1991

All Rights Reserved

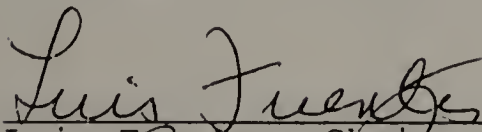
LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL CRISIS IN GALICIA, SPAIN

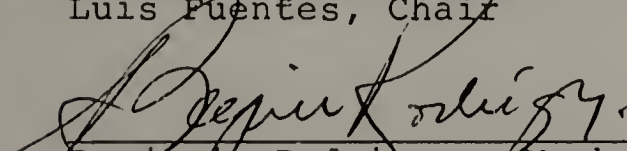
A Dissertation Presented

by

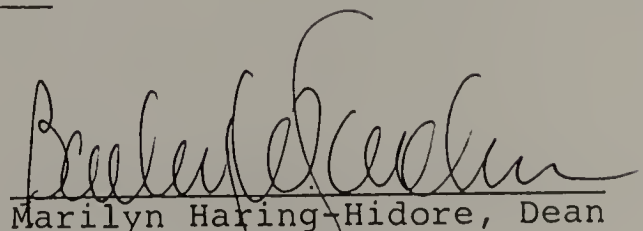
PEDRO ARIAS-GONZALEZ

Approved as to style and content by:


Luis Fuentes, Chair


Benjamin Rodriguez, Member


Jose N. Ornelas, Member


Marilyn Haring-Hidore, Dean
School of Education

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to those who contributed to my well-being and professional endeavors:

- My parents, Ervigio Arias-Fernández and Vicenta González-González, who, throughout their lives, gave me the support and the inspiration necessary to aspire to higher aims in hard times. I only wish they could be here today to appreciate the fruits of their labor.
- My wife, María Concepción Echeverría-Echecón; my son, Peter Arias-Echeverría; and my daughter, Elizabeth M. Arias-Echeverría, without whose constant love, patience, and support I would never have finished this dissertation.
- My teacher, Don Pedro Franco, the first school instructor to impress upon me the importance of a solid education, for his advice and support.
- My dear friends and relatives, who are far too many to individually name here, for not allowing me to give up in this pursuit.
- My fellow Galicians, especially those underprivileged and embittered souls, who have long awaited freedom and endured much in the

face of time. I would like to remind them,
from personal experience, that anything can
be accomplished with tenacity and desire.
May God bless and smile upon the future
generations in their quest to resurrect
Galicia!

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Numerous individuals have contributed both substance and continuous encouragement throughout the completion of this dissertation. First and foremost, I would like to extend my heartfelt appreciation to members of my Dissertation Committee. It has been a pleasure and a privilege to work with such caring, dedicated, and outstanding educators. These individuals were not only great mentors but also great friends.

I thank Dr. Benjamin Rodriguez, for finding time to fit me into his busy schedule. His eager interest in my progress, encouragement, and precious advice (which he gave so generously) were particularly impressive and greatly appreciated.

The membership of Dr. Jose Ornelas on my Committee could not have been more timely or more helpful. His immense knowledge of the subject and insightful comments not only greatly shaped this research study but they also made an invaluable link to, and interpretation of, much of the subject matter. His accessibility, helpful suggestions, and editorial comments were of utmost importance to the outcome of my efforts.

I owe my deepest appreciation to the Chairperson of my Committee, Dr. Luis Fuentes. There is no doubt in my mind

that without his gracious concern, endless patience, and steadfast support, this dissertation would never have been completed. His guidance, copious suggestions, critical feedback, open-ear, and seasoned expertise substantially contributed to the completion of this study. He has served as a significant teacher, motivator, and mentor in every sense of the word. He has been an inspiration and his influence will remain with me throughout my career.

My sincere gratitude is also extended to Dr. Sonia Nieto and Dr. Atron Gentry, who helped prepare me for the long task that was before me. Without their guidance and encouragement, I do not know whether I would have undertaken such a project.

I would further like to acknowledge the following individuals at the University of Massachusetts: Ms. Linda Guthrie, for her understanding and patience with me; and Ms. Nancy Kaminski, for putting the final critical touches on the work you see before you.

This dissertation is the culmination of several years of hard work. In it are reflected the selfless concern, interest, guidance, and support of many people. I would like to thank the following individuals in particular, and anyone whom I may have forgotten, for their contributions:

- My brother-in-law, José Luis Alba, for his technical assistance;

- My good friends, Fernando Alba-Criado and Carmen Casado de Alba, for sharing their expertise on the Basque language;
- My good friends, Dr. Francisco Alcalá, Dr. Angel Amy-Moreno, Dr. Jesús Morea, and Mrs. Morea, for their help with the many problems encountered throughout my investigations;
- My fellow co-worker, Dr. John Caputo, for his thorough knowledge on dissertations, expert advice, editing, and patience;
- My good friend, Dr. Tony Cunningham, for his assistance;
- My friend and colleague, Dr. Charles Devoe, for his uplifting spirit and for helping me edit this dissertation;
- My brother-in-law, José Ramón Echeverría-Echecón, who searched for relevant materials crucial to the outcome of this dissertation;
- Dr. Jesus Fraga-Iribarne, President of the Xunta Gallega; Don Juan A. Gimeno-Ullastres, of the Ministry of Education and Science; and Ms. Felicidad Manzanares, of the National Institute for Statistics in Spain, for their vital information and encouraging letters;

- My trustworthy neighbor and friend, Janey Frank, for her priceless editing;
- My good friend, Bienvenido García, for his invaluable technical help;
- My cousin, Julio González-González, for his encouragement and for his effort in obtaining important information to clarify the muddled Galician situation;
- My fellow compatriot and one of Galicia's most renowned poets, Manuel María, who proved to be most accessible in my dearest hour of need;
- My close friends, Dr. and Mrs. McMahon, for their computer knowledge, support, useful suggestions, and help with Portuguese translation;
- My cousin and old school companion, Gerardo Torres-Rodríguez, for imparting his invaluable wisdom on the subject of Galician education as a practicing educator and administrator;
- My good friends, Dr. and Mrs. Sedó, who were always willing to lend me precious information and data;
- My friend and fellow Galician, Rafael Vicente, for his technical help on the computer

and for his opinions on topics concerning
Galicia.

ABSTRACT

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL CRISIS IN GALICIA, SPAIN

MAY, 1991

PEDRO ARIAS-GONZALEZ, INDUSTRIAL MASTER'S, LUGO, SPAIN

M.Ed., BOSTON STATE COLLEGE

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Directed by: Professor Luis Fuentes

To truly understand Spain, one must have more than just a basic knowledge of the country's physical features or general traditions. If one investigates further into the history of ethnology of the name that is Spain, one discovers an intricate network of individual worlds that somehow revolve around one center, Madrid. Each "patria chica" or "miniature country" is a product of its location within the Peninsula, and each conserves its own institutions, values, and idiosyncracies. Today, the autonomous regions of Spain maintain and cherish their individuality with a certain degree of liberty thanks to the Constitution of 1978.

Soon after the Reconquest of Iberia, the Catholic Sovereigns attained the unity of Spain. Consequently, the Castilian dialect of Latin became the official language of Spain and its overseas territories. The central power of Castile began its persecution of the regions. Castile succeeded greatly in homogenizing Spain by suppressing the

very source of identity of its ethnic peoples--language. The installation of the Castilian language marked a new era in Spanish history.

The linguistic supremacy of Castilian effectively arrested the cultural growth of the "patrias chicas" until very recently. Ample evidence of this is the virtual loss of the Leonese, Aragonese, Asturian, Navarrese, and Andalusian dialects of Latin along with the 400-year-old dialectalization of the Galician, Catalán, and Basque languages. Castilian dominance of Spain greatly degraded the state of education in Catalonia, Euzkadi, and Galicia. Not only did people from these regions lose an enormous part of their heritage, but Galicia, in particular, became the unwilling victim of generations of illiteracy and poverty.

The year 1975 has come to represent the renaissance of the ethnic Spanish regions. Today, the historic autonomies of Spain can finally step out of the Castilian shadow and rediscover their pasts. One objective for them is certain--they must place their own languages at the forefront of their efforts to preserve their cultures. Their languages are their past, present, and future. Just how they will use them in this age of increasing global unity may make the future an interesting new era in Spain's history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
ABSTRACT	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xv
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Background of the Problem	3
Statement of the Problem	7
Statement of Purpose	8
Methodology of the Study	11
Significance of the Study	14
Limitations of the Study	17
Definition of Terms	18
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	24
Pre-Romanic Spain	24
The Celts and Celtiberians	33
Phoenicians	37
The Greeks	38
The Carthaginians	40
The Romans	41
The Germanic Tribes	43
Mohammedan Iberia	48
Peninsular Romance	54
Galician	59
III. LANGUAGE PROBLEMS IN GALICIA, SPAIN	80
Introduction	80
Colonialism	80
The Land Question	88
Emigration	102
An Overview of Galician Education	
Until 1936	114

	<u>Page</u>
IV. A COMPARISON OF LANGUAGE PROBLEMS: SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES	121
Bilingualism and Diglossia	121
Galician Education Since 1936	128
Sociological and Cultural Problems	135
The Pedagogy of Galician	140
National Identification of Galician	146
Should Galician Be Readopted?	148
Normativization and Normalization of Galician	152
Consequences of the Implementation of Galician	157
Political and Intellectual Agreements	161
Regionalism vs. Nationalism Due to Language	162
V. SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION	166
Summary	166
Recommendations	169
Conclusion	172
Politics and Attitudes	178
Education and Politics	183
APPENDICES	196
A. CORRESPONDENCE TO SPANISH ACADEMIC AND POLITICAL AUTHORITIES	197
B. SURVEY INSTRUMENT	217
C. MAP OF IBERIA AND BALEARES: MAIN LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND BALEARIC ISLANDS	221
D. THE SPANISH EDUCATION SYSTEM AND RELATED DATA (From <u>Estadística de la Enseñanza en España: 1986-1987</u> ; Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia)	223
BIBLIOGRAPHY	242

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. SURVEY RESULTS OF GENERAL POPULATION SAMPLE IN GALICIA	158
2. SURVEY RESULTS OF STUDENTS IN GALICIA	160

C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Today, Spain is a country of many sudden changes, whereas, in the past, what geographers call the Iberian Peninsula was a collection of separate, loosely connected kingdoms. Accordingly, each kingdom acquired its own identity, traditions, and values. Along with these established cultural distinctions came linguistic discrepancies. No language dominated the Peninsula's people as wholly as Castilian did under the guidance of such figures as Ferdinand III, "the Saint" (1217-1252), and Alphonse X, "the Learned" (1254-1284), the Catholic monarchs who united the Iberian kingdoms, except for Portugal. Only a few strong regional languages, such as Basque, Catalán, and Galician, did not completely give way to Castilian supremacy. Other formerly important regional languages, such as Leonese and Aragonese, died away altogether. Only Basque, Catalan, Galician (from which Portuguese would later evolve), and some less significant dialects of these languages survived the crushing nationalistic grip of the despotic Castilian empire (Baldinger, 1972; Entwistle, 1936; Langer, 1968); Moya & Lago, 1977).

Until 1975, Basque, Catalán, and Galician were tightly controlled by the Castilian central authority. From 1539 on,

none of the regional languages or dialects could be taught in their own region's schools. Moreover, people were not even permitted to speak their regional tongues in public gatherings in their own homelands. This created many social, economic, and educational problems because of the lack of understanding of the official Spanish language, Castilian, in either written or spoken form. The regional languages became the tongues of the poor and uneducated peoples of Spain who were the majority of Spain's population even more so than previously. Consequently, as the majority of the regional population (not completely absorbed by Castile) could not speak, much less write Castilian, the people could not function within their own societies ruled by Castilian-speaking officials who, in turn, did not understand the natives. These stigmatized and impoverished people were forced to become diglossic, and therefore only semi-literate in any one language (Carballo-Calero, 1981).

Not until after Franco's many years of dictatorship and eventual death in 1975 were the ethnic regions of Spain freed from subservience to Castile and its language. This was a crucial point for some of the regional languages that were dying out from lack of a general understanding of their regions' problems as well as from the great threats of mass media, which served to further accelerate the rise of Castilian and decline of Galician. Now, these distinct

entities can finally savor the freedom that has been denied them for so long. A new problem arises, however, for the regions. They must now decide how to protect their ethnicity without losing sight of national and regional interests and, in the process, determine to what extent their mother tongues will support these regional goals.

Background of the Problem

The fall of the Roman Empire and the barbaric invasions of the Suevi (Swabians) and Visigoths apparently precipitated in the former province of Gallaecia (comprised of modern Galicia, Asturias, León, Salamanca, Zamora, and northern Portugal) the birth of the first Romance tongue in the Iberian Peninsula--Galician. Some experts agree that Galician was used throughout the Iberian Peninsula until the emergence of other Ibero-Romances (Rodríguez-Enríquez, 1976). It is believed that Galician was the dominant language of Iberia until Castilian established its presence centuries later. Castilian, another dialect of Latin, would eventually dethrone Galician as the linguistic giant of Iberia and would seek to obliterate all traces of its former superiority and even of its very existence (Carballo-Calero, 1981).

During the Reconquest of Iberia, the central Christian power gradually shifted from the north to the south of the

Iberian Peninsula. Since the Moors never succeeded in conquering parts of Galicia, Asturias, and Cantabria, the Christian Reconquest began in those northern territories. As the Reconquest spread south, the dialects of the Christians traveled with them to eventually form definite linguistic demarcations. Because Castile had become the focus of Christian strength and gains, the dialect of Castile installed itself in a great part of Iberia. Shortly after the Moors retreated or were expelled from the Peninsula, Castilian established its eminence among the other Latin dialects of Iberia.

After the Catholic monarchs united Spain, Galicia and its language fell into disgrace. In essence, Galicia became an impoverished vassal state of Castile. Castile restructured the government of Galicia with foreigners who knew neither the area, its traditions nor its language. Instead of eradicating Galicia's corrupt and abusive nobles, Castile relocated, exiled, or simply killed Galicia's former government officials. Galicia had no political or religious representation; instead, it was represented by León and Castile through the provinces of Zamora and Valladolid respectively (Carballo-Calero, 1981). Once the jewel of peninsular romance, the Galician language nearly became extinct. Castile imposed its language upon the peoples of Iberia until Castilian eventually supplanted all regional

languages and dialects. Perhaps the only factor to save Galician was the great reputation of its lyric poetry, certainly recognized as being among the finest verse in Europe. The Galician language sank so low as to attain the status of a weak dialect. Castile's suffocation of the language did indeed mark the suffocation of Galician pride, customs, and identity.

When the kingdom of Portugal proclaimed itself a separate country from an oppressive Castilian government, Galicia lost its blood brother. While Portugal progressed in all aspects as an independent nation, Galicia retrograded to a pitiful state. The Portuguese branch of the Gallaeco-Portuguese language burgeoned dramatically under such great authors as Camões, while the Galician branch of Gallaeco-Portuguese became the language of a frustrated people. Portugal's language became the tongue of many distant and prosperous colonies, while Galician flourished only in the impoverished villages and rural areas of an increasingly land-oriented, Castilian colony (Alonso-Montero, 1973). Consequently, Galicia teemed with illiteracy as its battered language was replaced with Castilian in the region's schools (Carballo-Calero, 1981).

Galicia, its people, and its language remained in the shadow of Castile for some 500 years after the marriage of the Catholic monarchs. It was not until the 19th century

that the revival of the Galician language began to materialize. Just before the Spanish Civil War of 1936, Galicia nearly gained control over its destiny from the central government in regional political and educational matters. Galicia's language was on the verge of being revitalized and was prepared for region-wide usage. Unfortunately for Galicia, however, these privileges were to be delayed until many years after the Civil War. During the 36 years of Franco's dictatorship, nearly all of Galicia's independent privileges were withheld and certainly all of its linguistic privileges were suppressed. Since 1939, Franco banished many Galician intellectuals for writing about the injustices perpetrated against Galicia and its language.

Finally, in 1975, the Galician language was declared a "national language" of Spain, and a regulated form of Galician was taught experimentally in the region for the academic year 1977-1978. The actual Spanish constitution, adopted in 1978, was written to include provisions that would grant the ethnic regions a limited form of self-rule in order for Catalonia, Euzkadi, and Galicia to be able to protect their traditions, culture, and language. In 1979, Galicia was allowed to implement its mother tongue in its educational system. Now Galicia must determine what the future for its language will be.

Statement of the Problem

Today, Galicia finds itself at a crossroads. For the first time in centuries, Galicians have the opportunity to secure the future of their beloved homeland, to undo a past plagued by illiteracy, poverty, and subjugation. Galicians must decide what role their restored language will play in determining the identity and culture of a new Galicia. They must decide how to rehabilitate their language most effectively to prevent it from the deterioration experienced in the past, how to make their language more functional for the present, and, most importantly, how to assure its continuation in succeeding generations. Gone are the haunting political inhibitions of the past; present are the problems of an uncertain future!

Certain central issues concerning the Galician language must now be resolved. First, Galicians must decide whether they should standardize their language, whether Galician should gradually approach the more useful Portuguese language, or whether the language and its dialects should remain as they currently stand. Currently, internal bickering between the Real Academia Galega/Instituto da Lingua Galega (RAG/ILG) supporters, who are labeled "lusistas" and feel that Galician should near Portuguese, and the Asociacom Galega da Lingua/Asociacom Socio-Pedagogica Galega (AGAL/AS-PG) partisans, who are known as

"reintegracionistas" and advocate a specific brand of "Lusism" regional aims, makes the region's language situation difficult. The dissenting parties should also consider the linguistic concerns of those residing in provinces that border Galicia, particularly León, and of emigrants returning from foreign lands. They may not be considered Galicians politically, but speaking Galician, they suffer such consequences as illiteracy and diglossia. Finally, it is most imperative for Galicians to chart out and to begin securing the most prosperous course for the language and its users. Galicians must resolve how to implement the use of their cherished language into the schools, beginning at the most basic levels of education.

Statement of Purpose

This pioneer study has numerous aims which it wishes to present to the reader. First, the researcher attempts to clarify some of the myths and misconceptions surrounding the Galician language. A substantial part of this dissertation is devoted to demonstrating the level of linguistic excellence which Galician once attained before its precipitous decline. On account of its recent status, linguistic or philologic experts have considered Galician little more than an obscure, dull dialect. Still, the fact remains that Galician or Gallaeco-Portuguese could very easily antedate

Castilian as the first Peninsular Romance Language. Galician can also boast giving birth to a powerful Portuguese language and to some of the greatest lyric poetry Europe has ever witnessed. History could have proclaimed Galician the tongue of Iberia as readily as it did Castilian. Instead, the Galician people have experienced the nearly fatal transition which their language has undergone.

The objective of this study is to explore and to recount the historical problems that have plagued Galicia's existence and have adversely affected its mother language. A Castilian dominance of nearly 500 years saw a ruthless oppression perpetrated upon Galicia which Spanish history texts underplay or seldom mention today. Castile nearly succeeded in driving the culture, traditions, values, and language of Galicia into complete extinction. Fortunately, the region survived this onslaught, yet it suffers from that earlier subjugation even today. While this dissertation focuses mainly upon the language problem of Galicia, it can neither overlook nor be divorced from the ethnicity of the region or its people. It is hoped that this study will succeed in opening the awareness of the world to the age-old plight of Galicians. The researcher intends to spark interest in and concern for the long forgotten Galician and his language.

The suffocating grasp of Castilian rule was removed after the death of the Spanish dictator, Franco. Nevertheless, Galicia's wounds will remain forever unhealed in the minds of the Galician people as expressed in the lyrics of Rosalia de Castro and countless other poets. Past conditions forced a mass exodus of Galicians from their beloved land and ultimately precipitated the unhappy downfall of its language. Education stagnated under Castilian rule as the language of the Galician people was supplanted by Castilian. Galician has survived primarily through the efforts of its most impoverished citizens who have historically accounted for the vast majority of Galicia's population. This study intends to show that the imposition of a foreign language (Castilian) upon a segment of the population (Galicia) greatly damages the quality of education of the segment, as well as promotes an undesirable social stratification among the entire population. The researcher also examines the benefits of bilingual education in the past, present, and future of Galicia.

Perhaps the central purpose of this study is to describe the plethora of problems which a restored Galician language and its people face and to evaluate how these problems may be resolved or at least confronted. The researcher stresses the importance of education for the future welfare of Galicia and its language. Now, as never

before, Galicia has control over its destiny. Unfortunately, some 500 years since Galicia's last period of self-determination much speculation, disagreement, and doubt have been raised but little positive action on how to remedy the region's linguistic aches has occurred. This dissertation presents some of the debate surrounding the successful implementation of Galician in the region's schools. This work puts forth some suggested proposals of learned Galicians and offers some personal insights as to how Galicia should restructure itself for the challenges of the future. Since language is the element which all Galicians ought to commonly share, it is a major factor in the unification of Galicia. This poses an interesting question. What language should emerge to preserve the ethnicity and to enhance the education of Galicians?

Methodology of the Study

Since 1982, the researcher has been gathering books and information for research on the history of Galicia and its language, bilingualism, and second language acquisition. During this time, the researcher has also attempted to interview and to request data especially from people associated with the Galician language. People representative of different segments of the Galician population, or at least those with a range of differing perspectives,

insights, and ideals, have been consciously sought. Authorities on language not directly involved in the sections of the dissertation devoted to Galicia and its language were also contacted. For example, in 1982, Professor José María Satrustegi of the Royal Academy for the Basque Language in Pamplona, Spain, was interviewed on both the history of the Basque language and on the similarity of its modern linguistic problems to those of Galicia.

As the greater portion of this dissertation focuses on Galician language, most of its Spanish research efforts were carried out in Galicia itself. The researcher began his interviewing with Manuel María, a distinguished Galician poet and author. The aim of his interviews with Manuel María in 1982, 1984, 1986, and 1990 was threefold. First, Manuel María helped direct research inquiries to the proper sources. Next, he apprised the researcher of the transition that Galician has experienced during the post-Franco era. Finally, Manuel María offered an intellectual perspective as to what should be done with the present delicate state of the language.

In 1988, information concerning the current situation of Galician in the region's schools was obtained from Gerardo Rodríguez and Professor Marcelino Zapico. Gerardo Rodríguez, director of a typical, small-town Galician

elementary and middle school in Quiroga, Lugo, explained the present use of Galician at the primary levels of education and described its benefits and complications.

Professor Marcelino Zapico, philosopher and language teacher in an urban high school in Ribadeo, further supplied facts on the implementation of Galician at the secondary school level. Professor Marcelino Zapico also informed the researcher of possible alternative educational models for the successful implementation of Galician in the region's lower schools.

The researcher turned to the Heads of the Departments of Vernacular Language at the University of Santiago de Compostela (Galicia) and at the University of Salamanca (León) in 1988 and 1989 for information on the present standing of Galician in higher education and for statistical data (see Appendix A). Both deans were sent a survey (see Appendix B), were requested to issue the survey to their respective faculties and students, and then asked to return the results. Up to this time, unfortunately, not a single response has been received from them.

In addition, similar information, statistics, and survey results were requested from the Royal Academy for the Galician Language, the Galician Secretary of Education, and the Director General of Language Policy for Galicia in 1988 and 1989 (see Appendix A). Again, the researcher has been

unsuccessful in obtaining any information from these sources. From them, he was hoping to receive the political perspective on the language in order to clarify the debate surrounding the future course of Galician between Galicia's statesmen, its educational leaders, and its people.

Many printed materials were obtained through bookstores in Galicia, Madrid, and all over Spain and through interviews. The researcher also obtained a great portion of his research materials, including books, magazine articles, and assorted data, from computer searches in libraries of the greater Boston area. Specifically, he did this at several institutions of higher learning, including Boston University, Harvard University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Tufts University, University of Massachusetts at Boston, as well as at Boston Public Libraries and through BRS's ERIC service.

Significance of the Study

As in the case of the social sciences, the final outcome of this work relies heavily, if not solely, on the unpredictability of future human behavior. Certainly, this study attempts to put forth and to explain the present situation and problems of the Galician language. For the Galician, a historically sentimental, deceived, misunderstood, and oppressed individual, anything written about the

reality of a harsh past and an uncertain future serves to make him proud of his heritage and gives him the courage and the incentive to do something in a positive fashion for the improvement of his social condition and his homeland. A recognition of his ethnicity and his struggles signals a sweet freedom and a valued understanding within the world community. While history may not replicate itself in perfect exactitude, it is believed that all humanity learns from its recurring themes.

From a linguistic viewpoint, this study seeks to inform the reader of the importance of the Galician language. Few people even considered Galician as being truly viable or worthy of surviving the attack of so many political forces. Even fewer people know that Galician has produced a great lyric poetry not to mention the rise of the mighty Portuguese language. It is also easy for linguistic experts to overlook the fact that Galician could easily have become the national language of Spain, if not the language of all Iberia, in the same fashion as Castilian rose to linguistic supremacy in that area. If nothing else, this dissertation ought to awaken the reader to the historical significance of Galicia's language. The greater the number of people who recognize and respect Galician, the more whole the fulfillment of this study becomes.

Inevitably, a language is the expression and the reflection of its speakers and its writers. On a historical and cultural level, therefore, this study attempts to show the changes that a language has undergone because of the social transitions of its users. One can readily see that during a period of overbearing Castilian dominance, Galician was reduced to the status of a dialect and, indeed, nearly exterminated. During this period, historians saw Galicia embarking upon a dark age of despair. In fact, Galicia and its language have been attempting to recover from their monstrous declines ever since. In short, the Galician language has assumed the attitudes, sentiments, and social conditions of its people. For this reason, it became known as the language of the "frustrated and down-trodden," even by its own people.

While this study is not intended to be a panacea for Galicia's educational woes, it presents arguments and solutions regarding these problems as suggested by authorities of several segments of the Galician population. The work explores the fundamental principles of bilingualism, biculturalism, and second language acquisition and applies these notions to the language situation of Galicia. In a nation where nearly 90% of the population believes that people should learn in their mother tongue first (1977 figure from Salustiano del Campo's survey), Galicia's

modern language difficulties, as described in Statement of the Problem, are of primary concern. On a global level, one sees Galacia's language crisis mirrored again and again in other cultures. This dissertation becomes valuable not only because it investigates a broad range of opinions on the crisis, but also because its findings may serve as a reference for present and future generations of scholars.

Limitations of the Study

During the post-Franco era, the Galician language experienced freedom which, not too long ago, appeared to be simply unattainable. Now, the only factor hampering the future state of Galicia is the Galician people, themselves. The question of how to rejuvenate and preserve the Galician language is a delicate matter. Presently, the region's statesmen, intellectuals, and common people share the primary goal of saving Galician language for future generations. Each party, however, offers a different solution for achieving that most worthy goal. Simply put, Galicians are now caught in a seemingly endless ideological and political struggle. Many decades have passed since Galicians have had such an undeniable opportunity for self-determination. It appears as though the time gap has made Galicians somewhat too cautious.

Clearly, a complete study of this sort would depend on the daily events of life in Galicia. This dissertation, however, falls victim to the amount of information and statistical data currently available to it. Much of the research for this work may appear to be outdated. Those parts of the study devoted to the present linguistic situation in Galicia suffer greatly from a lack of data. As noted in Methodology of the Study, it is exceedingly difficult to obtain recent information and statistics even from the highest authorities in Galicia. To further complicate the issue, the parties involved in the dispute over the implementation of Galician in the region's schools fail to make their positions on issues clear. Moreover, they seem to mire themselves in political processes rather than to mount a direct attack on the problem.

Definition of Terms

Following are definitions of terms that have been used throughout this research study:

<u>Autochthonous</u> :	Indigenous; native to.
<u>Autonomous</u> or <u>Autonomía</u> :	Independent; having the right or power of self-government.
<u>Biculturalism</u> :	Experiencing two different cultures, simultaneously.
<u>Bilingual</u> :	Using or able to use two languages, especially with the fluency characteristic of a native speaker.

- Bilingualism: The use of two languages.
- B.O.E.: Literally, official state bulletin; a publication in which all Spanish national laws must be published before they can be enacted and enforced.
- Castilian: A native or inhabitant of the Spanish province, Castile; the official and literary language of Spain based on this dialect of Latin.
- Colonialism: Control by one power over a dependent area of people; a policy advocating or based on such control.
- Cortes or Las Cortes: The supreme legislative body of Spain (Spanish parliament).
- Cura, Crego (Gal.), Sacerdote: Names given to a member of the clergy; a priest.
- Dialect: A regional variety of a language usually transmitted orally and differing distinctively from the standard language; a regional variety of language distinguished by features of vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation from other regional varieties and constituting together with them, a single language.
- Diglossia: A characteristic of societies or social groups, whose members use or are able to use two languages, especially with the fluency characteristic of native speakers. Typically, a diglossic individual uses the more prestigious language for more important social events and the less prestigious one for more mundane experiences.

- D.O.G.: Literally, Official Diary of Galicia; the Galician counterpart to the B.O.E.
- Ethnic: Of or relating to races or large groups of people classed according to common traits, customs, etc.
- Ethnography: Descriptive anthropology.
- Ethnology: A science that deals with the division of mankind into races and their origin, distribution, relations, and characteristics; anthropology dealing with the comparative and analytical study of creatures.
- Forero: Person authorized through the foros to use the lands of a renter (usually land rented by the clergy or nobility).
- Foro: A canon dictating that one must pay for the use of land; (N.B.: The nobility and clergy of Galicia, owning most of the region's productive lands, collected the fees from the peasants who toiled the land.). This practice was further complicated by the original renter subletting (subforado) and further abusing the already poor peasant (campesino, paisano). The redemption of the foros in Galicia caused strong social tensions until their termination in the 20th century.
- Fuero: Municipal laws originating in the Middle Ages (medieval town's royal charter of privilege).
- Gallaeco-Portuguese: The original Ibero-Romance language used by the Lusitanians and Galicians; language that gave rise to both modern Portuguese and Galician.

- Iberian: A member of one or more Caucasoid peoples (some think Berber!) anciently inhabiting the peninsula comprising Spain and Portugal and the Basque region about the Pyrenees, probably related in origin to peoples of northern Africa and probably the builders of the neolithic stone structures found especially in Spain and in northern Africa, France, and Great Britain; a native or inhabitant of Spain or Portugal or the Basque region.
- Idiosyncrasy: Characteristic peculiarity of habit or structure; a peculiarity of constitution or temperament; individual hypersensitiveness.
- Indo-European: A family of languages comprising those spoken languages in most of Europe and in the parts of the world colonized by Europeans since 1500 and also in Persia, the sub-continent of India, and some other parts of Asia.
- Lexicography: The editing or making of a dictionary.
- Lexicon: The total stock of words (morphemes) of a language.
- Lytic: Expressing direct use of intense personal emotion; lyric poem; the words of a popular song or a musical comedy number.
- Morphology: Study and description of word formation in a language, including inflection, derivation, and compounding.
- Morisco: A converted Moor.
- Mozarab: The name given to Christians living in Moorish Iberia.

- Nationalist (person): A political group advocating or associated with nationalism; an advocate of or believer in nationalism; member of a party or group advocating national independence.
- Oblivion: An act or instance of forgetting; official ignoring of offenses.
- Orography: A branch of physical geography that deals with mountains and mountain ranges.
- "Patria Chica": Miniature country.
- Pedagogy: The art, science, or profession of teaching.
- Phonology: The science of speech sounds including especially the history and theory of sound changes in a language or in two or more related languages; the phonetics and phonemics of a language at a particular time.
- Pronuncimiento: Insurrection or decree.
- Reconquest: Covers a period of eight centuries; the period between 722, when Don Pelayo first defeated the Moors, and 1492, when the Catholic monarchs recaptured Granada.
- Regime: Mode of rule or management; a government social system.
- Regionalism: Consciousness of and loyalty to a distinct region with a homogeneous population; development of a political system based on one or more such areas; emphasis on regional or local characteristics in art and literature; peculiarity characteristic of a geographic area.

Romance:

Of, relating to, or constituting the languages developed from Latin.

Subforado or
New Foreros:

Person who obtained the rights to the use of the forado's previously rented lands (usually at outrageously high prices).

C H A P T E R I I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Pre-Romanic Spain

To try to assess the linguistic history of pre-Roman Spain is like peering into the recesses of a dark cave. The further back one tries to look, the more vague the shapes and hollows appear, until one is left surmising mere outlines, indeed only guessing at what lies even further behind.

-- Professor Douglas Gifford
(Russell, 1973)

The earliest inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula to impress their presence upon the records of humanity were the Iberians. Historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists concur that Iberia, which consists of modern Spain, Portugal, and parts of southern France, is one of the first land masses ever populated. The Iberians appear to have inhabited the Peninsula as early as the year 1000 B.C. Whether or not the Iberians were the first settlers of the Peninsula or were themselves indigenous to the area remains a mystery today. In any case, experts agree that Iberia's weather, access to the great waters of both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, and fertility would cause the area to be inhabited before most others of Europe.

Although it is generally accepted that the Iberians were not natives of the Peninsular soil, it cannot be ascertained with absolute accuracy whence they came. In his

book, The Spanish Language, Entwistle (1936) states, ". . . It is supposed that the Iberians were invaders from Africa, racially akin to the Kabyle of the Riff" (p. 29). Spanish school textbooks, such as Alvarez-Pérez (1966), agree with this supposition, asserting that Iberians were descendants of the North African Berber tribes who settled in the southeastern section of the Peninsula. In opposition to this argument, Pla-Dalmau (1982) contends that the Iberians may have come to the Peninsula from Asia. Today, the issue continues to elude a definitive answer. In fact, archaeologists have had more success in determining the dominant physical features and customs of the Iberians than in pinpointing their original lands. Of course, as Entwistle (1936) notes, an immigration from northern Africa would present the fewest physical obstacles.

It would appear, then, that the works of linguists and philologists might offer more conclusive evidence to verify, or at least to support, a feasible theory about the origins of the Iberians. Unfortunately, the already uncertain theories of archaeologists and anthropologists become more complex, more mysterious, and more numerous with the intervention of philologists and linguists. The latter propose three main theories to clarify the origins of the Iberians. Perhaps the most attractive of these theories, however, relies heavily upon dubious speculations. The central

speculation holds that modern Basques, whose present Iberian homeland consists of the Spanish provinces of Vizcaya, Alava, and Guipuzcoa, are the descendants of the ancient Iberian culture. The modern Basque language and its possible affiliations with an Iberian language would be the key argument to such theories. Limited historical information and the feasibility of several other arguments victimize these theories.

Humboldt's previously sound theory, supported dogmatically by Hubner and Schuchardt (cited in Entwistle, 1936) that Basques are the ultimate descendants of the ancient Iberians draws more skepticism today than ever before. Entwistle (1936) feels, with a certain amount of probability, that the Cantabro-Basques were native elements of the Peninsula that were hedged in their mountains by African invaders. He states:

It seems only logical to suppose that the Iberians also encountered a racial mixture, of unknown ingredients. From the archaeological point of view, it would seem probable that the Basques were not Iberians in race; but race and language are independent, and the Basque language may not be indigenous. Speculation as to origin of the language has taken two main directions: some aver that Basque resembles North African languages, others prefer the Caucasus. It is even held that these hypotheses are not mutually exclusive. (pp. 29-30)

Indeed, to draw parallels between Basque and Iberian requires a better understanding of Basque in Iberia today. Presently, only the inhabitants of the Basque homeland in northern

central Spain and southwestern France speak Basque. The survival of Basque in the Iberian Peninsula is a linguistic phenomenon of dramatic proportions. Basque is the only non-Romance language existing in the Peninsula.

Consequently, Basque has been Romanized more than most other non-Romance languages. Still, nothing concrete can be ascertained regarding the language before 1545. Humanity may never know whether or not Basque is indigenous to the Peninsula, the first language spoken on the Peninsula, or how, if at all, it is connected with Iberian.

Professor José María Satrustegi, a member of the Royal Academy of the Basque Language in Pamplona, Spain, stated in August of 1984 that a possible relationship between Basque and Georgian should not be discarded. Professor Satrustegi stressed that assumptions have been made, but nothing has been finalized. To this regard, as Entwistle (1936) and Pei (1976) have noted, no substantial connections have been found which completely link Basque and any other known languages, including Berber, the tongues of the Caucasus, Egyptian, the language of the American Iroquois Indians, Japanese, or even the Negro African languages. Most people feel that Basque is autochthonous to Iberia and has been spoken in the Basque country of Spain from times immemorial.

The proximity of Africa to Iberia produces the fewest obstacles for the evolution of Basque from the Iberian language of the African continent. Iberian may or may not have been a language of North African origin. Entwistle (1936) notes that:

In vocabulary and structure, it probably resembled Basque closely, but the gap of a millennium between its documents and the earliest Basque texts prevents accurate identification; it was used over a wide area of the central and eastern Peninsula, and contributed at least place-names to the West and South. (p. 31)

Today, place-names in Iberia are the strongest if not the only links between Basque and Iberian. While Iberian inscriptions, mostly of small length, have been transcribed with accuracy, these have evaded translation. Moreover, linguistic experts concur that they could not be translated with the present knowledge and help of Basque. Entwistle (1936) writes:

Schuchardt produced an imposing list of 105 words fundamental in the Basque lexicon which have, or seem to have, parallels in the Berber, Copto-Egyptian, Nubian, African Semitic, Cushite, Nilotic, and Sudanese. They include: the numerals 2, 3, 5, 6, 7; primitive verbs like joan 'go,' eman 'give,' artue 'take,' egin 'do,' etorri 'come'; adjectives like on 'good,' berri 'new,' otz 'cold,' andi 'big'; particles like bage 'without,' nor 'who?'; and the names of fundamental things like 'sun,' 'moon,' 'man,' 'woman,' 'town,' 'people,' 'name,' 'bread,' 'meat,' and parts of the body. (p. 30)

Still, while these parallels exist, Hubschmid wrote that the Iberian inscriptions cannot be translated by the use of

Berber. This would seemingly bar the theory that the Iberians were originally Berber invaders and that Basque has any relation whatsoever to the ancient African languages of Schuchardt.

In a letter to Baldinger (1972), Hubschmid writes (9-7-58) that he believes "the relationship between Basque and Iberian has not been conclusively established, however, it is probable as numerous coincidences of words and similarities in morphology and syntax would indicate" (cited in Baldinger, 1972, p. 248). Still, Hubschmid maintains that one can neither accept nor disregard completely the works of Bouda, Lafon, and Steiger that link Basque to the Caucasian languages. Entwistle (1936) writes that resemblances between the Caucasian language and Basque are harder to see than between the languages of Schuchardt's study and Basque. Perhaps the most important similarities from the Caucasus are gu "we" and Zu "ye." However, Entwistle (1936) reveals, "Unfortunately, a recent writer has shown that these methods (of linking Caucasian to Basque) would prove German to be an African or Caucasian language!" (p. 30).

Perhaps the derivation of the name "Iberia" provides better insight to the question of the language and origins of Iberians and of any possible connections with Basque. However, much debate surrounds the actual inheritance of "Iberia." In his book, Iberia, Michener (1968) claims

that the Rio Ebro (Ebro River) was referred to as the Iberus and those living along it as Iberes. Michener (1968) further states that the Greeks named the eastern half of Spain, Iberia. In his book, A History of Spain, the Frenchman Jean Descola [1962] proposes a different derivation:

At about this time, the country acquired a name. The Hebrews called it Sepharad, 'border' or 'edge.' The Greeks christened it Hesperia, 'the Occident,' or He Spania, 'the sparse.' More significant, however, was the term Iberia, which derived from the Celtic word aber, 'harbor' or 'river.' And, indeed, the first known inhabitants of the peninsula were precisely the Iberians who came from the valley of the Ebro. (Cited in Michener, 1968, p. 569)

According to Michener (1968), no authority he consulted on this theory verified that "Iberia" is of Celtic origin. To the Romans, "Iberia" was the name of modern Georgia in the Caucasus region. Michener (1968) concludes the matter by saying, "Even the very derivation of the place named Iberia, a possible clue to the origins of Iberians and their language, boggles the minds of historians today" (p. 570).

If one assumes that the Cantabro-Basques are indigenous elements to the Peninsula, as Entwistle (1936) suggests may be possible, then Tovar's (1980) theory, in Act to the Congress of Barcelona of February, 1955 (p. 390), presents some interesting possibilities:

Basque is an indigenous language, not only antedating Romanization, but also antedating the farthest Indo-Europeanization of the West. In this language merges a linguistic continent of unknown proportions that was smothered by the

invasion of the Indo-European languages through 2000 B.C. Its characteristics, for this reason, represent something exotic in the West, not in its phonetics, which in many instances coincides with that of Spanish and with the dialects of Gascony, but in syntax and morphology. In terms of lexicon, on the one hand it accounts for words of the substratum more or less extended into Romance; on the other hand, it shows an affinity for the Camitic languages in the broadest sense of the word (from ancient Egyptian to Galla and other East African languages and the Berber and Taureg dialects) and with the Caucasoid tongues. It is true that a comparative grammar of 'Caucasian' does not exist. . . . However, there are some rather important morphological coincidences between Basque and several Caucasian languages. Moreover, the number of lexical parallels is quite considerable, and we must admit, albeit still with a certain skepticism, that one hundred or so are undeniable. No other explanation remains then but to suppose Basque is the remnant of a cap of very extended languages up to the north of Eurasia of which elements also survive in the Caucasus. Similar coincidences between the Finougrian and Paleo-Iberian languages and Basque point in the same direction. Meanwhile, the Basque-Camitic comparison has been discredited, although we believe that one way or another (the western substratum or sporadic borrowings), this is not incompatible with the affiliation between Basque and the Eurasian substratum. (Cited in Baldinger, 1972, p. 251)

Bosch-Gimpera labels Basques as "the successors of a Pyrenean civilization" that spread over both sides of those mountains. Bosch-Gimpera upholds the position that Basques are of European origin while the Iberians were Africans.

In an ultimate, all-encompassing theory, Hubschmid [1955] relates:

Basque is the last remnant of at least two pre-Indo-European linguistic families which have been superseded in western Europe--Euro-African and Hispano-Caucasian. (Cited in Baldinger, 1972, p. 250)

In any case, Basque may or may not be the linguistic survivor of an ancient Iberian culture. The language remains an inspiring linguistic exception in a dominantly Romanized continent. Its contribution to the Romance languages cannot be appropriately assessed.

Over time, the Basque nation continued developing its language in relative isolation until its near extinction in the early and mid-1900s. Professor Satrustegi informs that today, the language's six main dialects of Biscayan, Guipuzcoan, Upper and Lower Navarrese, Labourdin, and Souletin, along with another 24 subdialects have all been homogenized for compulsory school teaching. The Basque provinces of Spain have approximately 2,300,000 inhabitants of which some 450,000 to 525,000 speak Basque as compared to 150,000 to 175,000 Basque speakers in the Pays Basque of France. The Ikastolak, private schools which teach all subjects exclusively in Basque, have operated with a great deal of success. Both Basque and Castilian have official language status in the Basque territory of Spain.

The Celts and Celtiberians

The Iberians lived undisturbed in the Peninsula until the great waves of Celtic invaders poured into their country. Authorities cannot seem to confirm when and from where the Celts came into Spain. According to Langer's (1968) An Encyclopedia of World History, archaeological evidence proves that the Celts, "a fusion of Mediterranean, Alpine, and Nordic strains," came into contact with the Iberian Peninsula by 2000 B.C. Michener (1968) claims that the Celts were displacing the native Iberians as early as 1300 B.C. Entwistle (1936) and Professor Douglas Gifford (cited in Russell, 1973) agree that the Celts penetrated Iberia in two main migrational waves. The first invaders, leaving few clues to their existence, might have come into modern Catalonia around 900 B.C. The second and better-known influx of Celts dates back to nearly 600 B.C.

Alvarez-Peréz (1966) asserts that the Celts came from central Europe and occupied the central and western parts of Spain. Further, they were tall, blond, and brave in battle, whereas the Iberians were short, tanned, and lovers of independence. Pla-Dalmau (1982) notes that the Celts entered Iberia through the Pyrenees, extended to the Ebro (Iberus) Valley, and even reached the Valencian region and the central tablelands (Meseta Central). Their fortified villages (castros) can still be found in Galicia today while their

clusters of unfortified homes (citanias) became their cities.

While Entwistle (1936) states that Celtic Turmogidi, Berones, Pelendones, Arevaci, Lusones, Belli, and Dittani surged through the northern provinces of Guipuzcoa and Alava, Lodge (1939), in A History of Nations, makes specific mention of five powerful Celtic tribes. The Astures (Asturians) inhabited modern Asturias and parts of León and Old Castile. The Astures lived in the many protective gorges formed by their mountains which resisted subjugation by Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Moors. Lodge (1939) states, "In valor, they were surpassed by no people of the Peninsula" (p. 8). The Cantabres, who occupied modern Cantabria and parts of the Basque country, would later become the terror of Rome. The Vascones dwelled in the modern Basque provinces, Navarra (Navarre), and parts of Aragon and were the successors of the Basques. In the Northwest of Spain, the Callaici (Galicians) inhabited what is now modern Galicia and portions of León. Lodge (1939) says of the Galicians:

Like all the tribes of Spain, especially the northern, these people were distinguished for their pugnacious disposition. As if nature had not sufficiently defended their country, numerous fortresses were spread over it-- probably intended to guard against the incursions of pirates, whose depredations were frequent and terrible. From the most ancient times, as at present, their maritime superiority over all other nations of Spain was beyond dispute. (p. 9)

The Lusitanians, the fifth Celtic tribe, lived in the western portion of Iberia which was more extensive than modern Portugal and included sections of Castile and León.

Throughout their existence in the Peninsula, the Celts essentially confined themselves to the northern and western portions of Iberia. Eventually, the Celts pushed south into the tablelands (mesetas). The Iberians dwelled there and in the eastern and southern portions of the Peninsula. The Celts, extending into the mesetas, mixed with the native Iberians to form a Celtiberian race. Lodge (1939) states:

As the Celtiberians were an amalgamation of the Iberians and Celts, their character and habits might be naturally expected to partake of both. This was indeed the case, but not in an equal degree: the characteristic features of the Celts were more predominant. (p. 11)

However, as Entwistle (1936) notes, the Celts "implanted their own customs as to dueling, religion, etc., but employed the local language for their coins, inscriptions, and practical purposes. It would appear that the Celtic language was in disuse when the Romans arrived" (p. 38).

Malmberg (1982) expounds:

The Celts intermixed with many such groups to produce a mixed race of Celts and Iberians who by the 5th and 4th (B.C.) centuries possessed a living unity of culture and language, fertilized by Greeks and Phoenicians. The influence of Celtic on the language of Spain was reinforced later from association with Gaul. Contemporary Greek and Roman writers in Spain distinguished the languages of the Tartessians in the South and Southeast, Iberian in the East, Celtic in the extreme Northwest, and in

the center Celtic and Iberian in mixed and bilingual communities. We are confronted with a multilingual pre-Roman Spain in which the Celtic language as an element in Ibero-Celtic played a significant role and did so until contact was established with Latin. Celtic had probably ceased to play an independent role by the time the Romans arrived, having been absorbed socially and linguistically by the earlier inhabitants. (Cited in Spolsky & Cooper, 1977, p. 54)

Several place-names, particularly those of fort-towns, prove that an individual Celtic language existed in Iberia before the amalgamation of such a language with the native tongues. Although it cannot be rightfully determined from where the Celts came into Spain, it is commonly accepted that they were invaders from northern Europe whose language was that of Gaul's. Celtic place-names of Iberia include the common roots *Sego-* (victory) and *Briga-* (fortress) as in *Brigantium* (Betanzos), *Brigantia* (Bragança), and *Segobre* and *Segovia* (Russell, 1973, p. 7). According to Entwistle (1936), *Gallaeco-Portuguese tona* ("rind") is the only Celtic word proven to be peculiar to Iberia. Professor Douglas Gifford (cited in Russell, 1973) states that Celtic loan-words, such as *camisa*, *cerveza*, *carro*, *camino*, *carpintero*, *cambiar*, *caballo*, *vasallo*, and *cama*, came into the Peninsular Romance languages indirectly through Gaulish Romance. The Celts also contributed to Peninsular Romance the names of plants, animals, and measurements. According to Lapesa, in the Iberian regions occupied by Celts, the Latin "-ct" group

evolved into "-it" or "-ch" in Castilian, e.g., nocte (Latin), noite (Gallaeco-Portuguese), and noche (Castilian). Of the Celtic contributions to Peninsular language, Entwistle (1936) concludes: "The Celts exercised their influence in Gaul, and only the consequences of that action reached Spain" (p. 40).

Phoenicians

It is believed that Phoenicians settled in Iberia around the same time or after the Celts. The Phoenicians, a seafaring people, came to the Peninsula from the northern shores of Palestine in order to expand commercially and to exploit the land's natural resources. While the Phoenicians originally established small trading posts along the southern coast of Spain, eventually they ventured inland. By the 12th century B.C., they founded such cities as Cádiz, Málaga, and Córdoba. Lodge (1939) relates that they even penetrated into the mountains of the North to open and to supervise mines. The Phoenicians were mainly concerned with obtaining the riches of Iberia. They received much silver and tin from the Celtiberians who did not understand the value of their natural resources and exchanged them for worthless trinkets.

Still, the Phoenicians bestowed much of their advanced culture upon the people of Iberia. They taught the natives

how to read, write, count, construct boats, work in mines, preserve fish, dye fabrics, and make glass. According to Lodge (1939), "Almost everywhere have they left traces of their existence, not only in medallic and lapidary inscriptions, but in the religion, language, and manners of the people" (p. 12). The Phoenicians also supposedly gave Spain its modern name of "España." Entwistle (1936) mentions the possible Hebrew root saphan (hide or conceal) as in "a hidden land." Pla-Dalmau (1982) states that Bocart supposed that "España" is derived from the Phoenician span which would give "España" the meaning of "the land of the rabbits." In any case, the avarice of the Phoenicians outweighed the benefits of their culture for the natives. The Phoenicians eventually dominated the people of Iberia. However, with the passage of time, the natives reduced the belongings of the Phoenicians to the city of Cádiz. At this point, the Phoenicians called upon their colony Carthage to aid in the subjugation of Iberia.

The Greeks

Historians estimate that people from Greek city-states came to Iberia around the 7th century B.C. with the intention of colonizing the Peninsula. The Greeks, who arrived in Iberia while the Phoenicians still maintained factories in the land, set up their earliest colonies of Rhode

(Rosas), Emporion (Ampurias), Dianum (Denia), Hemeroscopion, and Mainake along the eastern coast and also colonized part of the Balearic Islands. Like the Phoenicians, the Greeks were dedicated to commerce. However, unlike the Phoenicians, the Greeks were highly esteemed by the people of Iberia.

The Greeks brought much of their culture into Iberia. They introduced the natives to their language, alphabet, the sciences, and also established academies and schools. However, Entwistle (1936) reveals that, "The Greek element in the Peninsular language is, apart from a couple of place-names, merely part of their Latin inheritance" (p. 43). He adds that Greek traders and geographers determined the classical place-names of Iberia and that the Greek alphabet was used in native inscriptions. As Lapesa (1942) acknowledges:

The wealth of Greek loan-words found in Peninsular Romance tongues basically came from Latin and Arabic borrowings as well as from a pseudo-Greek of internationally accepted scientific and technical terminology.
(pp. 44-49)

The Greeks contributed a myriad of words to Latin relating to general concepts, spiritual activities, scientific classifications, instruments, tools, sports, poetry, etc., which have found their way into Peninsular Romance through the Latin.

The Carthaginians

The Carthaginians, another seafaring power, came to Iberia from Carthage at or after the times of Greek settlement in the Peninsula. Carthage was a Phoenician colony located in northern Africa. When the threat of being expelled from their last stronghold in Iberia (Cádiz) arose, the Phoenicians appealed to their Carthaginian brothers for help. The Carthaginians, having been driven out of Sicily by the Romans in the First Punic War, agreed to aid the Phoenicians in order to make up for their losses in Italy by dominating the Peninsula. Eventually, the Carthaginians conquered Iberia and banished the Phoenicians from their newly-acquired land. The Carthaginians controlled the Peninsula and imposed a brutal and despotic rule over its inhabitants.

The Carthaginians were little else than experts at making war. They made few contributions to the culture of Iberia. Entwistle (1936) writes that several Punic place-names survived in Iberia. Among the most prominent and probable are Cádiz, Carteia (now Algeciras), Cartagena, and Mahon. Supposedly, two Punic common nouns, mappa (map) and magalia (hutment), have come into Peninsular Romance through Latin. Entwistle (1936) concludes by saying that "the alphabets used in Iberian inscriptions are Punic models more often than Greek" (p. 43). Nevertheless, the Punics defined

themselves by the sword much more often than by their cultural donations to Iberia.

The Romans

After 13 years of battle with the Carthaginians, Rome finally drove the Punics from Iberian soil in 200 B.C. Rome immediately declared Iberia a republic and incorporated it into its vast empire. Lodge (1939) relates that, "The destruction of Numantia was the forerunner of the submission of three-fourths of the Peninsula" (p. 20).

The famous Roman emperor Caesar Augustus first visited Iberia as quaestor and revisited it as praetor of Ulterior ("Farther Iberia"). Those parts of Lusitania and Galicia which had stubbornly maintained their freedom previously were the first to submit to Caesar. Iberia then became a battleground for the armies of Caesar and his rival, Pompeii.

While the Romans dominated the Peninsula as a whole, they never even set foot on parts of Navarra (Navarre) and Vizcaya (Biscay). The Asturians and Cantabrians refused allegiance to Rome and were forced to submit to the legions twice. Caesar Augustus slowly gained control over Iberia but ruled with difficulty until Flavius Vespasian made the Iberians Roman citizens. Lodge (1939) tells:

Both parties, at length, seem to have become weary of the war: so long as the natives paid a nominal obedience to the Romans, and forbore

from harassing their neighbors of the plains, they were left to the enjoyment of considerable freedom. Thus were the blessings of peace restored to the whole country, 200 years after the invasion of the first Scipio. (p. 25)

Iberia more or less became a peaceful and prosperous province of the Roman Empire. The Peninsula flourished during the 614 years of Roman domination. The Romans gave Iberia a great push in the sciences, literature, agriculture, commerce, and industry. Many Roman monuments, which attest to the mathematical and architectural skills of the Romans, exist or have been preserved throughout the Peninsula. Perhaps even more valuable than these monuments are the laws, organizational techniques, and language that the Romans impressed upon the peoples of Iberia.

It took the Romans from 218 B.C. to 38 B.C. to complete the conquest of most of Iberia. Gradually, the people of Iberia adopted Roman customs and Latin as their functional language. In fact, the only pre-Roman language to survive the Empire in Iberia or Gaul was Basque. As Professor Douglas Gifford (cited in Russell, 1973) states, "Spanish is essentially modernized spoken Latin." Entwistle (1936) supports this by saying that Latin is the sole basis of the Peninsular Romance languages. He further states that "Latin, however, is not merely the basis of Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalán, but has continued to live with these languages in a sort of symbiosis" (p. 47).

While Latin is the undeniable base of Peninsular Romance, Castilian, Portuguese, Galician, and Catalán have all incorporated elements of the diverse range of languages spoken in Iberia at one time or another. However, as the Romans imposed their languages upon their citizens, a somewhat standard Latin pervaded the Peninsula during Roman occupation. According to Alvarez-Pérez (1966), Iberia immediately became the cultural epicenter of the Roman Empire. Latin reached the peak of its refinement under Iberia's literary geniuses Lucan, Silvius, Martial, Quintilian, Prudentius, and Séneca. This Latin eventually evolved into the Peninsular Romance languages centuries later.

The Germanic Tribes

Hordes of invaders from northern and central Europe swarmed the Iberian Peninsula in 409 A.D. These Germanic barbarians ravaged the countryside indiscriminately looting and killing everything in sight. Under their leader Atace, the Alans, whose homeland Lodge (1939) places in the territory between the Volga and Don, made Lusitania their new home. The Suevi (Swabians) of Hermeric, reputedly from the shores of the Baltic, chose to inhabit Galicia and a great part of León and Castile. The Vandals, originally from Scandinavia, under Gunderic, settled in the Roman province

of Baetica which is today Andalusia (Vandalusia), "the home of the Vandals."

Michener (1968) writes that these wandering Germanic tribes were so disorganized that it was relatively easy for the Visigoths (western Goths, Thervingi) to overpower them for the control of Iberia. The Visigoths originally came from Scandinavia and found their way to Iberia through the fertile land of southern Gaul that had been ceded to them by the Roman Emperor Honorius. Eurico, a Visigothic king, expelled the Romans from Spain. The Visigoths had to fight the other inhabitants of Iberia until they left or surrendered. The Visigoths were more cultured than the preceding barbarians. Somehow, they were even more democratic as their kings and queens had to be elected. This could account for the fact that so many of them were killed. Reccared even permitted intermarriage between his people and the natives. According to Alvarez-Pérez (1966), their virtues that have been faithfully preserved among Spaniards include bravery, a love for simplicity, and an appreciation of the family and honor.

Alvarez-Pérez (1966) states that of the northern invaders, only the Visigoths mixed so intimately with the natives of Iberia as to form a single nation. Michener (1968) writes:

The visigoths played an important role in the civilization of Spain. They brought a vigorous if heretical Christianity, and when on

May 8, 589, King Reccared finally abjured his heresy and pledged allegiance to the Catholic Church of Rome, he installed Spain's most prized possession. The visigoths also introduced a codified law, a sensible tax system, a centralized government, and an element of strength in the Spanish character. Since these Goths ruled Spain for nearly three hundred years and stayed on after their final defeat, they must also have made a strong contribution to Spanish blood, and it is they who account for the large number of blue-eyed Spaniards. They left almost no literature, little art, and no substantial architecture; I recall few mass movements of people that left behind so little visible proof that they had occupied a country. (p. 127)

The New Book of Knowledge (1968) relates that, "The Visigoths took the former Latin culture for their own and added little to the native language--for the most part proper names like Enrique (Henry), Alfonso (Alphonse), and Rodrigo (Roderick)" (p. 366). In fact, Reccared instituted Latin as the language to substitute Visigothic in all public functions. Professor Douglas Gifford states that "the major Visigothic contributions to Peninsular Romance has materialized in a collection of proper names, including Fernán^o, Guzmán, Elvira, Alvaro, Bermudo, Gonzalo, Manrique, Ramón, and Rodrigo" (cited in Russell, 1973).

Professor Gifford also reports that a fair number of common words entered Peninsular Romance but probably indirectly through Late Latin or Old French at a later time. Rather than introducing or imposing their languages on the natives of Iberia, the Germanic tribes eased and promoted

the transition of Latin into Peninsular Romance. The following Germanic words have found their way into the Ibero-Peninsular Romances (cited in Russell, 1973):

Social Usage

alodio
 bastardo
 embajador
 feudal
 gallardo
 rico

Emotions

aleve
 desmayar
 escarnecer
 fresco
 lozano
 ufano

War

banda
 bandido
 espuela
 estaca
 estribo
 guardia
 guerra
 heraldo
 robar
 rapar
 tregua
 yelmo

Agriculture

brotar
 parra
 huesa
 cotia
 falda
 ropa

At the collapse of the Roman Empire and during the multiple invasions and occupations of the Germanic tribes, the Latin of Iberia rapidly evolved into Peninsular Romance. Garcia de Diego comments, "It must be admitted that a relative linguistic uniformity had been achieved in the Romance Latin of the Visigothic era, . . . therefore, a pre-Castilian Romance language was spoken" (cited in Lapesa, 1942, pp. 126-128). Linguistic experts call the new Latin Romance language spoken in Iberia during Germanic occupation "Visigothic Latin." As Rodríguez-Enríquez (1976) clarifies, "The language which we presently call Galician (originally the Visigothic language) did not merely appear as fungi, from night to day" (p. 19). Francisco Codera y Zaidín, Julián Rivera y Tarragó, and Emilio Levi-Provençal (in their book Historie de l'Espagne Musulmane) verify this statement, as well as the claim of Rodríguez-Enríquez, that Galician or Visigothic Latin was commonly used by the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula in the 5th century and later by the Moors (Rodríguez-Enríquez, 1976).. It would appear then, as numerous experts agree, that Galician became the first of the great Peninsular Romances. Rodríguez-Enríquez (1976) assuredly maintains that Galician came into existence by the middle or end of the 5th century.

Mohammedan Iberia

When the cities of northern Europe were hardly more than a collection of hovels, Córdoba was filled with palaces. Through its well-lighted and well-paved streets, a man could walk for miles without soiling the hem of his garment, in the years when the people of Paris went staggering in darkness through mud that clasped the ankles. No unarmed man ventured forth alone after nightfall in the streets of Paris or London; but Mohammedan, Christian, and Jew knew no fear in the Moorish capital. When the Christians in the north hardly realized that a bath was ever to be taken, except as a penance, the aqueducts of Córdoba were each day bringing rivers within the city walls, and its people were reveling in the delights that came from cleanliness. Later, when Christian conquered Moor, all this was changed.

-- Wifred Harold Munro
(Lodge, 1939)

Explaining the reason for the abrupt decadence of Germanic domination in Iberia, Lodge (1939) writes:

But when first Reccared, next Receswind, and still more altered the circumstances of the two nations, threw down the barriers which had separated them, the Goths began to acquire some of the vices of their Spanish brethren; their character rapidly declined from its original integrity; they became luxurious, effeminate, averse to the fatigues no less than the dangers of war, and consequently insensible of honor.
(pp. 59-60)

Surely, not even the Goths could expect or prepare for the southern invaders who would dethrone them and transform Iberia into the undisputed cultural center of Europe. In his book, Spain: The Root and the Flower, Crow (1985) relates:

When the Arabs invaded Spain in the year 711, their civilization was just beginning. Mohammed himself had died in 632, and at that time his followers were but simple nomads, who lived in tents, wandered about from place to place, and had little concept of architecture, literature, or the arts. (p. 46)

Nevertheless, this seemingly insignificant, infant civilization established one of the greatest empires ever seen by man. In fact, at its peak, the Arabic empire was larger than Rome's.

Since the death of Mohammed, the Moors had sought to spread the message of their great prophet as far as possible. Surging from Saudi Arabia, these Arabs, along with some North African Berber tribes as the disciples of Islam, came into Iberia with the intent of perpetuating their religion on the European continent. Crow (1985) informs, "One of the commandments of Mohammed was that his true believers must carry their religion by fire and sword into the lands of the infidel" (p. 47). Gustave von Grunebaum adds, "The faithful is told that the sword is the key to heaven and hell. One drop of blood spilled on the battlefield, one night spent under arms, will count for more than two months of fasting and prayer" (cited in Crow, 1985). Crow (1985) eloquently concludes:

Islam, thus, was not only a religion but a dynamic of action. This was the germ spark that resulted in the birth of Arabian civilization, which reached its greatest flowering in Spain in the cities of Córdoba, Seville, and Granada, and left its indelible mark in the blood and culture of emergent medieval Spanish society. (p. 47)

It is with this religious fervor that the Moors were able to overrun the entire Peninsula except for a strip of land north of the Cantabrian Mountains. Pleased with their relatively easy conquest of Iberia, the Moors pressed onward into Frankish Gaul through the Pyrenees. However, the Frank ruler, Charles Martel, decisively checked the forward momentum of Islam in 732. Handed their first major defeat, the Moors retreated back into Iberia and contented themselves with their Peninsular possessions. The Pyrenees remained the formidable barrier that separated Mozarabic Iberia from European civilization while the few remaining unconquered Christians of the North busied themselves with internal conflicts. The Arabs wholly dedicated themselves to making Iberia the centerpiece or jewel of their empire. Fortunately for the Christians, as Munro notes:

The Spaniards learned much of courtesy from the Moors, and the rule of the Moor was easy. His laws were few, his taxes were high; he tolerated all religions--even the Jews were accorded religious and civil liberties. So cut off from frequent communication with the rest of Christian Europe, Spanish Christianity developed along lines that were peculiarly its own. The Christians came to be called Mozarabs.
(Cited in Lodge, 1939)

Although the Moors impressed a great part of their culture on the natives, they were acutely conscious of and interested in Iberian culture. They were tolerant enough to allow the native culture to exist while bringing in their own culture and knowledge of other cultures to the Peninsula.

Crow (1985) explains:

The Arabs were not great originators; they imitated readily, absorbed rapidly, fused esthetically whatever pleased them in the more civilized cultures which they encountered and conquered. They add to this fusion an element of lightness, sensuality, and elegance which contrasted notably with the massivity and dark power of medieval Christian civilization.

. . . The Arabs had assimilated much of the best in Greek philosophy, Roman law and government, Byzantine and Persian art, Judaic and Christian theology. (p. 47)

Moreover, the Moorish invaders were very much independent from Damascus, the heart of the Arabic empire. Crow (1985) states, "There was no long-term, unified Moslem government. Except for relatively brief periods, Moorish Spain was composed of several petty kingdoms, just as was the Christian part to the north" (p. 53). Unfortunately for the Moors, this same independence which allowed Iberia to blossom led to their downfall in the Peninsula. Internal bickerings and schisms tore apart the fabric of Arabic rule in Iberia.

Still, one cannot ignore the cultural donations of the Moors to Iberia over a span of seven centuries. Not the least of these is the contribution to Iberian blood. The Arabic invaders who poured into the Peninsula in 711 had come without any women. Hard pressed to leave their new-found paradise, the Moors intermingled with the native population to preserve their strength and numbers.

Interestingly, the Arabs did not particularly attempt to impose their language on the natives. According to Mattoso-Camara, Jr. (1972):

The language that the Moorish invaders found in the Iberian Peninsula when they occupied it at the beginning of the eighth century was therefore Latin, and this language was tolerated in the new empire under the official hegemony of Arabic. The former, already quite different from the classical language, had original variants that continued to evolve in the mouths of the subjugated, the so-called Mozarabs. At the same time, Hispanic or Spanish Latin was isolated in the north, where a small nucleus of Christians whom the Moors could not conquer had developed. The Hispanic and Mozarabic dialects came into contact when Christians from the north reconquered parts of the Islamic empire in the south. (pp. 9-10)

The Moors were perhaps not altogether unfamiliar with Latin when they first came to Iberia as the Roman Empire had come to incorporate a large part of northern Africa. Entwistle (1936) writes:

But the Spanish vernacular continued unimpaired. It was the language of all women. . . . The Caliphs and the entire upper classes were bilingual, with Spanish for their mother tongue. . . . Arabic was an official speech, but those who were not officials did not bother to acquire it. (p. 115)

In fact, the ever-dynamic Peninsular Latin even altered Arabic. The New Book of Knowledge (1968) contends:

Christians were allowed to keep their religion and language. This language, called Mozarabic, stemmed from Visigothic Latin. Spanish was not altered by the presence of Arabic, but it did borrow from it some 4,000 words for things and places. (p. 366)

For example, many words found in modern Iberia that begin with the Arabic prefix article "-al," such as almohada, alcohol, and algebra, are direct descendants of the Moorish Empire in Europe. Arabic also played an invaluable role as a preserving agent in Iberia. Without Arabic, many of the first Peninsular Romance texts would be lost. Moreover, if the Moors had not transcribed an enormous amount of ancient Greek and Roman manuscripts, these would also be lost to humanity today.

The Reconquest of Iberia (719-1492) is the event that greatly differentiates the evolution of Ibero-Romance from that of the other European Romances. It should be noted that the Visigothic Latin north of the Cantabrian mountains should have continued to evolve into Ibero-Romance, unperturbed by the linguistic situation to the south. The isolated Christians of the far north eventually rallied behind their Cross in their own wave of religious fervor and primitive rage not to be stopped by the Moors. As the northern Christians advanced farther south, so did their northern dialects of Latin. Since the Reconquest was a rather gradual process, the northern dialects which clashed with the Mozarabic dialects of the South were able to form clear linguistic boundaries where none had existed previously. Entwistle (1936) affirms:

As the Reconquest advanced southwards, the dialects of the conquerors--Portuguese, Castilian, and Catalán--flowed over the ground occupied by

the ancient Mozarabic in sharply defined spheres of influence (conquistas). Clear linguistic frontiers replaced the blurred transitions characteristic of lands which have had an interrupted development. (p. 118)

Peninsular Romance

The great differences between each Romance language are in part perhaps due to the influence on each of the languages spoken before the Roman settlers came (the linguistic substratum), to differing historical and geographical factors, and to different influences in these regions subsequent to Roman occupation.

-- Professor Douglas Gifford
(Russell, 1973)

With the exception of Basque, Latin is the base of the languages of Iberia. Although parts of the Peninsula never fell into the complete control of Rome, the language of the legions pervaded the land. How and why Peninsular Romances evolved from the language of the Roman Empire are certainly interesting yet difficult questions to answer. Linguists provide several theories to account for the phenomenon of Ibero-Romance tongues.

A factor one must always consider in explaining the divergence of Castilian, Basque, Catalán, or Gallaeco is that Portuguese from Latin or from each other is geography. Iberia's mountain ranges, rivers, and extensive coastline fragment the land into many regions whose existences have revolved around unique and independent cultural nuclei. Historians appropriately call these regions "patrias chicas"

or "miniature countries." In reality, the concept of European nations is relatively modern. Not long ago, Iberia was the name of a great collection of scattered city-states and individual kingdoms. The great roads of the Pax Romana only began to connect these separate entities for the first time. Consequently, the historic lack of communication (caused by geographic isolation) between the peoples of Iberia has fostered a safe environment for distinct cultures and their languages to develop.

Two other theories that have been proposed to explain the emergence of differing Romance languages in the Peninsula focus on how the natives grasped a foreign language--Latin. While Latin became the language of Iberia as a whole, there was no standard Latin for all of Romania. Indeed, even the Latin of the Italic regions surrounding Rome was not identical. Obviously, Iberia was considerably distant from the heart of the Empire by land and might easily be expected to corrupt an invading Latin to various degrees within its isolated kingdoms. Furthermore, Latin was brought to the Peninsula by the legions.

In his humorous series of Asterix cartoons, Goscinny (1973) often depicts aged legionaries who are rewarded by Caesar Augustus with land for fulfilling terms of loyal military service to Rome. Entwistle (1936) notes, "Again, it has been ingeniously suggested that Catalonia was a

peaceful province, like Narbonese Gaul, especially suited for the settlement of discharged legionaries" (p. 75).

Roman soldiers, therefore, could play a significant role in the shaping of Latin within the Iberian regions by their own vulgarized form of Latin. Entwistle (1936) also states, "It has been supposed that the incoming Romans brought not always the standard Latin of literary circles. Some were doubtless Oscans or Umbrians" (p. 74). Moreover, many of the regular legions in Iberia hailed from such places as modern Germany and France. The New Book of Knowledge (1968) reveals that, "The emperor developed a permanent army in which men from all over the empire could serve. The soldiers had to learn Latin in addition to their own local language" (pp. 303-304).

As Iberia was ultimately divided into the five provinces of Baetica, Carthaginienses, Gallaecia, Lusitania, and Tarraconensis by Rome, one may see how dialectal differences could easily emerge in the Peninsular Latin. The Iberian peoples were exposed to various brands of Latin often depending on the allocation of different troops among the provinces. Furthermore, these variations of Latin encountered the dissimilar speech habits and pronunciations of regionally isolated and culturally different Iberians. That is, the previous cultures which inhabited the Peninsula had some effect on the way Romanized Iberians learned,

wrote, and spoke Latin. The language patterns and tendencies of the Iberians, Celts, Ligurians, Tartessians, etc., had an impact on the local interpretation of Latin of somewhat measurable but more vastly unquantifiable degrees.

In his book, Historia de la Lengua Española, Lapesa (1942) mentions an interesting anecdote recorded by the historian Spartianus about the Emperor Hadrian in his days of quaestor. Hadrian was one of four Roman emperors born and raised in Iberia. Reporting to the Roman Senate as a quaestor of Hispania, "he read a speech before the senators; so evident was his regional accent that he aroused their laughter" (p. 26). It would be Hadrian who would have the last laugh, by becoming one of the greatest Roman emperors (117 A.D. to 138 A.D.). Nonetheless, Lapesa (1942) says of the episode, "If an educated man like Hadrian preserved in 2nd century Rome the provincial, phonetic peculiarities, so much longer would these last in common Iberian language" (p. 26). According to The New Book of Knowledge (1968):

Not only did he (Hadrian) take men from the provinces into the army, as earlier emperors had done, but he also took them into the civil service. He even made them noblemen in the senate. (p. 304)

Linguistic idiosyncrasies in the Iberian regions would tend to be perpetuated by native provincial leaders as opposed to previous officials from Rome carrying with them a "standardized, refined" Latin. Considering that many linguistic

discrepancies proved to be unique to Hispania, Lapesa (1942) fingers the "indigenous factor" as a main culprit of the corruption of Latin into Peninsular Romance.

For instance, he continues, "The 's' in the entire Peninsula except in Andalucía and southern Portugal is very different from the Latin 's'" (Lapesa, 1942, p. 26). This phenomenon is attributed to the ancient Iberian race. On a more localized level, the replacement of the Latin 'f' with an aspirate 'h', one of the more notable characteristics which separates Castilian from the other Peninsular Romances, appears to stem from the province of Cantabria. This is of course one of the last provinces to be subdued by Rome in Iberia and one of few provinces to completely ward off the Moorish invaders centuries later. The aspirate 'h', according to Ramon Menéndez-Pidal and Rodríguez Castellano, dates back to the Celtic Asture and Cantabre tribes" (cited in Lapesa, 1942).

Upon the crumbling of the Roman Empire, the vulgarized Latin of Iberia would be free to evolve into the Peninsular Romance languages. The provinces would become more isolated from each other. Germanic and Moorish invaders would fill the Peninsula and imprint their own stamp on Iberian culture and language. The geographic barriers of Iberia somewhat broken down by Roman technology would become pronounced once again. By the end of the Reconquest,

definitive demarcations between the different Peninsular Romances would exist.

According to Entwistle (1936), the attempts of St. Isidore, St. Eulogius, and Alvarus to purify the debased Latin of Iberia met a great deal of resistance. Entwistle asserts, "With each classicizing reform, Latin has become less generally serviceable, and the vernacular has flowed to fill in the void; but the latter has at the same time suffered such discipline as has greatly increased its resemblance to its rival" (p. 50). While the burgeoning Romances of Iberia steadily displaced Latin from the popular use, Latin "has continued to live with the languages in a sort of symbiosis" (Entwistle, 1936, p. 47).

Galician

The history of the Galician language is the history of Galicia itself--the story of its birth, of its growth, of its rise and fall, of its struggle to remain in daily usage, and to continue. We can say that Galicia was born into history once the Galician language was born. This lyrical language had been immersed in a historic obscurity; its dormancy produced immobility. This caused the language to decline which resulted in widespread illiteracy. The historical rebirth of the language occurred when Galician literature returned to life again.

-- Carballo-Calero (1981)

Many linguistic experts feel that Galician was the first-born of the Peninsular Romances. They claim that Galician is the very successor of Visigothic Latin. It

should be noted that a relatively complete linguistic unity was achieved in Iberia under the Visigoths. One would assume that the Visigothic continuation of the Roman Empire's Latin would ultimately lead to that language's fragmentation.

The Romans could not fully subdue the province of Gallaecia, which consists of modern Galicia, Asturias, Cantábria, and parts of northern Portugal and León, into their Iberian domain until 19 B.C. It would not be unreasonable then to suppose that the Romances in the Gallaecian region might diverge from Iberian Latin sooner than other Peninsular Romances since Gallaecia took longer to succumb to Rome before most of Iberia. What happened exactly after the collapse of the empire to facilitate the first transition into a Peninsular Romance still remains a mystery today apart from the previously discussed theories. It turns out, according to Baldinger (1972), that a more complete study of the Visigothic era in Gallaecia might produce some answers to the question surrounding the birth of Galician.

Apparently, the Suevi played a more significant role in the history of Gallaecia than is commonly thought. While a fusion of the Alan and Vandal tribes fled to Africa to escape the Visigothic invasion, the Suevi, who occupied Galicia, parts of León, Asturias, and the northern part of Portugal, resisted. Despite being defeated by the Visigoths

in 456, the Suevi kept their independence from the central Visigothic authority in Toledo until the final years of the Germanic empire. Several historians and linguists have tried to link the birth of Galician Romance to the Swabian invaders. Little success has been attained in this endeavor, although a few words found only in Gallaeco-Portuguese Romance have been classified as distinctly Swabian. The Suevi undoubtedly used the same Visigothic Latin as the rest of Iberia--but how or to what extent is somewhat uncertain. Baldinger (1972) states:

The repercussions of the Swabian nation in Galicia during the 5th and 6th centuries still require a careful study, just as the first two centuries of the Reconquest, during which the way was opened for the new kingdom of Asturias and León between Galicia and Cantábria, (the Suevi) assuming the control of the inheritance of the Visigothic kingdom, and being the ones to initiate the task of reconquest. (p. 168)

Interestingly, Rodríguez-Enríquez (1976) places the birth of Galician around the middle to the end of the 5th century. Baldinger (1972) concludes, "In any case, a careful study of the documents could reveal to what extent the Suevi created the ambience conducive toward the autochthonous tendencies of evolution (in their domains)" (p. 173).

That the Suevi began the resistance against the Arabs concurs with the accepted fact that the cradle of the Reconquest was in Gallaecia, particularly in Galicia, Asturias, and Cantábria. The rugged northerners were

essentially severed off from the rest of Iberia. However, their language did not remain confined to their mountainous terrain; rather, it was preserved and used outside their domains by Christians and Arabs alike. With each Christian victory, the Galician language became increasingly dominant in northwestern Iberia and even in a great part of Lusitania.

Mattoso-Camera, Jr. (1972) reveals:

The language that the Moorish invaders found in the Iberian Peninsula when they occupied it at the beginning of the 8th century was therefore Visigothic Latin, and this language was tolerated in the new empire under the official hegemony of Arabic. The former, already quite different from the classical language, had regional variants that continued to evolve in the mouths of the subjugated population, the so-called Mozarabs. At the same time, Hispanic or Spanish Latin was isolated in the north, where a small nucleus of Christians whom the Moors could not conquer had developed. The Hispanic and Mozarabic dialects came into contact when Christians from the north reconquered parts of the Islamic empire in the south. (pp. 9-10)

The Moors were so tolerant of Visigothic Latin, according to Moya and Lago (1977), that "there existed then in the Iberian Peninsula--at least from the 8th to the 12th centuries--a phenomenon of authentic bilingualism at the popular level" (p. 90).

Rodríguez-Enríquez (1976) writes that Galician or the Visigothic language served as a vehicle to bring hundreds of Arabic words into Romance (p. 23). Francisco Codera y Zaidín attempts to answer what Romance was spoken during the Arabic reign in a speech which he prepared for the reception

of the Royal Academy for the Spanish Language in 1910
(Rodríguez-Enríquez, 1976):

The Romance language, which was spoken during the Moorish reign in Andalucía, Zaragoza, or Toledo, was more similar to the other Peninsular Romances than to Castilian. Perhaps it was closest to Gallaeco-Portuguese and Occidental Leonese having certain characteristics in common which could only be the continuation of a certain unity of language from the Visigothic era.
(p. 38)

Referring to the period of Arabic occupation in the Iberian Peninsula, Pei (1976) describes and names the language used in Iberia thus: "The original Ibero-Romance Visigothic inhabitants continued to live and speak their Latin-based language (now named Mozarabic, literally)" (p. 82). Pei appears to agree with many other authors stipulating that the visigothic language, named after the inhabitants of Iberia in a particular era, was indeed extensively used by all of the inhabitants of the Peninsula.

By the 10th century, the three sons of Alphonse III merged their inheritances of Asturias, Galicia, and León into the most powerful Christian kingdom of León.

Carballo-Calero (1981) writes:

Gallaecia was a birthplace of Romances. There was a Galician Latin, or Gallaeco, that manifested itself in two Romance forms: Occidental Galician spoken in 'Ulterior' Gallaecia, in other words Galicia, and an oriental Galician, belonging to the Gallaecian tablelands. That is how Galician and Leonese were born.
(p. 6)

Leonese vacillated between Galician and the later Castilian. This language eventually faded away when Castile became the most powerful of the Christian kingdoms. However, when Codera y Zaidín speaks of Galician-Portuguese and Occidental Leonese, he is speaking of the same language, as Galicia was located in the western part of León (Rodríguez-Enríquez, 1976). In other words, Codera y Zaidín simultaneously implies that Galician was spoken by a great part of Christian and Mohammedan Iberia and that it was the first of the Ibero-Romances. Galician was, after all, the most conservative of the evolving Romances or most loyal to Latin, while Castilian is commonly held as the most innovative. Rodríguez-Enríquez (1976) comments:

F. Codera y Zaidín attempted to explain in which areas the Romance language (Galician) was located, but other historic sources exist. For example, Guay Camerana's book contributing to the study of the territories of the Valencian Laws, published between 1947 and 1948, reveals that in the time of the advance of Aragón into that region, the language which the natives spoke, whether Mozarabs or Muslims, was Romance. The Occidental Leonese mentioned by Francisco Codera y Zaidín was clearly the Visigothic or Galician which was spoken until little over 250 years ago, as were Zamoran, Salamantine, and other tongues. The apparent inaccuracy of Codera y Zaidín's words was dispelled some 26 years ago; the credit goes to S. M. Stern who wrote an article in Al Andalus magazine in 1948 concerning his discovery of 20 muwassahas in a synagogue in Cairo. Linguists identified the Hebrew muwassahas with refrains in a very archaic Spanish to have been written in Mozarabic. Upon reading these and subsequent Hebrew and Arabic muwassahas (of which there are presently over 50) found by

Stern, Cantera, and García Gómez, experts have concluded that they were written in Gallaeco-Portuguese. (p. 38)

Galician uncontestedly became the most important literary language of Iberia from the 9th to the 11th centuries. In fact, according to a study by Rodríguez-Enríquez (1976), Iberia's oldest and perhaps greatest epic, El Canter de Mio Cid, was originally written in Galician and not in Castilian as most experts believe. Thought to have been written in 1140, the original manuscript of the Poema Mio Cid has been completely lost. A monk, Pedro Abad or Per Abbat, is responsible for the "transcribed" version (1307) of the epic that exists today. It has also been reinterpreted by Menéndez-Pidal (cited in Rodríguez-Enríquez, 1976). In La Lengua Gallega, Rodríguez-Enríquez (1976) presents an interesting series of arguments to show that the epic was indeed originally written in Galician.

According to Rodríguez-Enríquez (1976), Per Abbat must have modernized the language of the poem considerably as well as added material to whatever version of the text he transcribed. Rodríguez-Enríquez (1976) writes:

The modifications of language, although they have not succeeded in completely erasing the primitive language, are so many, that it does not seem probable that all modifications or changes of the original manuscript were all introduced by the same hand. (p. 56)

Despite the accused manipulation of the Cantar's original text, Rodríguez-Enríquez (1976) states that some 40% of the

words in Per Abbat's manuscript can only be found in Galician. Furthermore, he asserts that the Cantar "does not contain a single Castilian word that in its actual form belonged to the original poem" (p. 57). Apart from some more technical philological items that support Rodríguez-Enríquez's thesis, he cites a list of some 3,730 Visigothic or Gallaeco-Portuguese words from the text which cannot be found in Castilian. Rodríguez-Enríquez (1976) dogmatically claims:

There is no doubt that the Cid spoke Visigothic or Galician. We have an irrefutable piece of evidence that confirms this: Alphonse VI, the conqueror of Toledo, to whom the Cid was a vassal and who shaped the Cid's life, spoke Galician. The Latin Chronicle assures me of this. In effect, in 1108, nine years after the death of the cid, the Rota of Ucles took place. There died his son (Alphonse VI's) and heir apparent, Sancho, and with him his teacher, the Count of Cabra, 20,000 men, and six more counts. That is why it is called the Rota of Ucles or of the Seven Counts. With what a terrible shout of pain, the monarch must have received the news so that the moved chronicler registered in his Latin Chronicle the king's very own lamentations! His words went thus: "¡Meu fillo, meu fillo! Cabaleiros du o leixastes? ¡Dademe o meu fillo, Condes!" Sandoval, in his Cinco Reyes (Five Kings), wrote: '. . . That is the way people spoke in Spain (in Galician).' (p. 55)

In any case, Galician established the reputation of its fine lyric poetry through many other works. It is widely documented that the Castilian monarch, Alphonse X ("the Learned"), wrote a great amount of poetry in Galician while he reserved Castilian for more mundane prose texts.

Interestingly, his father, Ferdinand III, proclaimed Castilian the official language of Christian Iberia. Under Ferdinand III ("the Saint"), the Christian Reconquest reached its peak as Arabic possessions were reduced to the kingdom of Granada. By this time, Castile had demonstrated its supremacy over the other provinces of Iberia. Even the once great kingdom of León succumbed to its eastern neighbor.

Fortunately, Galicia's language was able to survive the pressure of Castilian through its excellent lyric poetry. It became the poetic language of choice in a majority of Iberia's royal courts. Entwistle (1936) states:

Under the conditions of the earlier Middle Ages, Galicia made more progress in wealth and culture than the harried central plains, and it contained an important spiritual capital in the shrine of St. James. The kings of León and León-Castile from Alphonse VIII to Alphonse X were often nurtured in Galicia, and may have felt an inbred sympathy for the soft Galician speech. It is certain, at least, that they favored the unique use of Galician in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for the purposes of lyrical poetry, both courtly and traditional; and they gave expression to this preference in the Cantígas de Santa María of Alphonse X for religious poetry, and the Galician-Portuguese Cancioneiros. . . . At the same time, for courtly lyrical poetry, Castilians, Sevillans, and even an Italian adopted Galician as their medium; and there appeared to be a specialization of dialect for literary purposes. . . . The antithesis now stood as Galician court lyric versus Castilian epos and prose. (pp. 169-170)

Unfortunately, when Castile flexed its imperial muscle before the rest of Iberia in the 15th century, Galicia and its language entered a woeful state of dormancy. Entwistle (1936) concludes:

. . . as nothing succeeded the Cancioneiros in Galicia, this defection of the Castilian poets to the complete eclipse of the Galician dialect for literary purposes, until it was revived as a regional literature by Rosalía de Castro and Curros-Enríquez in the mid-nineteenth century. In this way, the dual system was ended.
(p. 171)

Galician did not wither away merely because the Castilian dialect of Latin developed suddenly. It was the unity of Spain and the loss of Portugal that sealed the fate of Galicia and its language for four hundred long years.

The event that in effect secured the downfall of Galicia was the war of succession fought between Henry of Trastamara and Peter I, "the Cruel." Henry, the illegitimate son of Alphonse XI, killed the legitimate heir, Peter, on the fields of Montiel in the mid-fourteenth century for the crown of Castile-León. Henry is credited for laying the foundation of the unification of Spain. Carballo-Calero (1981) notes that the Galician nobility, who supported Peter I, "was severely castigated by Henry's repression, in part impoverished; it began to imitate the linguistic tendencies of its new rulers" (p. 10).

Basically, Castilian became the language of social prestige in Galicia. Castile sent to Galicia many officials

who were ignorant of Galicia's identity, culture, and traditions. Consequently, the new Castilian power structure disregarded the needs, values, traditions, and expectations of Galicians.

Previously, Galicia had already suffered the separation of its blood brother, Portugal. Mattoso-Camera, Jr. (1972) relates:

When the country of Portugal, with center in the Oporto (Portu Cale) region on the Atlantic coast, was separated from the kingdom of León and Castile in the eleventh century, it adopted its own particular Romance, which was essentially Portuguese, as a national language. Further to the north, the region of Galicia, in which the same Romance was spoken, remained politically subjugated to the kingdom of León and Castile. (p. 10)

Galicia again became a product or subject of its geography.

Entwistle (1936) states:

The consequence of this (Cantabrian) mountain formation is that Galicia cannot be approached from the central Meseta or the Portuguese coastal belt save over parallel ranges of mountains. The region is thrown inward on its own center; and at the same time, its rias and river valleys make it capable of sustaining a considerable population. . . . To a considerable extent, Galicia is the product of the Minho River. Though bordering on the sea, the region is not mercantile like the lower Tagus basin; it lacks the proper hinterland, and there is a want of unity between the centres of population, each established in a depression between ranges of hills. Racial and political decisions have emphasized the semi-independence of the region. (pp. 279-280)

Galicia was both unable to ward off the Castilian threat and to bond with Portugal into a strong nation on account of its

isolation. Meanwhile, Portugal began to plant the seeds of a prosperous empire. Alphonse VI of León gave Galicia (including a piece of northern Portugal) and Portugal to the French noblemen Raymund of Burgundy and Henry of Lorraine respectively for their help in the Reconquest. At that time (end of the 11th century), Galicia was the more promising of the two kingdoms. Portugal did not possess the geographical barriers that defended Galicia, and the new kingdom constantly felt the pressure of the Almoravides to the south. Mattoso-Camera, Jr. (1972) reveals:

The present borders of Portugal were established in the second half of the thirteenth century when the far south of the Atlantic coast, the Algarve, was reconquered. By this time, a rich school of lyric poetry, similar in technique and thematic content to the Provençal school of southern France, had developed in Portuguese (Gallaeco-Portuguese). (p. 11)

There is still some doubt as to how, exactly, the Portuguese language of today came into existence. Some claim that Portuguese was conceived from the linguistic clash between Galician and the conservative Mozarabic dialect of southern Portugal during the Reconquest. Others feel that Portuguese essentially developed from the Mozarabic dialects of southern Iberia. While it is true that modern, standard Portuguese is based on the southern dialect of Portuguese of the Lisbon area, there exists an undeniable bond between Galician and Portuguese. Entwistle (1978) declares: "There can be no doubt that the kingdom (Portugal) and the language

descended from the north" (p. 278). In the words of Méndez-Ferrín, "Galician and Portuguese are two branches, two dialects of the same language" (cited in Verela-Puñal, 1980). Ramón Pineiro expounds (cited in Real Academia de la Lengua Gallega, 1967):

As Portuguese and Galicians, we share exactly the same physiognomy on the spiritual map of Europe. We constitute a unique personality of an identical spiritual base. In the Gallaeco-Portuguese community of language and literature, the predominant dimension is emotion; the greatest creation is its lyric poetry; and the most genuine peculiarity is its nostalgia--or the unfathomable mystery of its homesickness.
(p. 31)

A Portuguese scholar, Leite de Vasconcelos, mirrors these sentiments: "Galicia, that congenial province, may be Spanish politically, but its language is Portuguese" (cited in Real Academia de la Lengua Gallega, 1967, p. 45).

Apparently, Galician and its counterpart, Portuguese, had already bifurcated somewhat by the middle of the 14th century. Still, the languages remained strikingly similar. Entwistle (1936) asserts, "The language has come to seem intrinsically lyrical, just as the balanced and sonorous Castilian seems intrinsically oratorical and Catalán nervous and concise" (p. 290). Entwistle further informs that by the 15th century, Galician and Portuguese had separated. It is not incidental that this occurred because of the unity of Spain under the Catholic sovereigns.

Isabel I of Castile and Ferdinand V of Aragón reasoned that to maintain a united Spain there could be only one language and one faith for all of its peoples. Consequently, Ferdinand's powerful kingdom, which encompassed a great part of Italy, Sardinia, parts of France, and most of eastern Spain down to the Valencian region, bowed to Castilian. While Aragonese died away just as Leonese had previously, Galician, Catalán, and Basque somehow survived Castilian domination.

If the Castilian monarch Alphonse X tended to glorify the Galician language, an invigorated and proud Castile did almost everything but obliterate the language. Portuguese, on the other hand, continued to blossom and develop. It became the language of a vast overseas empire. Galician remained confined to the inferior status which was bestowed upon its homeland by Castile. Portuguese would become the language of such literary giants as Castelo Branco, Camões, Herculano, Carlos de Oliveira, Fernando Pessoa, Eca de Queiroz, Antero de Quental, and others; meanwhile, Galician literary geniuses were few and far between as their language became the regional dialect of the peasantry and as it was obviously Castilianized. Still, the language and peoples of Galicia and Portugal remain very much similar today. The written languages are practically mutually intelligible, but the spoken languages differ more markedly on account

of the accent, pronunciation, and figures of speech of these languages.

The period stretching from the 15th century to the mid-19th century marks the "Dark Age" of Galician culture. During this time, few literary works of any significance or renown were written in Galician. Carballo-Calero (1981) notes that Galician altogether disappears from public documents in Galicia after the first third of the 16th century. This can be attributed to the restructuring of Galician society by removing its influential and affluent elements and replacing them with foreign Castilian nobles, officials, administrators, and clergy. Carballo-Calero (1981) writes:

Galicia's administration becomes completely Castilianized, and Galician language becomes a dialect, that is, it becomes a language reserved for the familiar atmosphere, excluded of official life, of formal moments. Furthermore, this exclusion was never formally decreed by Castile. . . . It was not necessary. The sociolinguistic evolution had already degraded Galician to the status of a dialect by the 16th century. (pp. 10-11)

Carballo-Calero (1981) explains:

It is already known that a tongue that is derived from another source can be called a dialect. In this case, all existent tongues would be dialects. We can understand that dialects become languages when the mother tongue dies. . . . A dialect can achieve the status of a language as a language can fall into dialectal status. . . . Galician lived a dialectal life during the entire Modern Age. . . . In Galicia, the abandonment of Galician as a written language was not the result of

some linguistic policy of the central power (Castile)--which did not even exist constitutionally (policy)--rather it occurred through demographic alterations produced by political and economic factors that in their essence were foreign to all idiomatic planification. (p. 10)

In other words, Castile did not outlaw or try to stamp out Galician by a royal decree as Philip V did with Catalán in 1716. It was not necessary as, in effect, Castile dismembered Galicia by the seams piecemeal. In the words of Nebrija (1447-1522) who wrote the first grammar book of Castilian which also happens to be the first European grammar (cited in Rodríguez-Enríquez, 1976):

Something that I have come across and concluded to be absolutely true is that language has always been accompanied by the empire. . . . Once your majesty has subjugated many foreign states born into strange languages, the vanquished would necessarily have to accept the laws the victor places before them as well as our language (Castilian). (p. 7)

Three other significant factors which helped degrade the Galician language further occurred from the 16th to the 18th centuries. In 1597, the Catholic Church of Spain adopted Castilian as its official language. In the Middle Ages, the Church was an extremely powerful force in Spanish society--perhaps even more so in Galicia, where the Church played such an important role in education. At the time, literacy was almost the exclusive tool of the Church and the only beneficiaries of it were the rich. The ecclesiastics were, by far, the most educated segment of the population. In a country which was fervently Catholic, the typical

Galician peasant had no other choice than to learn Castilian or to be considered an uncouth barbarian. Simply put, Castilian now dominates all aspects of Galician life--politically, socially, economically, and spiritually.

The decision to establish a Royal Academy for the Spanish Language in 1714 solidified the position of Castilian as the official language of Spain. The Academy could be conceived as an entity in charge of the cause of the Spanish language. Among its responsibilities was to maintain a correct, standard form of the Castilian dialect circulating in Spain. This refined language was used almost exclusively by the rich and the powerful, including the Church and the few literate people. The difficulty of this task was greatly facilitated when Philip V installed Castilian as the functional or primary language of Spain's schools. For centuries, the typical Galician had been forced to become diglossic on account of obvious social, economic, and more indirect political pressures. Now, Galicians were forced to become diglossic by law. Galician education deteriorated more than it already had because the future generations of Galicia had to learn in a foreign language that they could not understand, perceive as useful or as their own. Philip V's law had the consequence of breeding more illiteracy in Galicia for decades.

It was not until the middle of the 19th century that Galicia's language and price began to revive after 400

years of abuse. Galicians' general malcontent in the way Castilians had treated them since the 15th century is emotionally expressed in the poetry of Rosalía de Castro. She eloquently depicts the struggle of a Galicia which has not only been deprived of its language and culture but is also spiritually and physically drained due to an overbearing Castilian economic policy (cited in Rosalía de Castro, 1976):

Castellanos de Castilla tratade ben os gallegos;	Castilians of Castile treat the Galicians well;
Cando van, van como rosas;	When they go (to Castile), they go like roses;
Cando ven, ven como negros.	When they return, they return wasted.
* * * *	* * * *
Castellanos de Castilla, tendes corazón de aceiro,	Castilians of Castile, you have hearts of steel,
alma como as pedras duras,	souls as hard as rocks,
sin entranas no peito! (pp. 122-123)	no emotions in your hearts!

The feelings expressed by Rosalía had been agonizingly building up for years and finally crystallized in a struggle for autonomy in 1843. Galicians lost the opportunity for independence which signified an increased suffocation of their motherland by Castile.

Galicians sought to revitalize all aspects of their culture in a time of nationalistic fervor. However, it was Galician, the common bond that embraced all Galicians, which could alone restore the traditions, identity, and pride of Galicia. Such literary geniuses as Rosalía de Castro, Curros-Enríquez, and Pondal kept Galician from dying a slow but sure death. The efforts of these authors rekindled and invigorated the downtrodden Galician spirit. Theirs were the first literary works of importance written since the 15th century. Rosalía de Castro, in particular, restored the image of the once great Galician lyric poetry. Needless to say, this trio of patriots was among the first to dare to write in their forgotten and ridiculed language. Their writings reflect much of the pain and sorrow that Castile inflicted upon Galicia for centuries. Moreover, they tried to rally the Galician populace behind the joy and unifying force that is their language.

After the revival of Galician, a sincere interest in recapturing and preserving their individuality and dignity spurred Galicians in their quest for autonomy. The cultural Renaissance attributed to Rosalía de Castro, Curros Enríquez, and Pondal inspired many future generations of Galician intellectuals to explore and to discover the truths of their language. A veritable flourish of activity materialized in the labors of Alonso-Montero (1974, 1977),

Carballo-Calero (1970, 1981), Murguía (1974, 1985), Otero-Pedrayo (1965, 1979), Risco (1978), Rodríguez-Enríquez (1976), and Andrade, Cabanillas, Castelao, Cunqueiro, Ferreiro, Lamas-Carbajal, Manuel María, Noriega (cited in Fernández del Rego, 1971), and many others who have made their participation important. In fact, in 1936, Galicia was on the verge of being granted many autonomous privileges from the central authority. However, a bloody civil war ended Galicia's chances of obtaining these.

Franco's fascist regime basically stifled all notions of regionalism and liberalism until the dictator's death in 1975. Franco, a Galician himself, believed in a united, homogenized Spain. As a dictator, he could not allow what the central power would have considered separatist movements in Catalonia, Euzkadi, or Galicia. Still, toward the end of his rule, Franco did begin to release the age-old Castilian stronghold on Galician. After Vatican II, for instance, the Galician Cardinal/Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, Dr. Quiroga-Palacios, succeeded in getting permission for the use of Galician in his homeland's churches. The peasantry or commoners of rural Galicia were finally able to hear Mass in their native tongue in 1969.

Immediately after Franco's death in 1975, the ethnic regions of Spain sought to regain the privileges they were about to receive before the civil war. In 1978, Catalán,

Basque, and Galician were officially recognized as "national languages" of their respective regions. In that same year, a regulated form of each of the languages was prepared for experimental, basic general education. The new Constitution of 1978 further aided the cause of the regional languages. Through the statute of autonomy of Galicia, it recognizes Galician as an official language of Galicia cojointly with Castilian. (See Appendix C for "Map of Iberia and Baleares: Main Languages Spoken in Spain, Portugal and Balearic Islands.")

C H A P T E R I I I
LANGUAGE PROBLEMS IN GALICIA, SPAIN

Introduction

This chapter describes the social conditions in Galicia from the Middle Ages to the pre-Franco era of the Contemporary Period. It attempts to show the direct correlation between the status of Galician and Galician education and the region's peoples during this time. It analyzes some of the important social forces acting in Galicia and their causes and effects. Finally, the chapter focuses on the influence of colonialism, feudalism, and emigration on the development of education in Galicia until the fall of the Second Republic.

Colonialism

They have been consistently denied the right to have their say, having historically had the duty to only listen and obey. It is thus normal that they almost always maintain an attitude of mistrust towards those who attempt to dialogue with them.

-- Paulo Freire (1974)

Throughout its existence, Galicia has often felt the power of foreign empire. The land's first, noteworthy experience as a colony can be traced back to the great Celtic migrations in Europe. However, it would be the task

of Caesar's legions to conquer Galicia and to incorporate it along with the rest of Gallaecia (i.e., parts of modern León, Asturias, Cantábria, and the Portuguese provinces of Minho and Tras-os-Montes) into the vast, centralized Roman Empire. At the monumental collapse of the Roman Empire, Galia fell to the mercy of the Germanic Suevi and Visigothic tribes. Eventually, Galicia was also absorbed by the fanatic, Moorish wave of Damascus. Despite being the cradle of the Reconquest, Gallaecia subsequently became a part of the kingdom of León.

In over two millennia, the Galician nation was formed by the amalgamation of numerous cultures; however, the last blow to Galicia came in 1640, when Portugal separated definitively from Spain, and when Castile, in 1813, imposed in all public schools the Castilian language. In less than two centuries, Castile, which started as a minuscule northern earldom, single-handedly decimated the region, and the Galician language as expressed by Emílio Ferreiro became the "lingoa proletaria do meu pobo" language of the working class, or as expressed by Alonso-Montero (1974), "the language of those who live the history." All of the conquerors of Galicia left a significant imprint on the development of Galicia but none equaled the mark left by the political power of Castile. Surprisingly, all foreigners, excepting Castile, generally tolerated and respected the

peoples and traditions of the land. In fact, Gallaecia was essentially an autonomous state during both Roman and Visigothic rule. When Galicia merged into the kingdom of León, the region still conserved its natal heritage and pride. It was a despotic, Castilian colonization of Galicia that eviscerated the very lifeblood of the region.

Certainly, the Catholic monarchs, Isabel I of Castile and Ferdinand V of Aragón, had excellent reason to believe that a truly united Spain could only exist through homogeneity. Hence, the rulers decreed that there must be only one law, one faith, and one language for all of the territories and peoples of Spain. So begins the dismal decline of Galicia and the many other ethnic regions of Spain. In their attempts to forge a strong nation, the monarchs not only payed little or no attention to the specific needs and interests of the Spanish regions but they also smothered these with Castilian cultural norms and values. Of the ethnic regions, Galicia is generally recognized as having suffered the most under Castilian domination.

Castile schemed with ruthless efficiency to completely transplant Galician culture and to replace it with its own. In order to achieve this aim, Castile immediately attacked Galicia at the jugular. Rather than reforming corrupt Galician government, Castile gradually removed it altogether.

Galician nobility and the influential elements of Galician society were often tantalized with leadership positions on Spanish soil outside of Galicia or in the Spanish New World. Those who were not so courteous as to accept Castile's bribe to leave their motherland had their possessions taken away, were exiled, or were slain like dogs. Such nobles as Pardo de Cela, who tried to resist Castile, were quickly eliminated by force. The beheading of Pardo de Cela marks a symbolic date in Galician history. Barreiro-Fernández (1984) relates:

It is important to note that the Galician people understood on 17 December 1483, the day that the marshal's head rolled about the plaza of Mondoñedo, that a new period was beginning in Galician history because a strong enough authority existed to rule and to apply a most severe justice, if it were necessary, to those gentlemen who had ruled until that moment without control.
(p. 121)

After Pardo de Cela's death, continues Barreiro-Fernández (1984):

The Catholic monarchs begin to install in Galicia the first components of what has been called the Modern State. The Supreme Court of Galicia is formed: justices are named in the cities and towns who are the representatives of the king's laws; the levying of taxes is undertaken; and, above all, a series of laws is passed to eliminate the vestiges of the native nobility's privileges in the political order.
(p. 121)

In other words, Castile formally took Galicia apart by replacing the local nobility, government officials, justices, and clergy. As Barreiro-Fernández (1984) exacts:

From the Catholic monarchs onward, the history of Galicia loses its original and typical characteristics which had distinguished it. . . . What follows is that Galicia, like Asturias, León, Extremadura, or Andalucía, will always breathe at the rhythm of Castile's lungs. (p. 122)

Indeed, Castile continued to mold Galicia's future in a negative way for centuries. Kolarz's [1946] description of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) annexation of the Baltic states aptly depicts Castile's degradation of Galicia:

The more powerful groups (Castile) subjugated the less powerful ones (Galicia), and the upper classes of the oppressed often adopted the language and culture of their conquerors. Thus, they changed their nationality, so that the masses of the people were deprived of their own upper classes and were reduced to the condition of serfs, as they continued to speak their vernacular. (Cited in Peñalosa, 1981, p. 166)

Castilian colonization of Galicia or the original intentions of unification of the Catholic monarchs would not have been complete without the condemnation of Galician language. Language, after all, determined and developed alongside Galician culture; it was the one undeniable shred of identity that distinguished a person as a Galician versus another Spanish national. Castilian language easily infiltrated Galician society through the foreign Castilian authorities who came to replace their exiled, imprisoned, or murdered Galician predecessors. Moreover, most of these Castilians did not even know the nature of Galicia, its language, or its heritage. The majority of the Galician

population had no leaders to look to in order to conserve a correct or refined Galician language. Barreiro-Fernández (1984) cites a list of some of the many influential Galicians who preferred exile to limited economic and political power or to death. His book mentions the following figures:

D. Gaspar de Acevedo y Zuñiga, Count of Monterrey, Viceroy of New Spain and Perú;
 D. Fernando Ruíz de Castro, Count of Lemos, Viceroy of Naples; Lope de Moscoso y Guzmán, Count of Altamira, Viceroy of Valencia; Fernando de Andrade y Gotomayor, Viceroy of Navarra;
 D. Francisco de Lanzos, Archbishop of Palermo and Viceroy of Sicily, etc. (p. 123)

It was the absence of these and many other powerful Galicians that put Castilian in vogue through the transplanted upper classes of Galicia. Galician sank to a language of no status. It was lifted from use in public functions, in official state affairs, and even in the region's many churches. Galician, therefore, became the language of the typical "coarse" and uneducated rural villager. The effects of Castilian substitution for Galician proved to be cataclysmic for the region. It bred illiteracy among the traditionalist segments of the population to whom Castilian was a foreign tongue. Furthermore, Galician became grossly Castilianized as its purest form was not allowed to fully develop like Portuguese, for example.

Deprived of its language, Galicia died literally, politically, and spiritually. In the Golden Age of Spain,

it was common for such authors as Cervantes (cited in Meijide-Pardo, 1960) to satirize Galicia maliciously. At this time, Castilian satire labeled a character "Galician" if he had bad motives or if he was a stupid, illiterate person. Cervantes once wrote, "Brothers, I am from Ocana (in Castile); a lackey, but in no way a Galician." It was this sort of Castilian attitude and constant degradation that led the typical Galician to feel that perhaps he was truly inferior. According to Peñalosa (1981), "The language of the colonized is restricted in its use and development and has invariably less prestige, frequently even in the minds of its own speakers" (p. 169). When Castile ridiculed or discriminated against Galician, it was doing the same to centuries of Galician traditions, values, and pride.

Still, Castile did not stop at crippling Galicia by disabling its language. Castile made certain that Galicia had no direct political voice in Galicia or elsewhere. Galicia had no vote in the national Cortes of Spain until 1622. Just as the Castilian-Leonese city of Valladolid "represented" Galicia's religious interests, another Castilian-Leonese city, Zamora, was given the task of representing Galicia politically. Castile effectively controlled all aspects of Galician life.

In this respect, Castile was aided in the absolute subjugation of Galicia by two notable factors. Galicia's geographic isolation made it particularly easy for Castile

to dominate its people. Communications had always been especially poor between Galicia and the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. Not until 1886, when the Spanish railroad linked La Coruña to Madrid, was Galicia significantly connected to the rest of Spain. It was not until 1943 that the railroad between Galicia's most important city, La Coruña, and its religious and intellectual center, Santiago de Compostela, was completed. Galicia's roads were also especially miserable compared to those in the rest of Spain until well after Franco's death. Despite the region's natural proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, under Castilian rule Galicia illogically became an absolutely landward colony. In any event, Galicians could only count on themselves to fight off Castile's abuses.

This was certainly not an easy task for the mild-mannered Galician. Despite the many abuses Castile carried out against the region, Galicians tolerated their colonizers' treatment beyond the limits of human endurance. In fact, in the struggle to preserve their national identity, Galicians appear to lack the impulse of their less patient and more radical Catalanian and Basque counterparts to initiate internal reforms and to break off from Castile. Méndez-Ferrín (cited in Fernández, 1985) appropriately points out, "Galicia continues to be a colony of Castile" (p. 251). Unbelievably so, Galicians continue to be divided

today and cannot even seem to adopt the necessarily drastic measures crucial to restore the territories and culture.

The Land Question

For over five centuries, the land question, the ultimate struggle between Galicia's ruling elite and its lower classes, has shaped Galicia's existence. The main problem is that, due to geography, Galicia does not have nearly enough suitable land for farming to support its population. In the Middle Ages, a feudalistic system evolved, much as in the rest of western Europe, which bestowed numerous rights and privileges on a select few and heartache and suffering on the great masses. Unfortunately, unlike those other countries, no industrial, political, or religious revolution saved the promising region. Instead, a despotic foreign influence, Castile, perpetuated the poverty and backwardness (commonly associated with the Medieval period) well into the 20th century. Indeed, the subjugation of Galicia resulting from the fact that the masses were indebted to the upper classes and the Church, who owned the lands upon which these masses were dependent, began even before the central authority could establish its presence in the region.

The great peasant masses began to display their resentment of the corrupt ruling elite of Galicia, which

owned the vast majority of the region's lands, in the 14th century. For 100 years, the common people made leading Church figures the focus of their wrath. In such major cities as Santiago de Compostela, Vivero, Orense, and Lugo, the lower classes struck out against bishops and archbishops, the religious counterparts to the privileged nobility of Galicia's social structure. In large part, it was actually the Church, the unifying thread of Spain, which ruled over Spain and set political policies. The Church was especially powerful, feared, and respected in Galicia. Hence, there were two parallel ruling classes and landowner groups in Galicia--the titled ecclesiasts as well as the native nobility. While the nobility and the Church were not necessarily a united force dominating all of Galicia, the peasantry ultimately suffered from the whims and displays of power of both sides. Risco (1978) writes of the relationship between Galician Church and nobility in the 14th century: "This new nobility (created through the war against Alphonse IV and the retaking of Algeciras) proved itself to be more exacting and tyrannical than the previous one, and it was also in constant clash with the ecclesiastic element" (p. 168).

Throughout the 14th century, the Church and nobility of Galicia were duly enriched at the expense of the still existing middle class and of the ever-increasing peasantry.

Galicia was hurled into a state of turmoil at this time. After Pedro I "the Cruel" was killed by the illegitimate son of Alphonso XI, Henry of Trastamara became King of Castile and Galicia. Henry rewarded his many allies with leadership positions throughout Galicia, thus creating a new nobility while absorbing more peasant lands. Soon after started a virtual war for the succession to the Galician throne. It involved battles between church and nobility, between different segments of the nobility itself, and even foreign nobles from England and Castile. The typical Galician was little concerned with the outcome but consumed and preoccupied with the steady degradation of his status and the further expropriation of his properties by exceedingly covetous individuals. Risco (1978) described the times:

Concerning traditions there is a barbarity and cruelty never before witnessed. There is a tendency to make justice by the fist and to forget compromises and oaths; a predominance of power over justice that does not cease to shock. . . . The nobles usurp the properties of the church, take away lands and rights from one another, oppress the peasant workers, fight among themselves, cheat each other, and at times act like bandits. (p. 175)

Risco (1978) noted that despite all of these internal power struggles and intrigues, Galicia's cities and towns, particularly those along its coast, became richer on account of a flourishing trade with other Spanish provinces and foreign nations through its many port cities.

By 1431, however, maritime prosperity was not enough to placate the abused peasants of Galicia. In that year, a number of countrymen and vassals banded into an army known as "The Little Brothers" or "The Small Brotherhood." Their uprisings perhaps caught the Galician nobility off guard as the "Irmandiños" took control of many feudal lands and great estates. Unfortunately, as Fernández and Brocos (1966) explained:

. . . (The 'Irmandiños') did not know how to take advantage of their rapid military successes. The haste of wanting to resolve issues of economic politics and of punishing strongholds when the powerful enemy of the people was not yet vanquished bred disagreement among the ranks of the 'Irmandiños.' (p. 11)

In fact, the rebellion was promptly quelled by the nobility in its very first year.

Again incensed at the injustices of their oppressors, the "Irmandiños" rose to arms to fight the Galician feudal lords for a second time. Fernández and Brocos (1966) cite an historic text which informs that some 80,000 peasants were now joined by the bourgeoisie and even several nobles and clergymen. The "Irmandiños" triumphed throughout Galicia laying waste to the forts, forces, and strength of many nobles. Fernández and Brocos (1966) state:

All of Galicia is in the hands of the 'Irmandiños' who begin to put into practice an exemplary redistribution of land while not intending to leave castles standing as symbols of all of the many injustices that were perpetrated against the people living in the plains. Rather than use

the strongholds to their advantage, a marked obsession to destroy them overcomes the 'Irmandiños.' (p. 12)

Apparently, the "Irmandiños" destroyed some 200 forts. A great number of nobles were forced to abandon their properties and possessions and to seek refuge in the churches, monasteries, or humble abodes of the very peasants they abused. In the end, however, the "Irmandiños'" adversaries recuperated from their heavy losses and in 1469 dealt the rebels a final, decisive blow which would restore their control of Galicia.

The glorious campaign of the "Irmandiños," which had been legally authorized by Henry IV since 1465, came to an abrupt end in 1469. Interestingly, the weak monarch played favorite to both parties while waiting to side with the eventual victor. In a sense, Castile was caught by conflicting goals. On the other hand, Henry IV could not allow the Galician nobility to run rampant in a region ripe for annexation. By the same token, Castile could not worry over an anarchical popular liberation movement. Castile had to choose its allies carefully; and as a reward to the winners, Henry IV further enhanced the power of nobles by giving them new titles.

The common folk of Galicia were relegated to a life of endless poverty and misery. Rather than achieving a more equitable distribution of land, money, and power, the peasantry drew the heightened fury of the ruling class.

Risco (1978), in his book Historia de Galicia, expounded:

The defeat was complete and finalized. The nobles were avenged. There followed punishments, indemnizations, and, in many cases, the 'villains' were obligated to rebuild the very forts they had brought to the ground. The 'Brotherhood' was dissolved. The nobles proved to become even more tyrannical and returned to their private wars. (p. 188)

Indeed, the nobility thirsted for power and riches more than previously. The lower classes were more harshly oppressed and robbed by their feudal masters. Fernández and Brocos (1966) writes:

Facendeira, goyosa, calzas, luctuosa, maneira, enliza, movicio, conducho, and yantar are names for the 'tributes' that the vassals had to pay to their feudal lords for the right to work, to have children, to marry, to inherit, or to move. The vassal did not at all intervene in the public affairs of the administration. Nobody asked him for an opinion. His only rights consisted of working and offering his fruits to his feudal lord, or to leave. (p. 14)

Sadly, the commoner's final glimmer of hope to aspire to a better life faded.

By 1478, in the midst of the nobility's ongoing power struggles, the Catholic Monarchs of Castile, Ferdinand and Isabel, planned a swift and complete annexation of the north-western kingdom. The Castilian Cortes formed the Santa Hermandad or "Holy Brotherhood" to submit the entire Galician population to Castile's will, its laws, and its rule. With the pretension of stabilizing the turmoil in Galicia, Sir Ferdinand de Acuña, appointed Viceroy of

Galicia in Castile, marched into the region with a sizable army. The Archbishop Fonseca of Santiago favored his presence and so convinced most of Galicia's most potent nobles to accept the Castilian force. The "Holy Brotherhood" wasted no time in taking over Galicia's political positions and filling them with a class of newly-created Castilian officials. This new political structure began to finance the operations of the "Santa Hermandad" by imposing further cutthroat tributes on the Galician populace. Castile was unquestionably on the verge of owning Galicia, unbeknownst to the Galicians, who complained to Ferdinand and Isabel about the new foreign administration and unreasonable taxation.

Acuña and the Catholic monarchs systematically tore down Galician institutions and structures thus preparing the region for a rapid subjugation. The foreigners attempted to permanently deface Galicia and replace its identity with Castilian power and character. To achieve this, Castile had to restrain the Galician nobility who would surely not give up its titles, land, and wealth without a fight. Risco (1978) writes of some 35 sweeping changes the Castilians instituted in the region to establish Castilian supremacy, including:

. . . that all forts perceived as a threat to the 'Santa Hermandad' be razed; . . . that each nobleman be required to provide a fort for security; that no nobleman or lord make decisions averse to the churches or monasteries; that

rebels be sent to the war in Granada (the final Moorish stronghold) rather than being punished; that 300 troops of men be taken from among the Galician nobles, squires, and middle-classed men to strengthen the ranks of the 'Santa Hermandad.' (pp. 193-194)

Finally, the central authority schemed to rid the region of any dangerous elements which might be against the Castilian cause. Fernández and Brocos stated (1966):

The Galician nobility continues to submit. However, for the greater security of the Catholic monarchs, the greater part of the nobles are forced to reside within the Castilian court, to which, nevertheless, they will give over their revenue. At first, there was a courteous invitation, 'We consider it best,' which later changed to 'under penalty of death,' if anyone presented resistance to moving to Castile. The plan of the Catholic Sovereigns, or the team of interests whom they represented, was to kill off Galicia's personality, a most scientific strategy for the times. (p. 16)

Of Galicia's most prominent nobles, it appeared that only the marshal, Pardo de Cela, sensed the Castilian trap. Carré-Alvarellos (1980) wrote: "Legend, popular tradition, and romance novels make him (Pardo de Cela) out as a hero and martyr; some historians, however, present him as an elitist and ambitious usurper of rights and benefits that were not his" (p. 168).

Certainly, the peasant masses would agree with the second view as the noble owned many great estates and partook in the fight against the "Irmandiños." In any case, without any other leaders to battle Castilian occupation, all of Galicia's hopes to exist as a peaceful and prosperous

land were thrust upon Pardo de Cela. For three years, the nobleman disregarded the central authority's orders and fended off Castilian troops from his final stronghold, the Frouseira castle in Mondoñedo. Betrayed by one of his servants, the marshal fell into the hands of the enemy. Pardo de Cela's possessions were taken and the Bishop of Mondoñedo, an ambitious man and bitter personal enemy of the nobleman, went to extreme lengths to insure the marshal's death by decapitation. According to the legend, Pardo de Cela's wife was able to obtain a pardon, but she was delayed, interestingly enough, by some clergymen and failed to stop the execution in time. It was said that Pardo de Cela's head reached the Mondoñedo cathedral's door in three bounces exclaiming, "¡Credo! ¡Credo! ¡Credo!" Thus ended Galicia's hope of remaining an independent kingdom capable of deciding its own affairs and began its concurrent abysmal decline.

Pardo de Cela's execution, like Pedro I's assassination, confirmed Castile's permanent presence in all matters affecting Galicia. Without the marshal or any other nobles to rally them against the foreign invaders, the disheartened Galician people appeared to have lost their will to combat the central authority. Galician trade momentarily continued to prosper and life under Castilian rule did not, at first, seem particularly worse than previously. However, Castile's

insistence on "Castilianizing" the region by ushering in a new set of nobles, public officials, and even clergy into Galicia signified troubled times for the common people. Without their natural leaders and nobles, Galicians were imprisoned within their own land. Deprived of their language, Galicians became illiterate "en masse." Denied of their native clergy, Galicians lost their opportunity to receive the gift of education and, often, their only remaining allies.

Castile's hostile takeover of Galicia unquestionably thrust the region further back into the Middle Ages. As all of its institutions were artificially rearranged, the region was forced to survive through one of the professions least suited for it--agriculture. Galicia's foreign power structure managed to enlarge the already huge gap between the rich and poor by constantly reducing the peasants' rights and meager possessions. Moreover, the church and nobility owned a greater portion of Galicia's lands than ever before, partially because of the near elimination of the region's middle classes. Therefore, the foreign rulers were able to perpetuate the archaic feudalism that had been established centuries earlier. This new period of feudalism would multiply the misery of the growing peasant masses well into the 20th century.

Rather than allow Galicia to develop into a flourishing center of commerce and industry, the Catholic monarchs dissociated the region from the Atlantic Ocean by giving the fledgling nation's southern ports a monopoly on all trade. Consequently, fishing and maritime industries, such as shipbuilding, contracted until their virtual collapse. Without the benefits of the domestic and foreign trade filtering into the South, two of Spain's greatest port cities, Vigo and La Coruña, were wholly neglected and wasted. Galicia's economy was put into economic ruin without the commerce that allowed it to survive and to continue the previous expansion. Thus Galicia was forced to look inward to merely support itself.

Unfortunately, three important factors prevented the region from making farming a panacea for its socioeconomic ills. First, the Castilianized nobility and clergy owned the great majority of Galicia's land. In addition, Galicia's geography did not make it particularly profitable or even practical to farm the land. Finally, Galicia's population increased by an astronomic 50% from about 600,000 to 900,000 inhabitants within the 16th century alone.

The Church had always owned over half of Galicia's land adequate for husbandry. It inherited a great deal of the feudal lands held by the previous Galician nobility through the Castilian invasion of the region. Brenan (1976)

informed, in his publication entitled The Spanish Labyrinth:

They (church and noble landowners) let it out on a special type of lease known as the foro, which was from hereditary emphyteusis. The tenant paid a quit-rent, usually about 2% of the capital value of his holding, and kept his house and farm buildings in repair, but could not be ejected. (p. 92)

In other words, the recipient of tenant rents and tributes were the Galician clergymen and nobles at first. The statute of limitations on a lease was governed by the famous saying of "for three lives (of tenants or owners) and 29 years more." The foro became a complicated issue with Galicia's terrain and ever-growing population.

Because of the region's mountainous and rugged land, the limited amount of suitable farming soil had to be divided into relatively small plots to satisfy Galicia's population. The land was certainly not fit for large communal farms. Therefore, the Galician became highly individualistic since he had to be self-sufficient with his small area of land. Moreover, while Galicia received much more rain than most of Spain, much of the soil was poorer than that of the more arid regions. Since the typical Galician had to grow all of his various crops on his parcel of land and maximize his harvests simply to support his family, the land of the region was wasted frequently. It was not possible for the peasant farmer to practice such proper techniques as crop rotation if he wanted to meet his

burdensome tax payments. The Galician farmer became a serf tied down to his small plot, vexing over what decisions he would need to make to live through his risky occupation.

The relative increase in Galician population proved to be a most severe strain on the inefficient feudal system. Already there was little specialization of labor, excessive productive capacity, and no other professions or industries to make use of the surplus labor. By adding more and more laborers to a fixed supply of land, Adam Smith's law of eventually diminishing returns signified that Galicia would need to find more work for its peasant masses or suffer from a steadily decreasing amount of output. Soon Galicia had to confront the problem of how to feed all of its citizens with fewer available resources. In response to an increase in the demand for land, profiteering foreros further subdivided their plots while charging outrageously high fees for its use. That is, as the Galician population began to boom in the 17th and 18th centuries while land prices consistently escalated, tenants, who had been leasing their land from the church or nobility, decided to re-lease the land or parts of it to new tenants. This practice of the subforado created, in effect, a lesser nobility or lower upper-class and an even more impoverished and beleaguered peasantry.

The church and nobility attempted to impede the foreros of reaping large profits to no avail. The motives for such

opposition could be viewed as a means to protect one's own assets or to defend the commoner from further abuses.

Brenan (1976) wrote that the foreros' profit-maximizing goals, however, were never in question:

Although the land was very subdivided, the foros were not, so that endless disputes and lawsuits occurred between the tenants in deciding the share that each had to pay. These disputes were fomented by the lawyers with the object of driving the peasants into debt. As both lawyers and moneylenders belonged to the class of foristas, they soon got considerable numbers of peasants into their hands and compelled them to vote for them at elections. So strong was the cacique system in Galicia that it survived even the coming of the Republic. (pp. 93-94)

A few of the enlightened Bourbon sovereigns, whose dynasty begins with Philip V in 1700, attempted to forge a better Spanish nation through radical social and economic reform. Under the advice of Spain's leading economist, Jovellanos, the Church's lands were confiscated and sold on the open market to finance the country's debt. Instead of achieving the aim of a more equitable distribution of the nation's lands, large estates seemed to spring up everywhere. The peasantry was obviously opposed to such a reform since the foreros now actually owned their lands. The typical Galician peasant would be confined to generations of inescapable poverty as there was no limit to the abuses of the lesser nobility against them.

Brenan (1976) stipulated that, well into the 20th century, Galicia's life evolved around the land question

which is made more complex by the Church's two conflicting attitudes:

Generally speaking, wherever the rural population in Spain is concentrated into large villages or towns, the clergy are upon the side of the middle classes and caciques against the people; whereas when the peasantry are dispersed in hamlets and small farms, the clergy associates itself with them. This was the case of Galicia. The rural clergy were fanatically anti-forista--cases have even been known for their refusing the sacraments to foristas. Only the town clergy, sons of foristas and caciques, preached peace and submission. The result of this was that although, with the advent of the Republic, socialist doctrines spread among the peasants, the political situation in Galicia never came fully into line with that in the rest of Spain. (p. 94)

The Galician feudal system finally dissolved in 1926 when the Spanish dictator, Primo de Rivera, repealed the power of the foros, to the delight of the peasant masses. Still a satellite of the Castilian government, however, Galicia remained an agricultural society well into the 1950s. While Galicia has expanded industrially and has come to depend on its agriculture less than previously, there are still not enough jobs in the regional economy for Galicians.

Emigration

There is not worse an exile than the one we suffer in our own land.

-- Fernández and Brocos
(1966)

Ever since the unification of the Spanish states, emigration has become an integral part of Galician culture.

The amount of emigrants from Galicia has always vastly outnumbered that of any other Spanish region. Fernández and Brocos (1966) wrote that Galicians, who constitute about 11.6% of the Spanish population, account for more than half of Spain's emigrants since long ago. Obviously, there are many explanations for the great number of Galician emigrants. Paz-Andrade stated, "Emigration is an act of defense and at the same time, of protest-defense against anger, protest against the socioeconomic injustice that perpetuates the dramatic break between inhabiting a region and living in a region under foreign political occupation" (cited in Barreiro-Fernández, et al., 1984, p. 51). The tremendous outpour of Galicians from their homeland verifies this self-evident truth.

Castile's colonization of Galicia can be considered the main culprit of the migrational virus. By damaging and manipulating the structure of Galician society, Castile started an endless cycle of illiteracy and poverty within the region. With the addition of several "natural disasters," it becomes easy to see why the Galician preferred to test his luck in foreign lands than to live under the weight of an oppressive Castilian government. From the regions of Vizcaya, Catalonia, and Castile-León to the far off lands of Argentina, Cuba, and Venezuela, Galicians "have been eternal and abundant inhabitants of all lands and

in all times" (Lindley-Cintra, 1959, p. 533). There are few places on earth to which the Galician has not been willing to venture if there he might find the opportunity to receive a decent education and a chance to earn a reasonable living. Unfortunately, in trying to better their socio-economic conditions, Galicians mostly hurt their motherland by making her more vulnerable to the attacks of a predatory Castile.

Castile succeeded largely in breaking the spirit of the typical Galician during its vicious reign over the region. One of Spain's most prominent philosophers, the half-Galician Ortega y Gasset, once commented, "Galicia, a poor land, inhabited by resigned and suspicious souls without confidence in themselves" (cited in Barreiro-Fernández, et al., 1984, p. 50). Paz-Andrade retorted that, "If the philosopher had said that Galicia is a rich region with an impoverished life, he would have hit the nail on the head" (cited in Barreiro-Fernández, et al., 1984, p. 50). Paz Andrade further explained that Galicia is potentially the richest region of Spain. It possesses an enviable coastline, important minerals and metals, lush green mountains and forests, valuable rivers, and more cattle than any other region of Spain. If one asks any Galician emigrant who has worked the hot wheat fields of León and Castile or the parched, desert-like lands of Andalucia, he can verify this.

However, if one asks him why, until recently, Galicia has enjoyed one of the poorest standards of living in Spain, he can only scratch his head in perplexed wonder.

The reality of the matter is that Galicia's wealth of resources was historically untapped; when its riches have been exploited, Galicia has seldom been the beneficiary of their value. Until well into the 20th century, Galicians were even deprived of discovering and utilizing their natural treasures. A harsh feudalism perpetuated by the tyrannical Castilian ruling elite and the Church made Galicians live much like exiled prisoners in their own land. As Castile trampled the trusting Galician in every possible manner, the Galician's only hope was to try and manage an easier life elsewhere--anywhere. One of Castelao's [1973] famous cartoons accurately depicts this reality of Galician emigration. The cartoon pictures a man, wearing a raincoat and supporting an umbrella, who is tied down to the ground with all of his worldly possessions, as he waits to board a train. In his mind, he envisions the boat that will take him to his destination. The caption reads, "The Galician never complains" (Varela-Puñal, 1980).

It is poverty that first forced the Galician to seek refuge in foreign lands. Since the 16th century, the Galician has left his homeland in significantly large

numbers in search of a better life. By 1572, Galicians were emigrating to the Alpujarras in order to repopulate Granada; Risco (1978) mentioned that some 10,000 Galician and Asturian families were sent to Andalucía by Castilian authorities to achieve this purpose. In those times, Galicians sought work in the other regions of Spain, particularly in Castile, Andalucía, and areas with important port cities. Moving out to the barren parts of Spain usually signified a much harder life for the common emigrant than if he stayed home in Galicia. However, the strong Galician preferred to endure unforeseeable hardships rather than to seemingly waste away in a frustrated and miserable existence back home.

The 18th century, which marked the beginning of the modern age of Galician emigration, signaled the first mass movements of the Galician population to foreign lands. Numerous reasons exist to explain this phenomenon. The brutal feudal system continued by the Castilian ruling elite and protected by the Galician Church reached its fullest expression through the sub-foro. In other words, tenants, who were able to lease land from their feudal lords, re-let smaller parcels of their land at staggering prices. These middlemen, foreros, who reaped enormous profits from subdividing their tracts of land, came to constitute a lesser nobility. Meanwhile, the typical Galician

field worker was relegated to a more severe serfdom with the middlemen restricting the efficient cultivation of Galicia's suitable soil and charging outrageous fees for the use of his land. The worker was hurt further by the traditional method of payment to the feudal lord in grains which earned much less attractive prices in the Spanish market than fruits and vegetables and which required much more land for the same yield.

Besides the outcome of Castile's crushing colonization, the region was hit by extraordinarily difficult times. Throughout the century, its population ballooned from 10.4% of the total Spanish population to 13.3% (cited in Cañada, 1974, p. 15). Furthermore, Galicia experienced the devastating trials of epidemics, a decadence in its fishing industry, and a cattle crisis. The worst years for the region occurred around 1769 when diseases and poor weather obliterated the harvests. The loss of farming and fishing destroyed an already weak Galician economy and made trade virtually impossible as the Catholic monarchs had long since granted the exclusive rights of trade with the New World to Andalusian port cities. Consequently, Galicia remained industrially backward compared to the rest of Spain. By 1750, for instance, Galician fishermen simply could not compete with their heavily mechanized Catalonian counterparts. By the end of the century, the towns and

cities among Galicia's coast were in complete economic ruin.

When the Galician could not farm, he left his land for the arid sections of Spain in order to earn his life in the profession he has come to know best--husbandry. An enormous number of Galicians actually left their region to harvest the never-ending wheat fields of Castile. It is estimated that "some 500,000 Galicians migrated to Castile and Andalucía over the course of the 18th century" (cited in Cañada, 1974, p. 15). At the time, these dry regions were sparsely populated and were in desperate need of workers for their hard labor. Most of the Galician migrations to these areas were seasonal for a great portion of the 18th century.

It is especially disturbing to think of the innocent Galician slaving over the coarse lands of his colonizer in order to earn a salary for paying back his colonizer's taxes at home. Galicians were often treated like beasts of burden in their masters' domains. Still, the Galician seemed to flock faithfully to his adversary's whip. Jesús de Iriarte wrote, "If the Galician stopped going to Castile, Castile would be left without harvest or Mass." Father Sarmiento, attributing the decline of Galicia to the mass exodus of its people, especially to Castile, exclaimed, "If only no Galician would go to Castile to work foreign

lands! Then Castilians would work them as they did formerly" (cited in Meijide-Pardo, 1960, p. 107).

In effect, Castile was perhaps the worst place to which a Galician could have migrated in those times. The poor Galician, cursed with having to toil for his colonizers, would be trading verdor and familiarity for unfertile, scorched soils and heartache. De Castro (1976) wrote of her fellow Galicians, "My countrymen, the most pitiable beings, leave, I confess, . . . possibly to dismember themselves . . . and they leave Castile skinny, pale, and humorless." The Galician was unreasonably forced to help feed Castile while five-sixths of Galicia remained uncultivated and its own people starved. Eventually, Galicians became skeptical of doing Castile's ungrateful task when Castilians taxed their earnings and unlawfully drafted them for military service which they were not required to fulfill. There was no way for the Galician to pay his increasing royal, ecclesiastical, local and income taxes without resigning his will to live.

As an alternative, some Galicians left for neighboring Portugal to elude Castile. A great worry for Galicia was the large number of youths fleeing to Portugal or even to Andalucía to escape military service. In 1800, there were some 80,000 Galicians residing in Portugal. Of these Galicians emigrating to Portugal, an Englishman, Murphy,

wrote, "They were patient, industrious, and loyal. . . . Galicians were used exclusively for certain jobs and many Portuguese preferred them because of their intelligence" (cited in Meijide-Pardo, 1960, p. 90). After these first groups of Galicians going to Portugal, some 60,000 Galicians were officially inscribed in Portugal's public records. The Galician did not leave his homeland because he was lazy, as many Castilians used to insinuate in the past. Five-sixths of Galicia's lands were left uncultivated not because the Galician preferred to vacation in Castile or Andalucía. Meijide-Pardo (1960) pointed out, "Galicians are diligent and robust, and they do not leave Galicia to flee from work" (p. 9). An Englishman, Clarke, who referred to Spaniards as being a "lazy" people, in general, informed, ". . . one honorable exception is the Galician" (cited in Meijide-Pardo, 1960, p. 10).

Unfortunately, the typical Galician spent his life perpetuating the supremacy of Castile. Even generations of Bourbon rule, which is commonly recognized as greatly advancing the life of the common Spaniard, neglected the Galician. Of course, these monarchs only allocated aid to the industrialized parts of Spain while a more needy Galicia became consistently poorer. It is incredible that even with the many influential Galician politicians in Spanish politics for the past 200 years, Galicia has progressed so

little. Yet when the Bourbons carried out projects for the benefit of the Spanish public, the Galician was always there to help in the effort.

In the 19th century commenced two new forms of Galician emigration. The one to the Americas is the more important of these. Cañada (1974) explained:

From 1853 onward, the existing prohibitions on emigration are eliminated, the official Spanish policy encourages emigration, which is directed toward the recently independent American republics, which urgently need to organize their productive capacity and to fix their economies by exploiting their natural resources and by beginning to industrialize. Argentina, whose situation is mirrored in Brazil, the first to open its doors to immigrants, and to attract great waves of people to exploit its resources. These two countries alone, in over 50 years (1857-1915), will receive 2,300,000 Spaniards . . . of which a great part are Galicians.
(p. 18)

Most of Galicia's emigrants to the New World went to Argentina, Brazil, and Cuba, and somewhat fewer to Venezuela, Uruguay, México, the United States, and Chile.

The Americas offered much opportunity for the emigrant that was willing to go to its cities and work hard. Many Galician fortunes were made in these times. Also symptomatic of success, Galicians were required to do far less brute labor than on Peninsular soil. Generally, these Galician emigrants earned a respectable living. They formed influential cultural communities in order to survive and to prosper in new lands where it was not so beneficial

to remain highly individualistic. Fernández and Brocos (1966) wrote that by the end of the Spanish Civil War, the Galician Center of Buenos Aires and the Federation of Galician Societies had a membership of 40,000. Interestingly, one of these Galician organizations of Argentina is responsible for planting the seeds of what would eventually bloom into Galician autonomy.

The other noteworthy displacement of Galicians was to France. By the beginning of the 20th century, around half of Spain's emigrants going to France were Galician. These emigrants were socially equal with other displaced Europeans coming into France until the 20th century when the forces of change and industrialization along with poverty from a bloody Civil War and Spain's neutral status in the Second World War caused them to be detested by the French. While all of these migrations took place, Galicia was further hurt by such important demographic fluctuations and the consistent abandonment of the central authority in Castile. As the Count of Campomanes once said of Galicia, "If that nation does not flourish, it must be attributed to the little attention that the central government has vested in it" (cited in Meijide-Pardo, 1960, p. 12).

The 20th century saw a diverse range of Galician migrations to foreign lands. Emigration to the Americas was mainly headed toward Argentina, Cuba, Brasil, Colombia,

Chile, and Uruguay. Despite dropping off significantly in the Great Depression years, Galicians accounted for one-third of the Spaniards doing trans-Atlantic emigration. Only during 1930-1935 was the net migrational flow of Galicians positive. In 1930, some 600,000 Galicians dwelled in Buenos Aires. This was Castelao's "Ideal Galicia" in which Galicians could attempt to do for their motherland what was impossible in Galicia.

In the second half of the 20th century, the Galician nearly desisted from traveling to the Americas as permanent emigrants, preferring to move to other European countries or Spanish regions. By 1976, only some 900 Galicians took part in transoceanic migrations to the Americas. On the other hand, some 257,229 Galician emigrants left for the northern industrialized nations of Europe from 1962-1976 (cited in Cañada, 1974, p. 23). This figure represents 22% of the total Spanish continental emigration. Galicians particularly migrated to Germany and Switzerland most recently. Within Spain, until 1970, Galicians headed mostly for Barcelona (28.5%), Euzkadi (24.7%), Madrid (24.3%), and Asturias (9.1%) during the 20th century. Galicians basically continue to flock to bustling port cities and major industrialized areas, which are still lacking in their own region (cited in Cañada, 1974, p. 26).

An Overview of Galician Education
Until 1936

Education has always been a sore spot for Galicia. The forces of colonialism, feudalism, and emigration have had a most profound effect on its development in the region. Colonialism led to the overthrow of Galician as the functional language of the region. In addition, it ensured, by the replacement of the Galician power structure, generations of illiteracy and cyclical poverty. The oppressive feudalism imposed by the Church and nobility further degraded and impoverished the peasant masses. Without any significant industry or economic base for the region, it linked the people's survival to long hours of toiling the land and prevented Galicians from obtaining the gift of education for centuries. Moreover, the land question was a major contributing factor to the mass exodus of Galicians from their homeland. Emigration, in turn, weakened Galicia to the powerful foreign influences of Castile. It destabilized the unity of Galicia with the enormous reshuffling of the land's population, and thus made it difficult for the individualistic Galicians to band together and to fight for the right to a better education. Finally, emigration and its less voluntary partner, exile, ridded the region of its best intellectuals and hopes for a brighter future.

As in the rest of Spain, education was, until the 19th century, a privilege reserved only for the distinguished nobles and clergymen in Galicia. Education was entirely entrusted to the Church and its many religious orders, such as the Jesuits. Incensed at the order, Charles III, considered the most enlightened of the Bourbon sovereigns, exiled the Jesuits from Spain in 1767. The educational systems of Spain were temporarily reformed and Spanish education was secularized. Still, education for the general public was rather backward and rough. Barreiro-Fernández (1982) explained the teaching situation in Galicia: "In general, the town teacher had to share the functions of clergyman, laborer, or small merchant. No scientific accreditation was required for him to teach, and he simply repeated the little bit that he had been able to learn himself" (p. 19). The Jesuit order would again resume control of the nation's education until the birth of the Second Republic (1931). Hence, while the students in the public schools learned little, students in the more prestigious religious schools were bogged down with an abstract education based on theological and philosophical principles.

Because of Galicia's necessity to live from agriculture, proportionately fewer Galicians went to school than other Spaniards. In Galicia, schooling had been provided

solely in Castilian since 1813 (Cortes of Cádiz order) with a complete disregard for the culture and inhabitants of Galicia. Even if Galician children could afford to attend school rather than work in the fields, a forced Castilian education retarded or destroyed their learning process. In fact, because most Galicians were of the peasant class, they could neither speak nor understand Castilian. Since there was no education in Galician, students became, for the most part, illiterate in both languages. Furthermore, because of the central authority's complete subjugation of the region, the Galician educational system offered few resources to entice students and to prepare them for a meaningful career.

Under these circumstances, it is less than surprising that many Galician students would not go to school and that Galician education became another prime consideration in the great emigration game. In the 19th century, students between the ages of six to nine were required to attend school and schooling was free for those who could not afford it. Nevertheless, schools were not always available or readily accessible to those students who wanted to go to them. In an atmosphere where students would be continually ridiculed and even beaten for using the only language they had ever known, it is no wonder that Galician children dreaded their schools. Finally, in the elementary levels of education, the poorer children, who accounted for the

vast majority of potential Galician students, were purposely not taught how to read and write. Instead, young peasant students were separated from the other students and left to sew or to memorize religious texts. Obviously, the Galician education system was far from conducive to learning.

Berreiro-Fernández (1982), a Galician historian, offered some telling figures concerning the educational situation of Galicia before the Second Republic. In 1855, for example, there was one school for every 745 people in Spain, while Galicia had a ratio of 1,037 people for each of its schools. In 1860, Galicia had a population of 1,799,224 inhabitants, which comprised 11.49% of the Spanish population. Spain had 20,198 public schools or one teacher for every 841 Spaniards, while Galicia had some 1,345 public schools or one for approximately every 1,400 people. The ratio of regional schools to the number of Galicians was a paltry 6% of the national average. In other words, Galicia only possessed 4.5% of the public schools in Spain since about 16% of Galician schools were operating only seasonally. Sixty-three percent of Galician educators were not permanent in those times. In Galicia, 80% of schools were located in the larger cities. Consequently, from 1840-1880, the illiteracy rate of Galicians living in rural areas totalled 70% for men and 98% for women.

According to Berreiro-Fernández (1982), only one private secondary school existed in Galicia between 1855 and 1865. In the scholastic year 1861-1862, 5,409 students graduated from Spanish private secondary schools, but none of these students were Galician. In the following scholastic year, 1862-1863, 6,695 students graduated; still none were Galician. Galicia did not have any private secondary schools until the academic year 1876-1877, at which time, only 379 students were enrolled in these. Berreiro-Fernández (1982) gave these figures for private schools only because they were far superior to the public schools of the times. Most public schools were poorly equipped, having few facilities. In fact, public schools had instructors so badly prepared that many of them could not even write.

By 1900, the Spanish government spent nine times as much money on defense as it did on education. Educationally, Spain spent a meager 1.53 pesetas (approximately 1.53 cents) per inhabitant, while France spent 5.6 pesetas and England spent 10 pesetas. On account of such low spending (the Castilian government was even less generous than 1.53 pesetas with each Galician) and a forced Castilian education, Galicia's literacy rate, spanning the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), stood at a dismal 47%. Galicia was educationally behind the rest of Spain as its operating

budget for education was also behind the national average. In the school year of 1920-1921, 10,884 students graduated from Spanish secondary schools, yet only 306 Galician students graduated. A similar pattern plagued Galician education until 1935. From looking at these figures, one can see the great disproportion of educated Galicians to the nation as a whole.

In 1935, the outlook for the Galician educational system began to change as liberalizing reform took place. For the first time, Galicia averaged more teachers for the amount of its inhabitants than the rest of Spain. Galicia had approximately three teachers for every 100 of its inhabitants, while the national average dipped to 2.14 teachers for every 100 Spaniards. Galicia even gained a respectable number of public schools, but still lacked private schools. All schooling was still conducted in Castilian with absolute disregard for the Galician language (Barreiro-Fernández, 1982, pp. 31-116).

Galicia also had some special learning institutions aside from the customary schools discussed previously. The University of Santiago de Compostela, built between 1774-1805, is the oldest and best university in the region. Somehow, the university remained independent from Castilian educational policy until the reign of Ferdinand VI; however, with foreign intervention in the

matters of the university, the quality of its education began to deteriorate. In 1800, the university had a total of 1,072 students. Another type of school in Galicia is the vocational school. These schools, specializing in commerce, first opened in 1858 and had little success until the 20th century. In the same year, 1,392 young Galicians, or 11% of all Spanish seminarians, were recruited from Galicia. Seminaries prepared these students to become priests.

C H A P T E R I V

A COMPARISON OF LANGUAGE PROBLEMS: SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

Bilingualism and Diglossia

In the majority of the situations, Bilingual Education not only implies two different languages but, at the same time, it also coincides with a disequilibrium of power between the human groups that speak both languages. Additionally, those who speak the less prestigious language are frequently those who occupy the socially inferior levels of the society.

-- M. Siguan (1985)

Bilingualism has about as many interpretations as there are authors in the world. Norman Segalowitz sees bilingual people as possessing the necessary skills for functioning with ease in a second language, while being socially and intellectually comfortable. Segalowitz defines balanced bilinguals as ". . . those having equal skills in their native and second languages as measured by tests of reading speed, pronunciation skills, speed of word recognition, vocabulary size, and so on" (Spolsky & Cooper, 1977, p. 120). D'Anglejan and Tucker venture to say that a truly "balanced" bilingual cannot exist. Certain investigators of this matter believe that there is more to becoming a "balanced" bilingual than knowing the mechanics of a language, its phonology, vocabulary, and syntax. There will always be a predominant language for an individual. The subtleties of

a secondary culture cannot be mastered or could be too difficult to master completely (Spolsky & Cooper, 1977).

Taylor defines a bilingual as a person who can speak two or more languages or dialects which have different phonologies, syntaxes, or vocabularies. Without specifying degrees of proficiency, which would be a difficult task, almost anybody could be considered bilingual. Cummins [1981] argues that there are three types of bilingualism-- "limited," "partial," and "proficient." Limited bilingualism is characterized by low proficiency in both languages, while partial bilingualism signifies a native-like mastery of one of the tongues. Proficient bilingualism indicates native-like use of both languages. Cummins reaches the conclusion that cognition with limited bilingualism is restricted, but the consequences of proficient bilingualism are positive (cited in Hakuta, 1986, p. 99).

Studies demonstrate that being bilingual or multilingual does not diminish a person's learning capabilities. According to studies conducted by Peal and Lambert, "a bilingual student develops a learning set to switch from one linguistic channel to another" (Spolsky & Cooper, 1977, p. 137). Through this process, the students acquire a greater cognitive ability. Bilingual students appear to outperform monolingual students in nonverbal tests. A richer background may be the reason for better performance

since bilingual students experience more than one culture. In 1970, Balkan conducted a study in which he matched two groups of students of similar socioeconomic status to test for performance and general intelligence. Balkan concluded that his "bilinguals scored significantly higher than monolinguals on tests of numerical aptitude, verbal flexibility, perceptual flexibility (hidden figure test), and general reasoning" (Spolsky & Cooper, 1977, p. 138). Balkan further stated that in test areas where the monolingual students scored higher, the subject matter or areas tested were insignificant. In 1972, Ben Zeev made some hypotheses from Piaget's developmental theories (Spolsky & Cooper, 1977). Zeev proposed that bilingual children undergo certain intellectual conflicts sooner than monolinguals and, in the process of resolving these conflicts, attain higher levels of intellectual development earlier (p. 138). However, as Spolsky and Cooper (1977) mention, pride works at an important capacity to distinguish between bilingualism and biculturalism. Oftentimes, a bilingual person speaks two different languages, but this person's culture is very similar or even identical to the culture of the secondary language. It may also occur that a bilingual speaks two different languages from two very different cultures. In switching from one language to the other, the speaker shifts to different cultures. The semantic overlap between

the two languages often becomes rather apparent and obvious.

Bilingual education has traditionally been used to aid people requiring help in a secondary language. In this system, one of the languages will inevitably be considered of lower status. Tabaret-Keller sees bilingualism as an excellent medium for a child to learn in, if the child lives in an ideal environment with a family who positively reinforces the child (cited in Siguan, 1985). As stated by Spolsky and Cooper (1977), "most educators would no doubt agree with the thesis of the appropriateness of the mother tongue as the language of education, as do Saville and Troike (1971)" (p. 107). Anderson and Boyer (1970) cite several precedent studies and conclude that:

Educators are agreed that a child's mother tongue is the best normal instrument for learning, especially in the early stages of school, and that reading and writing in the first language should precede literacy in a second. (Cited in Spolsky & Cooper, 1977, p. 107)

In 1932, the International Office of Education concluded that teaching students in a language, other than their native language, carried negative effects. Consequently, it recommended that children should be taught in their mother tongue first, before being taught in any other language. This holds especially true for the early stages of a student's education when the student is taught how to read and write and is certainly most impressionable.

Specialists in a 1951 UNESCO-sponsored (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) conference elaborated:

It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is through its mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs in a child's mind that works automatically for expressing and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which a child belongs. Educationally, a child learns more quickly through his mother language than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium. (Cited in Spolsky & Cooper, 1977, p. 106)

These conclusions have been verified through many experiments since long ago. For instance, Hakuta (1986) mentioned a study conducted by researchers in Sweden. Skutnabb-Kangas and Tonkoma (1976) found that when they submerged non-bilingual Finnish students in monolingual Swedish classes, the students failed to learn either language adequately, scoring poorly on exams. In another experiment, Fitouri (1983) reported on some studies he did with his students in Africa. The students had been taught in their native language up until a certain level. Then, when the students were forced to learn in a foreign, dominant language, the students left school. It appears that the students left school both because they could not understand the new language well and because they feared losing their ethnicity. Fitouri explained, "A lack of purpose or relation between the students' experiences and the enforcement or assimilation of the unknown would further

account for the students' desire to leave" (cited in Siguan, 1985, pp. 11-12). To avoid such educational and psychological damage, experts in education agree that students should learn in their mother language first. Lambert and Tucker offer:

. . . as a generalization, the guiding principle of giving priority in early schooling, in situations of incipient or developed biculturalism, to the language least likely to be developed otherwise to the language most likely to be neglected. (Cited in Spolsky & Cooper, 1977, p. 113)

Pérez-Vilarino notes that bilingual students often develop deficiencies in both languages. The students then transfer these problems to school, which would result in poor grades and even failure. These problems would, in turn, point to the students' socioeconomic problems and their bilingualism. Stubbs also considers other factors such as how a language, to be learned by a student, is viewed by the student, his parents, and his teacher. Fernández sees the capability of a student to learn through bilingualism as an asset. However, Fernández adds that, "if a student is lessonable, he should learn in his mother tongue" (cited in Siguan, 1985, pp. 60-61).

Ferguson (1954) coined the term "diglossia" to express the differences between two languages within the same general territory or nation (pp. 325-340). Diglossia could be defined as a type of bilingualism in which the bilingual individual gives preference to the use of one

language over the other because of the socioeconomic dictates of society. In 1966, Gumperz included dialectal variations by saying that languages and dialects serve different functions and that these exist in different environments. "Diglossia is a social characteristic of societies or social groups, whereas bilingualism is a characteristic of the individual" (cited in Hornby, 1977, p. 6).

Varela-Puñal (1980) defines a diglossic person as "one who speaks his customary or habitual language except for 20% of the time" (p. 19). Nevertheless, it is difficult and often misleading to attach a figure to such a concept. Researchers such as Fishman, Hymes, and Gumperz have emphasized that bilingualism and diglossia should not be analyzed separately. Ninyoles (1980) explains diglossia stating, "Different languages within the same society serve different functions" (p. 31).

A conclusion reached by Alonso-Montero (1973) is that the socioeconomic status of the speaker makes a great impact on which language one speaks. With Galicians, for example, the higher the level of socioeconomic status of the speaker, the fewer the chances that the speaker uses Galician. In other words, the lesser educated and poorer segments of the "Galician population speak Galician about 92% of the time" (cited in Varela-Puñal, 1980, p. 21). Varela-Puñal (1980) gives the following figures without accreditation to a concrete source:

In Galicia, 87.5% of lower-class Galicians speak Galician, 21.3% of middle-class city dwellers speak Galician, while in 'the barrios' of the cities, 54% of lower-class Galicians speak Galician. In Galicia, 62% of the people living in cities, 89% of the people living in city slums, and 97% of the people living in rural areas are diglossic. (p. 21)

It also appears that the higher the level of education of a person, the lower are the odds that the person speaks Galician within the family. Peñalosa (1981) encapsulates the diglossic situation of Galicia best when he states:

In some cases, masses and elite form a single society but two separate speech communities, in which case there is diglossia within bilingualism. Such societies are generally economically underdeveloped. As they begin to modernize and industrialize, they encounter very serious language problems. Bilingualism without diglossia stems mainly from the dislocation of populations. (p. 117)

Galician Education Since 1936

If we consider the present scholastic structure of capitalist nations to be a pyramid (many begin but few reach the pinnacle of the educational system-university), it is clear that the Galician scholastic pyramid is already pared off in its very base (pre-school level).

-- S. Cañada (1974)

The year 1936 marked the beginning of a tragic era in Spanish history. The Spanish nation plunged into a bloody civil war with a dictator, General Francisco Franco, emerging as victor. The entire nation was badly beaten and endured years of economic hardship. While numerous countries mired themselves in the second World War, Spain

remained aloof from the outside world, attempting to heal her wounds. Her children were left combating poverty, sickness, and hunger. The nation's new leader, a Galician himself, vowed to reform Spain into a strong, centralized entity.

Until the General's death in 1975, he largely succeeded in his aim by erasing the ethnic regions' identities and privileges established under the second republic. While the ultra-conservative ruler undertook many public projects for the benefit of Spain, he suppressed the individuality of the country's "patrias chicas." The very man who was known to have sung the Galician anthem in Galician delayed his own homeland's right to self-expression and self-determination for more than three decades. He had the brightest and most talented intellectuals, journalists, and authors of Galicia, such as Castelao, Alonso-Montero, etc., exiled as potential threats to the welfare of the Spanish nation. The region's own son was the cause of much anguish and destruction within Galicia.

The fate of Galicia was bound to the life of the central authority, yet again drove the backward region to further humiliation, poverty, and illiteracy. The educational situation more or less mirrored that of the near past. Change and reform occurred slowly in the conservative region. The number of schools continued to be inadequate; more importantly, the number of schools, both

public and private, determined to be "good" by the Ministry of Education and Science was alarmingly low, as usual. Students often had to walk for miles and pay relatively high fees to receive a better than marginal education. Outside of the big cities, many ill-prepared Falangist instructors were still not required to earn a certification to teach despite only having completed the equivalent of junior year in high school. The curriculum was dictated by the central government as local differences, needs, or particular interests were ignored. Textbooks and other materials were still scarce. Many rural schools continued to take the form of dilapidated houses or shacks and, at times, classes were conducted in the local tavern. The choking influence of the Church and its doctrines could be felt in many makeshift classrooms.

Most importantly, Castilian still remains the exclusive language of use within all Galician classrooms. The new government maintains the position of previous rulers toward such international agreements such as the League of Nation's Treaty of June 6, 1919. That is, it disregards the right of the minority Spanish states to educate in their native languages in their own public schools. Santiago Alvarez summarized the situation when he remarked, "One of the most severe beatings I had ever received in my scholastic life had been for answering a question about the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Galician" (cited in Fernández, 1985,

p. 331). This sort of contempt for Galician and numerous other abuses were especially common in the region's rural classrooms.

Therefore, many potential students had an even greater incentive to toil the fields in order to help sustain their families and themselves. A number of Galician children would not go to school, whether or not it was readily accessible, simply because they could not understand Castilian and knew the result of this at the hands of an unforgiving professor. There was little motivation or benefit, if any, for the typical rural Galician, which still constituted the majority of the Galician population, to attend school. Born and bred with Galician, learning resembled an exercise in futility as education in Galician was strictly forbidden by Franco and education outside of major city schools was extremely poor. The dire consequence of this, as before Franco's regime, was that Galicians continued to be illiterate en masse and were further confined as slaves to their land. As Cañada (1974) notes, "Immediately after the war, because of the small number of elementary students and the increasing costs of an education, High School becomes an elitist trampoline of access into the university" (p. 221). This too caused a schism between the "ignorant" or educationally and socially deprived rural villagers and their "cultured" urban counterparts. Poor Galician students were attempting to compete in a degrading

school system that was inherently discriminatory toward them.

Thus education in Galicia continued to be a seemingly worthless and oppressive ritual. Not until the 1950s did the educational situation in Galicia begin to ameliorate. Of course, the region was still lacking of all kinds of educational resources. Furthermore, the central authority did not fund the region for educational purposes as adequately as it did other regions. Nevertheless, according to the National Institute of Statistics in Spain, Galicia somehow managed to attain a literacy rate of approximately 87% by 1950. In any case, it was becoming increasingly obvious that the sharp difference between city and country educational services had to be addressed.

Meanwhile, the central authority continued to defy further international agreements which would call for the use of Galician as a teaching agent to combat diglossia. For example, Article 5 of a December 14, 1960, UNESCO resolution stated:

The members of a national minority have the right to exercise the education and other activities which are natural and common among them. They have the right to establish and maintain schools and to follow the state's policy concerning education. They also have the right to use the language of the ethnic minority if this does not interfere with the understanding and functioning of the group within the whole state or with the national sovereignty.

Article 27 of a December 16, 1966, United Nations Treaty, also ignored by the Spanish government, reinstated the notion of preservation and promotion of the people's cultural and linguistic values as the judicial obligation of affected states.

Cañada (1974) provided the following telling figures which reveal the educational woes of Galicia. According to the Ministry of Education and Science, in the late 1960s, only 13% of Galician children went to Kindergarten versus the Spanish national average of 27.4%. At the same time, the number of Galician students (aged 17 to 24) in higher education was only half of the national average. It is no wonder that the region has historically lacked the highly skilled labor necessary to modernize and compete with other industrialized states. In 1967, 78.4% of Galicia's potential students went to school in contrast with 72.3% of the nation's remaining students. The number of Galician students (aged 14 to 17) going to school was 30% less than the national average. From these numbers, it was clear that there was a huge strain on Galician elementary education (EGB) as comparatively few students reached a high school education or beyond it. In fact, a 1972 study conducted by the University of Santiago, showing the Galician language-education relationship, informed:

The scholarly rendition of Galician students compared to the national average--and of Galician-speaking children to Castilian-speaking

children--is enormously lower. Of every four children that do not obtain an elementary degree, three are Galician-speaking. The expectations of reaching the university level are 8% for Galician-speaking students and 79% for Castilian-speaking students. (Cited in Cañada, 1974, p. 221)

There is no question that Galician-speaking students are at an almost insurmountable disadvantage in the Castilian educational arena. The link between language, socioeconomic status, and educational achievement is glaringly evident. According to Cañada, only 14% of upper-class Galician children speak Galician, while 92% of lower-class Galician youth speak their mother tongue. Moreover, of the students who attend the best schools in Galicia, a paltry 5% speak Galician, 82% speak Castilian, and 13% know both languages. In 1970, of a population of under 3,000,000 people, 213,000 Galicians were illiterate. Some 86% of these were from rural areas, while 9.5% were from an urban setting and 4.5% lived elsewhere (cited in Cañada, 1974, p. 221). Again, the data show the unfavorable stultification of Galician society a mere 20 years ago.

Galicia unquestionably needs to normalize or implement Galician into its schools to provide a decent education for its people. Unfortunately, the long-awaited General Law of Education of 1971 did not accomplish this aim. The General Law of Education was published at the end of Franco's regime in the B.O.E. of August 6, 1970. Articles 14 and 17 provided for the introduction of other languages, besides

Castilian, in pre-school and general basic or elementary education (EGB). The legislation did not even particularly help expand and improve the Galician school system as was expected. Cañada (1974) writes:

The discrimination in favor of the Castilian-speaking child of bourgeoisie extraction becomes greater to the detriment of the Galician-speaking child of country or proletariat extraction; the same occurs with the private school student compared to the public school student; likewise with the urban child versus the rural child. The conflict is ultimately woven by questions concerning social rank and linguistic battle and politics.
(p. 223)

Cañada (1974) concludes that cutback in education spending by the Ministry of Education and Science in the 1970s further aggravated the situation of Galician education. Apparently, to compensate for the lack of funding, many private institutions increased donations to region's schools. However, the money always seemed to heavily favor urban private schools and the more privileged Castilian-speaking student (p. 226).

Sociological and Cultural Problems

The use of more than one language can carry social, political, economic, and even emotional problems. Upper-class society and people holding positions of power somehow regulate the life and survival of a language. These people manipulate language, at will, to suit their purposes. In a

multilingual state, power and wealth often decide which language will be used for which occasion and which language will survive and flourish. Varela-Puña (1980) writes, ". . . the greater one's socioeconomic status, the lesser is his inclination to speak Galician. . . . Diglossia increases with decreasing levels of socioeconomic status" (p. 21). The Galician language is victimized by this pattern which Alonso-Montero (1973) described, in his book Informe Dramatico Sobre la Lengua Gallega (pp. 27-33), by presenting the following distinctions between Castilian and Galician. Those people who are powerful, rich, better educated, and have social influence in Galician society generally speak Castilian. Those people speaking Galician are generally the poor and illiterate masses who have no social power and live in rural areas, villages, and city slums.

It has been difficult for the Galician people to understand why they should not be able to speak their language-- Galician. Equally difficult and demoralizing is when a child or youth, in the near past who could only speak Galician, was ridiculed by classmates who were able to speak Castilian. Teachers, regarded by students as role models and sources of knowledge, also took part in similar actions. For example, a teacher might tell a student, who could only speak Galician, that one must learn to speak Castilian in school. To this, the student would reply that his mother,

father, and entire family speak in Galician. The teacher would then tell the student that in school one must do as one is told, and speak in Castilian as everybody else. As a further course of action, the teacher would castigate the student with having to write "I will speak Castilian" or "I must not speak in Galician in class." Obviously, the student would comply with the teacher's punishment. For a minor infraction, the student might have to write out the punishment thirty times. Any subsequent infractions would be treated much more severely. The student could have his parents called upon by the school. The student could also lose recess and be forced to write out the punishment from one hundred to one thousand times. The student might receive corporal punishment or poor grades.

The student would then be labeled a "paleto." The "paleto" stigma could mean that the child is poor, stupid, illiterate, and worthless. The "paleto" label would suggest, to the student and his peers, that the student should work at home and in the fields rather than come to school. This would be especially crushing for the multitude of students who had to travel many kilometers from home to attend a school that taught other matter beyond the four basic mathematics operations. Unfortunately, such degradation was common in Galicia.

Despite this, many individuals survived in this backward and degrading school system. Since many students at a

secondary school level were far removed from home and family, they were forced to fend for themselves. One had to demonstrate one's worth and learn through steadfast determination. A student had to compete in a hostile environment with many other youngsters having similar aspirations. Of course, the student of a rural area was at a great disadvantage. Students from rural areas could depend on no one for support, being far from home and family. For this and many other reasons, rural students were treated badly in the city. The rural student, having far fewer facilities and support than urban students, might consider himself incompetent.

If a person is constantly treated as being stupid, this person will eventually consider himself inferior. In a similar manner, the rural student considered himself to be truly inferior. On the other hand, despite all obstacles, the rural student might be a survivor, often to his own detriment. This student goes back to his village and begins treating everybody according to the way he was treated in the city. To the returning student, all villagers appear stupid, uncultured, and unrefined--why, they do not even speak Castilian! At this time, the greatest problem for this formerly timid and submissive student is the return to his roots. The student becomes uncomfortable in the village again. He begins to fear the popular opinion of the common villagers. The student might even fear bringing a loved

one, that he met in the city, back to the small village. The student begins to display the same mentality and attitude toward the villagers that urban students showed toward him.

Educationally, the rural areas of Galicia had been neglected so badly that the poor had to emigrate or leave their village or town and go to a larger city to learn. Displaced students from poor families had been a great financial burden for their parents until recently, when better schools were built in small cities or larger towns. The provincial, regional, and national governments also began to realize how important it is to provide an education for all. This includes schools and education for poor rural areas which are fewer in number than in the near past. These governments also began to provide scholarships for different levels of education.

The new educational laws concerning regional versus national education could be the first step to free a group of people oppressed and subdued since Galicia became a satellite of Castile. For the parents, who were just surviving the trials of life, it was practically impossible to send their student to a larger school in a larger city away from home. Most parents could not afford to pay the expensive room and board costs of the time. Public education was free and continues to be so in Spain, but it was most problematic to live away from home and family on a severely

limited income. Besides this, any money given to a student was needed by the family of the student at home. Thus, it was doubly difficult for parents to give money to their sons and daughters, not being able to use or control this money.

The Pedagogy of Galician

Galicia has not had vernacular schooling available since Castilian became the standard language of all Spanish territories. In the recent past, students in the rural areas of Galicia received only a poor elementary education in standard Spanish. Often the problems of Galician-speaking children were insurmountable, and the dropout rate for elementary grade-level students was considerably high, at 75%. By contrast, 79% of Castilian-speaking students in Galicia went to universities.

According to Varela-Puñal (1980), "Seventy percent of the children living in rural Galicia today speak Galician exclusively. In the past, this figure approached 100%. However, only 25% of the better-educated Galicians, living in cities, speak Galician. The number of parents speaking to their children in Galician is 19%" (p. 41). Parents are apparently having their children become more educated than in the past; and until now, the road to literacy was Castilian. A greater number of lower-class Galician parents, about 35%,

speak to their children in Galician. Of the rich and better-educated Galicians, only 3% speak Galician to their children. These figures may or may not reflect the present times as they frequently fluctuate. The figures also depend upon who gathers the statistics.

Besides all of the problems and poor status of the Galician language, at present, everybody attempts to be a political guru or literary genius on the topic of Galician language, while disregarding all inherent problems of reality. Although Galician has become more popular, parents prefer to have their children educated in Castilian or Spanish, rather than in Galician. In the summer of 1988, those observations were made in a public speech by the mayor of La Coruña, who stated that if there were any language his sons should learn, it would be English. Many political authorities feel the same way, but this does not signify that they reject Galician. However, many people understand the current practical value of Galician and also recognize that Galician has a very low status, and that it will take time, money, and education to restore the battered language.

In Galicia, two main parties have differing opinions as to how the Galician language and culture may be restored. Every party at least appears to favor the "normalization of language" (Aracil, et al., 1989, p. 20). In other words, Galicians want their language progressively implemented

until all Galician students attain a "stable" bilingualism and can use both Castilian and Galician at a sufficient level of oral and written proficiency (cited in D.O.G. of 17 September 1987). Galician has not been normalized or officially standardized as of yet, nor does Galicia have the money and experience to do the task ideally. According to some radical intellectuals, however, Galician should substitute Castilian as the main language of Galicia. Others would insist that Galician should approach the Lusitanian standard gradually, thus ensuring the longevity and usefulness of the people's language without estranging the older generations.

All groups seem to be taking an unrealistic approach toward the question of the restoration of the Galician language. Many politicians, unlike the mayor of La Coruña, generally try to avoid the sensitivity of the language issue and instead work with the people of Galicia to formulate a viable solution to Galicia's language crisis. The politicians should be providing public awareness of proposals and should be open to the needs of the people while studying how much Galicia can afford to invest in the improvement of its culture. The politicians should not interfere with the internal structure of the language itself, but should allow the experts, who ultimately should know how to successfully recuperate what the Galician language and culture have lost over the years, to handle the problem.

The intellectuals and educators, on the other hand, should understand that a major economic investment will be required for the restoration of the language. Effective long-term and short-term planning are crucial to this endeavor and may present conflicting goals. For example, there is no question that nearing Galician to Portuguese is a long-range affair, while standardizing and even normalizing the language can be more fully accomplished in the short term. However, the solution must be custom-designed to suit the needs and interests of the Galician people.

The educators and intellectuals must also decide what they mean and want by language normalization and homogenization. Several dialects of Galician exist in the different zones and provinces of Galicia and beyond the region's borders. Linguists and philologists must decide whether one standardized Galician language should be formed by combining the important elements of dialectal differences, or whether Galician should gradually approach the Portuguese language. Shifting toward Portuguese would prove to be very beneficial for Galicians for various reasons. First, because Portuguese was born from Galician, there would be relatively little shock experienced by Galicians in the gradual transformation of their language to Portuguese. Moreover, Portuguese is a standardized language that has weight in the world. Finally, Galicians would not have to spend the money and effort required to standardize the

Galician language of today first, in addition to the cost of achieving the Lusitanian standard. The resources that would have been used for language homogenization could then be utilized to ameliorate the conditions of Galician education as a whole (Aracil, et al., 1989, pp. 81-85).

To suddenly substitute Castilian with Galician in the region's schools would be a most drastic measure. It would require that the Galician people support such a change. Educating the Galician population about proposed linguistic solutions, their costs, and their potential value should be the first priority of the Xunta of Galicia. Economists, politicians, linguists, and philologists must all pool their efforts to study and to implement the results of such an enterprise.

All parties involved must bear in mind that many Galicians have no preference or are undecided as to what degree they should learn Castilian, Galician, or both languages. Parents and students must decide whether such a language would be beneficial, and to what extent. The full implementation of a revised Galician language can only be achieved through cooperation of all those living in Galicia.

Galicia undoubtedly needs better education through a policy of inclusion and cooperation. Galicians should respond to the improvement of their language and culture with pride and zeal as do the other autonomous states of Spain. Galicia needs honest, dedicated statesmen sincerely

interested in the common goals of all Galicians. Besides the need for better schools and education, Galicia needs to improve the political view of all of its citizens. Much education and awareness are necessary in this regard as the common people can no longer mistrust government and remain detached from political decisions directly affecting them. The major social revolts that took place in Galicia never benefitted the typical Galician peasant. The ruling elite, usually appointed bailiffs from Madrid, do nothing to preserve the cultural values and dignity of the Galician people. Most of the Castilian ruling elite is alien to the Galician culture, different from the local ways. The Castilian leaders simply followed orders from the central power. These leaders were generally told to keep the Galicians down as slaves to the empire.

"In the year 1954, a complaint was filed with UNESCO mentioning the prohibition of publishing journals and magazines in Galician, including articles that were sometimes incorporated within Castilian publications" (Varela-Puñal, 1980, p. 57). Galicians could not send letters outside of Galicia to family, friends, etc., written in the vernacular language because these letters were usually opened by a censor and/or by the police (Varela-Puñal, 1980, pp. 57-58).

National Identification of Galician

One may identify Galician as the language of Galicia's rural community, including its field workers, fishermen, and peasants. Galician is spoken throughout the Galician provinces of La Coruña, Lugo, Orense, and Pontevedra, and throughout the Galician linguistic community which extends even farther (to parts of León, Zamora, and Asturias).

As Castelao [1980] further explains, "Galician is the father language of Portuguese" (Varela-Puñal, 1980, p. 141). As a result, those who speak Galician can communicate with Portuguese, Brazilians, and the inhabitants of previous Portuguese colonies. Gallaeco-Portuguese is practically the same spoken language for all of these people.

In 1965, Galician became recognized as the language of Galicia. Through a later decree of the Statute of Galicia, the province became bilingual. Following the death of the dictator, Franco, Galicia became an autonomous state.

One should carefully consider the circumstances and events surrounding a language, and the inherent problems of its speakers. One cannot have the same understanding of a student born in Boston from a Galician family than of a student born in Galicia from a Galician family. A student who lives in an English-speaking country and wants to learn Spanish is in a much different situation from an English-speaking student living in Spain or another Spanish-speaking

country, being surrounded by its native language and speakers. The second student obviously has better chances of learning the true Spanish language well. However, if this second student does not want to learn Spanish, he puts himself in a worse position for learning the language than the first student, who truly desires to learn Spanish. Galician students have historically been in the same position as this second student.

In Spain, students learning Galician contrast greatly from students learning Basque. The students learning Basque try to learn a language that is completely different from all other known languages and that is surrounded by Romance language influence on all sides. Euzkadi has had more success in revitalizing its language because its people are more nationalistic and prouder of their language than their Galician counterparts. Thus, pride and social status play a great role in studying or learning a language. For instance, on his personal travels and interviews during the summer of 1988, the researcher of this study noted that when he addressed himself to a person in the vernacular language in Galicia, he almost always received that person's reply in Castilian. It was as if people expected to be spoken to in Castilian. In Barcelona, on the other hand, the exact opposite occurred. The researcher found it difficult to make Catalonians respond in Castilian. Negativism

and lack of purpose appear to be other great factors in learning a language.

The socioeconomic status of Galicia has directly affected the position of the Galician language. Galician is rarely used by upper-class Galicians. Galician is spoken informally among the lower classes of Galician citizens. However, the lower classes continue to have inhibitions about speaking what they perceive as a low status language. These people believe that they could be treated as uneducated dolts. Galician is still not normalized or accepted completely in Galicia itself. These facts must be carefully considered by Galician linguists and politicians.

Should Galician Be Readopted?

Aside from Castilian, Spain has officially recognized three other regional languages, one of them being Galician. By a decree in 1979, Galician became the language of Galicia. In Spain, for a language to be recognized as a separate regional language, it must have an oral tradition and literature. Galician does, of course, meet both of these requirements. Since Galicians are ethnically distinct from other Spaniards and also have a considerably different language, Galician is recognized as a language rather than a dialect. Language is the heart of any culture; from it evolves the very life of an ethnic group. According to Castelao:

Galicia is a nation because it has its own language, nurtured in the lineage of a previous language, probably Celtic, that it is the daughter of Latin, older brother of Castilian, and father to the inappropriately named Portuguese language. . . . It has its own territory delineated by natural boundaries. . . . It has a social morphology, its own economic issues of such peculiar origins that there is no possible connection between its problems and the unique legislation of the Spanish state. . . . The language problem in Galicia is then an issue of dignity and liberty, but, above all, it is a cultural issue. (Cited in Varela-Puñal, 1980, pp. 141-142)

It is important to note, for all studies concerning the Galician language, that although the people of the different Galician provinces are supposed to share the same ethnic background, many cultural and linguistic differences exist among these people. These differences arise from discrepancies in social classes as well as in cultural values. Not all Galician communities have the same needs, expectations, interests, and resources. In fact, Galicians have not always agreed on sharing their resources and efforts for the general benefit of Galicia.

Clearly, the Castilian language should and will continue to progress in Galicia, possibly much more than before the ethnic regions of Spain were allowed to implement their vernacular languages in their own schools (by Articles 14 and 17 of the General Law of Education, B.O.E. 8-6-1970). However, it appears that those Galicians, who have difficulty with studying or surviving in Castilian, will have a better and fairer share of an educational system conducive

to a better half. These Galicians will be equipped to face another language without an inferiority complex and will hopefully handle school work with pride and understanding above all.

Since the Galician poor and peasants were not educated, they could not speak Castilian. The Galician middle class began to lose its language. The schools educated their pupils solely in Castilian since 1714. Galician slowly lost the little power and influence it had left. Besides this, Galicians did not read in Galician, and Galician writers failed to produce in their own language.

In 1979, M. M. Argüelles (cited in Siguan, 1985) made an interesting study in Belgium. He found that motivation and social status of students, as well as their values and cultural stimulation, play a great role in the education and learning of students. Saville and Troike (cited in Siguan, 1985) appear to have made similar studies in the United States in 1979. They further concluded that Hispanics and Blacks are at a disadvantage, concerning education, with the upper social classes.

Studies done in both Catalonia and the Basque provinces appear to encourage this same simple and logical progression. Some private schools in Euzkadi, the Ikastolak, have been very successful in teaching subjects solely in Basque. It must be pointed out that all studies are in an experimental

stage, but these studies appear to concur with the assumptions and hypotheses of the previously mentioned theorists and others.

According to a private source, Basque public schools do not have as great a rate of success in teaching as do the Ikastolak. Other Spanish nationals, who do not understand why the Ikastolak are so successful, could learn a valuable lesson from the Basques. The fact is that Basque students attending Ikastolak are motivated and parentally supported in and out of the classroom. Pride, interest in learning, and social and parental support in this particular case appear to play a great role in promoting a good education. However, one also needs to take into consideration these Ikastolak (schools) are teaching Basque students mostly middle class or upper class, where the ingredients of motivation and parental support are usually present. The St. Lambert experiment in Montreal, Canada, is perhaps another example of how selected schools instructing willing students solely in French have experienced success due to parental involvement and cultural pride associated with other social factors, such as the language being studied was not considered that of a lower status but rather as an enrichment medium. For obvious reasons, assuming to obtain the same results in different conditions could be risky at best.

Normativization and Normalization
of Galician

Currently, four institutions along with the regional government, the "Xunta de Galicia," appear to be in charge of Galicia's more pertinent linguistic, educational, and cultural policies. Theoretically, these organizations have unique and clearly defined objectives for the future of Galicia. However, as the current turmoil in the region indicates, the Royal Galician Academy (RAG), the Galician Language Institute (ILG), the Galician Association for Language (AGAL), and the Galician Socio-Pedagogic Association (AS-PG) cannot seem to cooperate with each other and fully accept or understand their actual roles within Galicia. Most recently, many questions have arisen concerning the responsibilities and authority of these associations. The internal bickering within and external clashes between these entities can be traced back several years.

In 1982, ILG and RAG were ready to "normativize" or standardize the Galician language morphologically and orthographically. According to AGAL (1983), it was a committee of 20 members of the RAG and ILG who silently approved their own work on 3 July 1982, Orthographic and Morphologic Norms of the Galician Language. This was the first concrete effort to define the Galician language since something of the sort had been done in 1971. On the one

hand, this summer day might appear to be a glorious moment in which Galicians were finally able to restore their language how they wanted it. Unfortunately, as AGAL points out, this mixed committee immediately raises important questions about democracy in Galicia.

Apparently, the RAG and ILG attempted to take charge of the chaotic Galician situation and pass their own set of regulations without ever consulting AGAL, AS-PG, or other such organizations. AGAL rightly questioned the legality of the ILG/RAG rules which basically reduce to the ILG's thoughts. First, only 20 members of the two institutions combined approved the norms when the RAG alone had an official membership of 31 people at that time. That means that the rules were not even approved by a majority of the RAG's members and should not, therefore, bear the name RAG. Further, any members of the RAG who openly admitted to being "reintegrationists" were not invited to partake in the committee's proceedings. Reintegrationism, as defined by the Diccionario Xerais Da Lingua Galician dictionary, is "a linguistic posture which coincides with Lusism in the majority of its statements" (1988, p. 730). Members of AGAL and AS-PG, who also call themselves reintegrationists, were noticeably excluded from the committee.

AGAL, moreover, questions the right of either the ILG or the RAG bodies to undertake such a work at all. On the one

hand, it is most assuring that Galicians are willing to do something about their language. On the other hand, AGAL argues that the ILG/RAG norms are not particularly helpful for Galicians and that it is not even within the scope of the institutions to conceive such regulations. AGAL points out that the RAG, an institution for the promotion of Galician culture, "is composed mostly of linguists and literary authors, and is therefore not a legitimately competent authority" (Associaçom Galega da Lingua, 1982, p. 20). The Galician Language Institute (ILG), according to AGAL, is not a legitimate authority either since it specializes in investigation. Finally, AGAL criticizes the Galician government, the "Xunta de Galicia," for not remaining impartial in the affair and safeguarding the best interests of the Galician people. AGAL proceeds to show that the ILG/RAG norms are not best for Galicia as they oppose many of the stated objectives that they are supposed to achieve.

The purpose of the regulations, as written in Orthographic and Morphologic Norms of the Galician Language, follows:

- (1) The normativized language must be able to service the culture of a real and concrete people, and thus must necessarily be an extension of the language spoken by the community, and it must approach itself to it as much as possible, in order to take root in solid and live bases. Now then, for these bases to be effectively solid, the norms must embrace a Galician faithful to itself and, at

the same time, free of Castilian influence. That is, a common language must be as Galician as possible, established without submissions or dependencies, with careful attention to the structure and linguistic characteristics of Galician.

- (2) The normativized Galician must be the common expressive agent of all Galicians, a suitable and usable voice for their manifestations, written as well as spoken and artistic as well as pragmatic. Consequently, common Galician cannot be based on one dialect; rather, preferential attention must be given to geography and demographics to select the normativized forms. Therefore, it must be supradialectal and must ensure that the greatest number of Galicians possible can identify with the solutions chosen.
- (3) Common Galician must follow the good traditions of the old Galician language that are compatible with the language's way of being modern in such a way that traditional forms are preferred to the most innovative and evolved forms. It must also recognize its own most recent literature and culture, joining with all previous writers and accepting solutions already approved for use.
- (4) The normative choices must agree with those of other languages, especially with the Romance languages in general and with Portuguese in particular, avoiding that Galician adopt unilateral solutions and solutions not consistent with aspects common to all of them, such as the adaptation of new words and of scientific and technical terminology. This principle of harmony must also prevail in order that Galician may be standardized: the choices must be decided in accordance with a criterion of internal coherence, so that common Galician does not become arbitrary and incongruent.
(Galician Language Institute/Royal Galician Academy [ILG/RAG], 1985, pp. 7-8)

AGAL, which agrees with many of these objectives in principle, feels that the norms fail to meet their purpose and are often rather vague and ineffective. In some instances, they appear to be fully opposed to the originally stated intentions. In one of its more important criticisms, AGAL states that the rules neither reject Castilian nor espouse Portuguese. AGAL notes that the difference between Galician and Portuguese forms becomes even greater while the norms favor Galician-Castilian or pure Castilian forms (cited in Associacom Galega da Lingua, 1982, pp. 35-36).

Perhaps AGAL is not correct in all of its assertions. Even so, it is obvious that the Galician community will not be able to formulate the most helpful language for its needy diglossic people. Instead of assuming self-proclaimed positions of leadership, the mentioned organizations must dialogue and work together to attain an effective and viable solution to Galicia's linguistic and educational crises as soon as possible. The "Xunta" must monitor the efforts of these institutions to ensure that the people of the region are not further abused. After the final normativization of Galician, the standardized tongue must be carefully normalized.

Normalization signifies the implementation of the Galician into the region's schools as a teaching agent at all levels of education. The Parliament of Galicia passed

Law 3/1983 of Linguistic Normalization on 15 June 1983, and the "Xunta" promulgated Decree 135/1983 on 8 September 1983 which elaborates on the Law of Linguistic Normalization as it applies to education. The law is officially enacted by the 31 August 1987 mandate of the Educational Council.

Basically, the law proclaims that Galician is the natural language of Galicia and an official language of the institutions of the autonomous community, its local administration, dependent public entities, and, therefore, all public and private Galician schools. The law clears the way for the use of Galician in the classroom for those who so desire it. Furthermore, Galician is a compulsory course for all of the region's students up to the university level.

Consequences of the Implementation of Galician

The normalization of the Galician language will certainly render favorable results in the region, especially in its rural areas. The acceptance rate of the Galician language seems to be improving according to a survey published in La Voz de Galicia (24 September 1989, p. 29), having risen from 45% in 1987 to 55% in 1989.

Table 1 shows the results of a survey of a sample of the general population of Galicia. Examination of the data indicates that a mixed or bilingual education is the most favorable in smaller towns of 5,000 or fewer inhabitants,

TABLE 1
 SURVEY RESULTS OF GENERAL POPULATION SAMPLE IN GALICIA

Age Group	Taught In Galician	Both Languages	Galician Mandatory	Galician Optional	Galician Subject	All Castilian
18 - 25	4.5%	38.9%	11.5%	25.0%	9.9%	9.9%
26 - 35	15.6%	49.0%	17.7%	15.0%	2.0%	2.0%
30 - 45	10.9%	41.0%	13.0%	24.6%	10.1%	10.1%
46 - 55	10.1%	30.5%	13.4%	27.7%	7.6%	7.6%
55 & Up	13.2%	40.4%	5.9%	19.9%	19.1%	19.1%

with an approval rate of 50%. Of all Galicians, 14.6% would prefer to be taught in Galician, while 12.5% of the population would prefer to be taught in Castilian. In larger towns of 100,000 or more people, the corresponding figures for bilingual, Galician, and Castilian education are 39.3%, 13.2%, and 8.2% respectively.

Table 2 shows the response of students surveyed about the same question. These data have been obtained from a survey made of 671 individuals with an uncertainty of "+" or "-" 3.1% by L & MO S.A. (investigators for public opinion) and published by La Voz de Galicia La Coruña, Spain.

The results of this survey are very revealing, i.e., Galicians do not wish to lose their language, nor do they want it forced on them. This could be the reason why no academic authorities, most of them defending their own positions, even responded to the researcher's survey nor volunteered any other information.

It is important to note that many factors, including different political or group affiliations, age of the person(s) interviewed, and area of residence (i.e., rural vs. city, small town vs. large town), all have a bearing on the results. The data must be examined carefully to determine a clear majority opinion, which then needs to be respected.

TABLE 2
 SURVEY RESULTS OF STUDENTS IN GALICIA

	Galician Education	Bilingual Education	Galician Mandatory	Galician Optional	Castilian Education
College Bound	15.6%	43.5%	14.0%	21.0%	5.4%
High School	9.4%	40.6%	12.5%	28.1%	9.4%
Basic Education	10.6%	42.2%	9.4%	23.3%	12.2%
Without Schooling	26.2%	42.9%	9.5%	4.8%	16.7%

Galician, for obvious reasons, is a popular language in politics, but it would mostly serve as a culturally enriching language or transition to Portuguese for many Galicians. It is important for Galicians to protect and restore a part of their heritage which has almost been lost. Preserving Galician for the sake of culture makes sense if Galician education is to improve, and if all children are to be proud of their ethnicity, values, and rich culture.

Political and Intellectual Agreements

In 1929, the anti-project (proposal) of the Spanish Constitution declared Castilian the official language of Spain. In 1931, the anti-project of the Judicial Commission said nothing of the matter. However, the Parliament amended the declaration by stating that Castilian was the language of the Republic and mentioned some regional language privileges. Unamuno made an amendment barring the regional people from the obligation of having to learn their regional language.

By a law passed on August 15, 1932, Catalanian became the co-official language of Catalonia along with Castilian. By October 4, 1936, Basque became the language of all Basque people co-officially with Castilian. By June 28, 1936, there was also a Galician proposal which could not be voted on because of the Civil War. In 1945, a commission of exiles

was assembled in México to draw up a Statute of Galicia modeled after the Catalonian and Basque statutes. During the rule of dictator Franco, all regional languages were persecuted.

Regionalism vs. Nationalism
Due to Language

In 1975, through the Decree of May 30, published in the B.O.E. of January 7, 1975, the regional languages were regulated and could be taught experimentally in general basic education (EGB) for the academic year 1975-1976. By decree of the president of the Spanish nation on October 31, 1975 (the B.O.E. of November 15, 1975), the regional languages were called "national languages" for the first time, Castilian still being the language of all Spaniards.

Once Franco died, a new Constitution came to life on October 31, 1978. It was approved in December of 1978 and with it, new regional and national policies. The statute of autonomy of Galicia recognizes Galician as the language of Galicians. Galician, jointly with Castilian, could be the regional language. The new law, however, is not what many preach. The law does not require that students be taught solely in Galician, which is the radical interpretation of "normalization." It merely calls for the implementation of the language into the region's schools. Experts believe

that students should be taught in their native language first, whether it is Galician or Castilian. This is a great step forward, and it could represent a mutual respect for the different opinions concerning the normalization of Galician. Galician is beginning to be spoken in public functions and is now developing some form of vitality which could be beneficial and culturally rewarding for all.

The Constitution (R. 1978, 2836), supreme expression and will of the Spanish Nation, protects the cultures, traditions, languages, and institutions of the peoples of Spain. This document continues to detail how to implement the different sections of the law. Article 3, Section 1, states that the Secretary of Education and the Galician Junta (legislative body of Galicia, also known as "A Xunta") could adopt, jointly with the central authority of Madrid, the "adequate resolutions" to facilitate education in the areas of pre-school, general education, and vocational education in the mother tongue. The Castilian or Galician languages can both be used to achieve this endeavor in an array of possible arrangements in accordance with the general principles outlined in the Royal Decree (B.O.E., August 21, 1979).

The decree of Bilingualism for Galicia is clearly a step forward, allowing Galician students to study and learn what their ancestors could not. Now, children in the rural

areas of Galicia and the poor can learn in their native language and gradually switch to Castilian or vice-versa. By the decree published in B.O.E. on August 21, 1979, Galicia became a bilingual state in relation to the Spanish community. The actual Spanish Constitution is written in such a way that it stresses the protection of the traditions and cultures of all the peoples of Spain. It is both necessary as well as beneficial to be able to speak freely and to learn how to read and write in one's mother tongue. This does not signify that all Galician people are bilingual. In fact, most Galicians are not bilingual, and the majority of Galicians will, perhaps, never become bilingual.

The dispositions applying to bilingual education in Galicia include language use by the Autonomous Statute of Galicia (Article 5):

1. Galician is now the language of Galicia.
2. Galician and Castilian are both official languages of Galicia. Every Galician has the right to know and to use either language.
3. The public powers of Galicia will guarantee the normal use of both languages. They will also promote Galician publicly, culturally, and informatively, whenever possible.
4. Nobody will be discriminated against on account of his language.

Under the General Disposition of the Galician Educational Council:

By the order of 31 of August 1987 unfolds Decree 135/1983 of September 8, concerning the implementation of Law 3/1983 of June 15, dealing with the Linguistic Normalization. Published on D.O.G. of September 17.

the Parliament of Galicia, on June 15, 1983, passed Law 3/1983 of Linguistic Normalization of the Xunta of Galicia dictated on September 8, by Decree 135/1983 regarding education.

Article 1. Galician is the natural language of Galicia.

Article 6, Section 4. The Xunta of Galicia will dictate the necessary dispositions for the normalization, and gradual implementation of the Galician language.

(Law 3/1983 of June 15; D.O.G., 7-14-1983)

The above Decree specifies how the language should be implemented.

It appears that it will be very difficult to normalize the Galician language by decree, since there has not even been any agreement on how to normativize Galician.

Unfortunately, there will always be those who are never in agreement with anyone and criticize any proposed scenario. In Galicia, not even the "Lusist-Reintegrationist" groups are anywhere near full agreement on what to do with their language among themselves.

C H A P T E R V

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

Summary

Throughout this dissertation, this researcher has stressed the historical factors contributing to the ethnology of Spain, especially that of Galicia. An understanding of the Galician language is important for the appreciation of the autonomous and individualistic characteristics of a group of people of Spain so close to the land and, at times, so indifferent to their surroundings. The idiosyncrasy of Spain continues to be quite peculiar or unique as is its orography. The common bond that united Spain with the marriage of the Catholic Monarchs was the imposition of the Castilian dialect of Latin and the same religion, both of which resulted in general malcontent among the Spanish diversity.

The unity of Spain has been construed as a gimmick to control certain sectors of the population, but the grip of the regions produced more problems than expected by the founders of the idea until, finally, an intelligent policy has been developed and the respect for diversity has been established. The central government continues to be the natural link to the heterogeneous regions. No one knows these citizens better than those with local experience.

Who best knows the needs of the people than themselves?

Education of the people appears to be the best way to ensure that everyone can share in the democratic process. Perhaps education is a first step to eventually eliminating the "cacique" estate, as well as poverty and suffering. Then, Galician language would have status and would no longer be treated, as Carballo-Calero (1970) once said, as reserved as the language of the plebeians, and Castilian, the language of the gentlemen, or as Alonso-Montero (1977) referred to Galician as the language of those who live the history--referring to those without prestige, money, and mainly uneducated. Peñalosa (1981) also made reference to those who have language loyalty and how these factors could be the source of discomfort at best. He stated that "before the rise of nationalism, language was rarely stressed as a factor on which power and prestige of the group depends" (p. 164).

The adoption of Castilian by the Church in 1597 could have been the most powerful blow to diversity within Spain. Ferdinand III gave preference to Castilian over the other languages, and Philip V, the first Bourbon, continued to ignore the ethnicity of the people, governing and imposing the Castilian dialect for all schools. This was a very poor and unfair decision. Alonso-Montero (1977) mentioned the

experience of Ben Cho Shey, a supervisor for the Galician schools who was transferred to supervise the Castilian schools, in his statement, which will be explained following the original text:

Puido observar na realidade viva dos nenos a diferenca entre unha escola e a outra, entre a que falaba a lingua dos rapaces ea que falaba en lingua allea. Este trauma vai condicionar non soio as facultades expresivas do cativo senon tamen o seu comportamento social. En Castela, en troques, a escola e unha prolongacion autentica do fogar, da casa do neno. (p. 8)

Ben Cho Shey explained how he observed the reality, and the difference it makes being taught in the mother tongue versus a foreign one. He also expressed his concern in regard to the trauma and conditioning of the students in Galicia, commenting, as well, on how much it exposed the children to stress and emphasizing the importance of having a linkage between the language of their home and that of the school.

In summation, Galician should continue to be spoken by those who desire to, without any feelings of inferiority. On the contrary, it should be an enrichment as has been the case in other nations which allow and respect diversity--whether it be linguistic and/or cultural. The multilingual person will always have an advantage over those who lack this privilege.

Recommendations

As a teacher, and the product of a linguistic minority, the researcher knows that learning any subject in an unfamiliar language simply breeds disaster. This is not only a problem reserved to Galician students but can be applied to other linguistic minorities, including those in the United States. Children facing a foreign language and hostile surroundings can avoid further traumas by facing school during their first stages of life in their most familiar language environment. School should be an extension from the home, and using the mother language in school is the closest experience to the real life for children.

The Galician language should be preserved for two very different reasons: first, for the cultural value of its ethnic (Celtic) background and the greater importance derived from its educational values; and second, for its great role in preventing young children from a trauma they face upon entering school and a strange environment, with unfamiliar languages and cultures.

The Galician language should be standardized, or returned to the old roots of the Portuguese language. The actual public interest about language and culture should be taken into account. Today the goal of the Galician people appears to favor a mixed (bilingual) education. The Constitution of Spain and the Decree of Bilingual Education

spell out how the Galician language should be taught and implemented in the region schools; these decisions appear to be in agreement with all the involved parties, i.e., the "Xunta de Galicia" local government, the institution in charge of adopting and regulating education in Galicia in accordance with the prerogatives given to them by the general laws.

The newspaper La Vos de Galicia conducted a survey in the year 1987, the results of which indicated 45% in favor of the Galician language. Two years later, they conducted a similar survey, which resulted in an increase to 55% in favor of the Galician language. Although there appeared to be a majority, there was not a consensus of opinion for a radical change in education. The researcher's opinion is also in agreement with the results of the public opinion survey included in Chapter IV of this dissertation.

It should be stressed that the importance of the history and culture of the regions should be taught. This education should be mandatory for all students attending school in Galicia. A language class in Galician could be conducted in Social Studies (for example, as a pilot program) to evaluate the outcome, and make the adequate decisions in view of these results, cojointly with the survey of La Vos de Galicia.

Rural Galicia needs to have better schools, and the allocation "subventions" given to private institutions

should be decreased. Providing the public schools with better equipment and adequate staff should be a priority if the public schools are to be an equal educational setting for all.

It is almost as important in rural Galicia to create centers for younger children where they can be stimulated at a very early age. This would also be in line with pre-schools for city children, not only in Galicia but also in the United States.

Ultimately, the leaders of Galicia must look to their own people for the answers. The general Galician populace has been neglected by its own leaders for too long. It is time to change that trend for the benefit of Galicia. Even in the post-Franco era, Galicia has been ruled by elitist, self-proclaimed experts. This cannot continue if Galicia is to survive as a unified nation, proud in its culture and traditions. The RAG and ILG, for instance, did a great disfavor to the Galician people by not counting on them for the actual standardization of the language. Technically, the RAG is an institution promoting the preservation and advancement of Galician culture. It is not even supposed to be mired in the political processes of the Galician situation.

The final challenge facing Galician authorities is how to successfully implement its accepted Galician in all of the region's schools. While it is now legal for students to

learn in their mother language in Galicia, the effort should continue to be to educate everyone.

Galicia owes much to the RAG of the past, which did meritorious work under adverse circumstances. That does not give them or others, today, the right to decide the fate of everyone. Their role should continue to be that of education. Fighting among the organizations never leads to good results. The ILG, with less tradition, should allow other ideas to be counted, and the educators should have the future of Galicia in mind, not their personal interests, as has been the case with the Galician politicians.

This researcher has shown throughout this dissertation that these recommendations are based on the research of different practitioners. The main emphasis appears to agree with the terms of the Spanish Constitution, the Bilingual Education Bill, and the specific needs of the regions, which should be changed as needs and circumstances arise.

Conclusion

This dissertation has chronicled the life of Galicia, Spain, since its beginning and to determine how the present linguistic and cultural crisis of the region has evolved. Castile, the overbearing ruler and colonizer of Galicia, until recently, has had a magnanimous impact on life in the region. First, the central authority was responsible for

subjugating the region and replacing its leading officials, nobility, and clergy with foreign influences. In a relatively short time, Castile virtually claimed all positions of power and authority with individuals who did not care for Galician heritage, values, and pride. Over the span of five centuries, the foreign-imposed structure of Galician society subjected the typical country Galician to countless abuses, poverty, and illiteracy. This incarceration of the Galician spirit and freedom have had a profound effect on the Galician psychs. A famous Galician once said, "There is no worse exile than that in one's very own nation."

For years, the Galician has been living the predestined, meaningless life of a prisoner in his own land. The constant Castilian degradation of everything that comprised the Galician identity led the Galician to believe that his life was devoid of purpose and fulfillment. It hurt the Galician's pride to realize that he was slaving over the region's rugged lands to provide a comfortable existence for his condescending Castilian superior. The situation of the Galician seemed hopeless; he certainly could not strike out against his oppressor, backed by generations of wealth and control, and expect to win. The Galician was often forced to leave his beloved land to escape the suffocating grip of a complete Castilian domination. Nowhere is the struggle or at least the contrast

between the humble Galician and tyrannical Castilian force more evident than in the Galician classrooms of the near past.

Since Galician became the national language of all of Spain, the Galician student has been greatly handicapped in his own region's schools. Language is perhaps the most defining and important feature of a culture. From it evolves the life and energy of an ethnic group. By forcing their language upon Galicians, Castilian invaders dealt the region's culture a heavy blow. Without their language, Galicians began to lose their very identity and national pride. It is no wonder that Galicians rarely rose in the same bitter and quick rage as their Catalonian and Basque counterparts did against the central authority. It was not merely because of the Galician personality--rather, it was because Galician was more severely smothered than the other surviving ethnic nations.

It has to be realized that the thought of the powerful did not quite agree with the social justice. To see what the situation was from the time of the reign of Queen Isabella, Brenan (1976) gave us his opinion of Bravo Murillo, who was, he says, "Isabella's most intelligent minister: [You want me to authorize schools at which 600 working men are to attend? Not in my time. Here we don't want men who think, but oxen who work.] Then a few years later (in 1854),

a reactionary and clerical government passed a law making education compulsory for all" (p. 56). This statement appeared to be in the same line of thought with the statement of Quintana in 1813, when Brennan (1976) said, "All over Spain should be taught a single doctrine (referring to Catholicism) with a single method and only in one language" (obvious Castilian) [p. 56].

Another very powerful observation made in a different time frame and referring to people geographically distant from Galicia but applies to Galicians aptly. Freire (1973) quoted a book written by Vieira Pinto saying:

Illiteracy in itself is not an obstacle. It's the result of an earlier hindrance and later becomes an obstacle. . . . The illiterate man is the man who does not need to read. (p. 13)

This is the case of Galicians, which could also be applied to Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, American Natives, and why a person has not learned how to read. One might be because there was not a need, as has happened with the agrarian societies in the near past, since history can be transmitted orally.

Ever since the late 15th century, Galicia and its language have lived in the shadow of Castile. The paramount objective of the Catholic sovereigns to bond together one, unified Spanish nation forced upon Galicia, Castilian law, customs, and language. The focus of a despotic Castilian colonization and Galician emigration ensured that the region

would gradually lose its personality and forever remain a satellite orbiting around the iron will of Castile. Indeed, for the most part, Galicia's existence since the end of the Middle Ages has been shaped by the central authority.

Today, there is renewed hope, however, that Galicia may once again develop into a prosperous and proud land as it now possesses a considerably greater amount of freedom and control over its own affairs than in the near past.

There is one element which, more than anything else, has separated and continues to separate a Galician from any other Spanish national--his language. It, therefore, makes sense that any campaign to restore Galician pride, heritage, and culture should be closely associated with efforts to revive the Galician language. Still, many problems exist with the overall undertaking of such a strategy. Because Galicia has been ruled and closely monitored for over 500 years, Galician has not been the exclusive language of its people. Furthermore, there does not yet exist a standardized tongue for the entire Galician linguistic community.

Despite its prominence among the majority of Galicians, formal education has never been conducted in Galician in the region. There was little incentive for the typical Galician child to attend school if his education were solely in Castilian, a language to which he had not been exposed and which he could not understand. For this reason, the region has suffered from illiteracy and its disastrous consequences.

Denied a proper education, Galicians were kept down as field laborers or forced to emigrate in an effort to find a better life at a very early age. The effects of poor education on Galicia are visible today in the still backward region.

Perhaps the greatest task facing the post-Franco Galician government is how to upgrade the historically inferior quality of the region's schooling. Galicia can live a prosperous life only if enormous strides are taken to ameliorate its educational system. Previously, the region was strictly an agricultural society until the 1950s. Once the majority of Galicians have access to a satisfactory education, Galicia will be ripe for intellectual and technological growth. It will never be too late for the forces of industrialization and urbanization to transform Galicia into a modern state. However, in order to attain this goal, the region must develop a sound economic base. This can be accomplished only by lessening the region's dependence on agriculture. Whereas Galicia's existence used to depend solely on antiquated farming, the region's fate now lies in the restructuring of its schools.

The main problem, then, appears to be in curing the educational maladies of Galicia. Obviously, the sooner reform takes place, the sooner its results will pervade all of Galicia. It is equally apparent that such a monumental task cannot be rushed. After all, Galicia's future will be decided by how the educational question is handled.

Certainly, many considerations and complexities will have to be dealt with firmly.

Politics and Attitudes

Colonization has always been painful for those who have experienced it. The subjugator usually imposes on the colonized country and its people, foreign laws, a new language, and oftentimes a culture and religion which all serve to demeaning the natives in every conceivable way. Conversely, the colonized usually reject a language/culture with which they cannot identify and subsequently learn and progress very little.

In the past, there was pride associated with knowing more than one language, as in the example of the Romans who considered it an honor to have a Greek slave as the tutor of their children.

The Arabs were also tolerant, when they conquered Spain, allowing the natives to maintain their own language and culture. Too often in history, however, among a new ruling country's priorities was to subjugate and take away the pride, values, and identity of the native peoples substituting them with those they believe would be best for everyone, i.e., that is their own. This is exactly what happened in the case of Castile (Spain), during the Middle Ages, and more recently with such powerful countries as the United States, France, Great Britain, etc. It is believed

by some that the United States continues to do so even today, as can be seen in its treatment of Puerto Rico.

The following excerpts should shed some light on what has been stated throughout this dissertation.

Unfairness toward others usually results in such by-products as indifference and hate from the oppressed, which, at the same time, inhibits growth and produces a mental blockage that predisposes future positive processes for learning. It is easy to condition a group and beset an ethnic society, but it is quite difficult later on to instill in them the pride and self-confidence that was once taken away; the methodic and constant put-down obviously would build in the subconsciousness of the individuals.

The problems inherent to colonization are quite frequent and expand throughout the land. They are also known by different names and manifested themselves in many different forms. The end result is always the same however-- a loss of self-respect and self-confidence, which later on will be addressed in the schools via remediation. It is, perhaps, difficult for many to understand the meaning of being poor, or having to be instructed in schools in a language that cannot be understood. The ideal solution is, of course, a continuation of home-to-school, using the building blocks the child brings to school. When this link is present, the attitude of the student toward his teachers and school is quite different. This the researcher knows

from personal experience is true, whereas other gimmicks can be manipulated at will, as Hakuta (1986) documented in his revealing book, Mirror of Language.

If careful considerations are given, it would be easy to conclude that the Galician of the rural areas (or by the same token the poor), after having been regarded as stupid for so long a period of time, have developed a poor self-image and poor self-esteem. Additionally, being deprived of their language for hundreds of years has caused stigma and has had a heavy psychological impact. The same parallel could be traced to Puerto Ricans (an ethnic group with which the researcher has had a good deal of experience), who, like the Galicians, have been deprived of their mother tongue by the intrusion of foreign influences.

Too often, a person with a foreign background or a particular accent is characterized as being stupid. Similarly, it is practice to assume that the socioeconomic status of a person could be the problem of failure in school. This, at least at one time, was how the Galician laborer was regarded, and the same attitude has been noted, several times in the United States, by this researcher. Conversely, it should be recognized that poverty generates social deprivation and this, at the same time, generates false assumptions which are made by those in power who manipulate the social strata as they wish.

The preceding observations appear to concur with the studies conducted by Obgu [1977, 1978] when he explained his theory by studying the Hispanic underachiever and concluded that:

. . . the extent to which generations of exclusion and segregation, as well as social structure and economics, contribute to the underachievement of minority students . . . students related to schools based upon perceptions of and expectations for future roles. . . . Observations of community and family members' allocation of certain roles gives them a clear indication of the lack of reward for completion of formal education. . . . Some students, usually middle class or above, achieve, and eventually occupy high social and employment positions. Others, usually minorities and students of low socioeconomic status, do less well and eventually are relegated to jobs and statuses similar to that of their parents. (Cited in Trueba, 1987, p. 28)

Another study conducted by Cummins [1986] expanded on what has been said and stated that:

Four structural elements in the organization of schooling contribute to student empowerment or disablement: cultural and linguistic incorporation, community participation, pedagogy, and assessment. (Cited in Trueba, 1987, p. 29)

A clearer situation of what has happened in situations of imperialistic societies has been experienced by Puerto Rico as well, since it was taken over by the United States from Spain in 1898. The English language was imposed on them for almost 50 years, during which time many refused to go to school, and far too many dropped out of school as well. The United States tried its best to teach them English, but the Puerto Rican people rejected the language as the Galicians

had refused Castilian for so long a time. Puerto Rico also refused to accept a foreign language and different culture that was being imposed on them. This created a clash of cultures in both continents. "Students of Hispanic background complete fewer median years of schooling (10.3) than Whites (12.5) or Blacks (11.9)" (cited in Trueba, 1987, p. 19; data obtained from La Raza, 1982).

Removing a people's identity appears to be detrimental, and ill-prepared societies will not be as productive as those who see themselves as participants of a democratic and fair society. Freire (1985) had the following to say:

Illiteracy is one of the concrete expressions of an unjust social society. Illiteracy is not a strictly linguistic or exclusively pedagogical or methodological problem. It is political, as is the very literacy through which we try to overcome illiteracy. . . . Learners must see the need for another learning process: that of 'writing' about one's life, 'reading' about one's reality. . . . A word can have a special force in one area. (pp. 12-13)

Gonzalez-Lorenzo (1985) described the rural Galician and his surroundings as follows:

The rural Galician-speaking people show an underdevelopment, intellectual and verbal . . . has different factors in general that stimulate little the verbal and intellectual development--deficient physical conditions (nourishment, housing); limited economical conditions; low academic level; poor child-adult interaction; restricted speech; poor education (without pre-school; without mother tongue in an educational setting; educational programs too theoretical without relation to the normal

and familiar surroundings). . . . Without a familiar language, his language does not have prestige, and the other has no meaning to the child's culture. (p. 71)

Gonzalez-Lorenzo (1985) continued to expound:

The Galician-speaking population shows a great deficiency on intellectual verbal development. . . . The origin of these deficiencies have their roots not in the bilingual practice but in the socioeconomic and cultural conditions in which this population live. (p. 73)

The following article that appeared in the Boston Globe

(1984, December 13) may further clarify the above research.

The researcher appears not to point out why this occurs, but the following study may shed some light to the above findings because of the universality of the problem:

Hispanic youth is being wasted by inferior education . . . 45% of Hispanic youth do not finish high school . . . 40% of all Hispanics who leave school do so before entering 10th grade. (p. 12)

It would have been interesting to examine the figures on the dropout rate of Galicians, but, unfortunately, they are not available. The researcher fully agrees with the statement in the same article that could also be applied to the Galician children:

Their educational needs are neither understood nor met, their high aspirations unrecognized, their potential stunted. This report was released by the Hispanic Policy Development Project. (p. 12)

Education and Politics

The success of a new educational system will be inextricably linked to the future of the Galician language. The

imposition of Castilian, as the functional language for all Galicians, is responsible for the region's diglossia which led to the steady degradation of Galician education.

Finally, through the Galician decree for bilingualism, Galicians can now legally use their own language without being punished for it. More importantly, Galician students can legally first learn in their mother language, whether Castilian or Galician. As numerous linguistic experts agree, this is the best way to ensure that a student will receive a healthy education without developing psychological and intellectual damage. However, Galician has not yet been implemented in the region's schools as a learning agent.

The next issue facing Galician policymakers is what Galician language should be used in the region's schools. Currently, all students in Galicia must learn the subject of Galician in addition to the course load prescribed by the Ministry of Education in Madrid. While Galician students in the provinces of La Coruña, Lugo, Orense, and Pontevedra are using the same textbooks for their Galician courses, standardization of the language is not yet definitive. In fact, there is much debate over the phonetic standardization of the language. The Royal Academy of Galician (RAG) and the Institute of Galician Language (ILG) standardized Galician in 1983 by a decree rather than by a normative process. There is much question, therefore, as to whether this supposed standard version of the language will stand,

as it was created without the input or consent of the Galician people.

Should the standardization be invalidated, Galicians are faced with several possible prospects. The language could be homogenized by blending the most important aspects of the dialects of Galician. Alternatively, Galician could be made to gradually transform into Portuguese. Some Galicians want "to return the language to its roots in Gallaeco-Portuguese." All of these reforms would seem to be possible, but costly. Therefore, it is imperative that officials take into account the practicality of each proposal through a thorough cost-benefit analysis. It would appear that Galician would be best off if the language were to become Portuguese. The foundations for such a change would already be laid. In addition, Portuguese is by far the more useful of the languages. Finally, this solution would not involve the burdensome costs of further standardization and homogenization.

The imposition of the English language over Gaelic has produced much pain and discomfort in Ireland. The imposition of French over English in the Montreal province of Quebec in Canada has not produced great results, nor has the imposition of English in parts of the United States and mainly in Puerto Rico. The suppression of Spanish in detriment of English has produced great illiteracy in Puerto Rico from 1898 to 1949. Illiteracy in Puerto Rico continued to

worsen until the return again to Spanish. The dropout rate in Puerto Rico rose up to 78% (Zentella, 1987).

The schools in Spain were, at one point, in such disarray that classes were conducted in the village "tavern" with an almost illiterate teacher, usually the village (chief) "cacique." This poor schooling has been separated and the small village school, with only a few students, has disappeared. New schools have been built and students do not have to walk long distances by way of tortuous and dangerous passageways. Today, students are bused from the villages to newer schools more in tune with the 20th century curriculum, but we cannot compare those schools with the facilities of the city or of a rich country like the United States. Physical Education facilities continue to be almost non-existent and other facilities such as libraries, audio-visuals, etc., continue to be luxuries. Nevertheless, what is lacking the most for children in Puerto Rico as well as in Galicia is a positive self-image.

Several studies have been conducted and researchers have concluded that new arrivals of students from other countries to the United States are more able to succeed than those who have been exposed to a continuous put down, as related by Peñalosa (1981) and Trueba (1987). Also stated by Rose (n.d.), racism plays an important role in our lives. It can be manifested in many different ways, as it is the case when people are misinformed or suffer lack of

knowledge. Another typical example could be poor schooling, as would be the case when someone from Spain is asked if he/she understood a Puerto Rican. Although Puerto Ricans had English imposed on them, the Spanish language continues to be the dominant language of Puerto Rico. Another twist with semantics is that of Hispanic people being labeled as Latinos, when most of those so-called "Latinos" are descendents of peoples from Spain and, at times, may have been mixed with Blacks and others. In either case, it would be more specific to say that they are Hispanic Americans.

Marin (1966) appears to agree with the above opinion. The term "Latino" could easily be applied to any descendant of an Italian, Portuguese, French, Romanian, etc., whose language, at one point in time, has been the classic Latin. Why this dilemma? Phonetics do not separate people, misrepresentation and bigotry do. The main problem of fanatics is detrimental to the rational understanding of the different social groups and the "Latinos," most of whom carry names such as López, González, Rodríguez, García, Fernández, etc. Some even forget the contributions of Spain to the independence of the United States.

Today, when communications and education should be the trademark of all nations, it can be found that language continues to be a political tool as much as it could be the economic portion of the puzzle.

On May 27, 1990, an article appeared in the Boston Globe, entitled "Roh Urges Koreans to Forgive Japanese." The article expressed the sorrow and pain suffered by the Japanese neighbors. It is obvious by the title that the President of Seoul tried to elicit the interest of their own language: "During much of the colonial period, Koreans were forced to speak Japanese, use Japanese names, and worship Emperor Hiroito, Akihito's father" (p. 15).

Judging from another article that was also published in the Boston Globe (1990, February 25), a very curious picture is obtained:

SIDES ARE DRAWN IN FIGHT OVER 'OFFICIAL' LANGUAGE

It is possible in viewing the problems caused by putting down, belittling, and constant harassment of minorities that the solution for a melting America are far from the reality. Several people for and against English-only argue for both sides. The reality is that the hidden agenda for bigotry appears to be the only gain and the results . . . [polarize and divide]. . . . Still there have been problems, which opponents say point to the horrors that could occur if English-only laws are enforced. . . . Daniel M. Lam, Director of the Massachusetts Office for Refugees and Immigrants, said that wherever English has been made the official language by law, there has been divisiveness, racial tensions, and harassment. It is a myth, he said, that Hispanics do not learn English, pointing to the Rand Corporation study of Hispanic immigrants in California that found that 95 percent of first-generation Hispanics learn English and 100 percent of their children speak English. (p. 26)

This article seems to indicate that there still exists a controversy. Language continues to be politically manipulated

at will, and the adverse effects of the imposition of English in Puerto Rico, resulting in academic failure until 1949 when Spanish was reintroduced, have taught very little to those who preach for liberty and equality.

Circumstances and political mood play a great role in inflaming passions, such as saying Spain came to America to rob the gold. History has seldom cited the many contributions made by Spain to this continent. Culturally, Puerto Rico has been treated worse by the United States than by Spain. The Native Americans lost not only their lands but also their language and most of its culture or lives. The same predicament has been experienced by Mexican Americans. The history of the colonized has always been the same, regardless of the name of the colonizer.

The abuse of the Native Americans is quite significant. The Boston Globe (1989, March 29) stated: "The present moment is only a continuation of the moments prior to it, through which a colonial system has oppressed, repressed, and depressed the American Indian" (p. 26). These were the arguments presented by the Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians.

The problem and consequences of imposing a language or culture are very serious. Rodríguez's article of August 28, 1988, in the Boston Globe, pointed out: "Language is like religion. It cannot be regulated without oppression." Freire (1973) expressed similar opinions;

nevertheless, the lesson from failure is not learned. The article goes further by saying:

When Dukakis (Governor of Massachusetts) speaks in Spanish, he is surely trying to win votes, but he's also paying respect to one of America's founding cultures, one that is still vibrant but not a threat, and to the millions of Latin Americans who share the New World.

This article depicted very well what has been said many times. Knowledge is not a threat; ignorance and disengagement are the problem. It cannot be emphasized sufficiently that imposing is the problem. The Arabs, when they invaded Spain, were very astute in that regard, as they tolerated native language and culture at the same time they emphasized their own. The use of the Spanish autonomous states, if not controlled, can also be a problem. Such is the case that has been well published in Spain. That is the case of a family from Santander, a province from the North of Spain, living in Barcelona, who requested classes for one of their children in Castilian and Catalanian. The newspaper, El Diario Montanes (1990, July 4; p. 6), said that the father was laid off because of a language problem, caused by a request that he made for his daughter to be taught in the language the family knew. This radical behavior and non-tolerance has been typical, not only in Catalonia but in many other parts of the world. Hopefully, this would not happen in Galicia where too many immigrants have contributed and will contribute to the restoration of

its "dulce" language and also to its loving individuality.

Studies have been controlled in Spain that compared many similarities with the studies made in the United States. Galicians were, for most of the past, qualified as retarded. This researcher limits himself by referring to the readings of a very interesting and revealing book, Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism (Hakuta, 1986).

The imposition of a language and the elimination of identity can produce many social and educational ills as has been the case in Galicia where the illiteracy rate reached a high of 98% for women and over 70% for men. The reality could be 97% for functionally literate. These figures, as is obvious, are not the equivalency to a High School diploma. They are for the required basic education-- "Educacion General Basica" (EGB). There is also the question on how measurements are made, and where the three percent of illiteracy comes from. It is to be suspected that the poor continue to pay the price of modern times in Galicia, as elsewhere.

Many students will finish school with "Educacion General Basica" (EGB), i.e., with a certificate of scholarship (meaning eight years of attendance to school and getting the title of "Graduado Escolar"). Once they have obtained EGB, usually at the age of 14, they have three

options: (1) they can drop out of school; (2) they can go to vocational education "Formacion Profesional" (FP); or (3) they can opt for High School. If they complete all the requirements, they can contribute to Higher Education.

All students in Spain will have to follow the prescribed curriculum approved nationwide, as well as complete all the required courses, for what will be an equivalent of the American High School. The students in Spain will have to finish all their course work, as in the United States, but that does not give them the right to their diploma. They have to take a series of examinations (consisting of subjects from all the courses they took during their academic life). Once all these steps have been completed, the students obtain the "Bachillerato Unificado Polivalente" (BUP), which is the American equivalent to High School (Titulo de Bachillerato Superior).

The BUP consequently consists of three courses of academic work. Having the option of an additional year, this is similar to a preparation or screening course for Higher Education, called "Curso de Orientacion Universitaria" (COU), which is required jointly with an additional examination. This last examination (or Examen de Selectividad) takes place before having the choice of choosing a university. The choices for the best universities will be in accordance with the students' performance. Most universities in Spain are free, by American standards, with minimal

fees. The government has been quite generous with scholarships for those in need.

Students who choose FP will go to trade and/or vocational schools. There are FP-1 and FP-2, consisting of two years each cycle, with options to go to Higher Technical Education.

From a personal stand point, it is the researcher's feeling that basic knowledge of the Galician language and culture should be one of the main educational objectives of public and private schools in Galicia.

In some cases, it may be necessary to begin the child's education in Galician if this is the native language before exposing him/her to Castilian. As John and Horner [1970] expound:

Studies have shown quite consistently that where students are taught the first year or two in their native language and then switch to the official language for instruction in the third year, or where education is bilingual from the first year, they do better scholastically, emotionally, and socially than those who receive instruction in the official language only.
(Cited in Peñalosa, 1981, p. 190)

However, the ultimate objective should be to enable the Galician-speaking child to read a comfortable level of bilingualism at the earliest possible age so that he/she can sit in the same classroom as the Castilian-speaking child without either suffering from feelings of inferiority or psychological trauma.

It is also the researcher's feeling that all school children in Galicia should receive instruction not only in the history and culture of Castile but also in regard to other ethnic and geographical regions of Spain. Clearly, in Galicia the emphasis should be on the Galician language just as in Catalonia the stress should be in Catalanian.

Native-speaking Galician children should be encouraged to study their cultural heritage in their native language. While this may be impossible for non-native-speaking children, these children should receive instruction in the Galician language itself in order to become better integrated into the surrounding society.

Regardless of whether the child's native language is Galician or Castilian, society should be careful not to project ethnical or moral considerations on the basis of language. It is important that all children and adults have a feeling of self-esteem and empowerment to control their own destiny.

In the past, fanaticism and intolerance have, unfortunately, resulted in the ethnic repression of minority groups in Spain. This failed policy should not be blamed solely on Castilians, but rather on the previous tendency to centralize all governmental powers. Thus residents of many geographic and ethnic groups have willingly participated in the abuse of centralized power, perhaps without fully realizing the negative effects of this policy. Franco is

undoubtedly one of the clearest examples. Despite his Galician origin, he was one of the greatest oppressors of his own people as well as others.

Obviously, if all children are to reach their maximum potential, educational opportunities must be equal for all. Further, a way must be found to motivate all students, regardless of background, in order to achieve their full potential, since an unmotivated student is likely to fail, regardless of the existing opportunities.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

CORRESPONDENCE TO SPANISH ACADEMIC AND
POLITICAL AUTHORITIES

The following letters were sent to various Spanish academic and political authorities for the purpose of obtaining information relative to the researcher's dissertation.

The letters had a dual purpose: (a) to introduce the researcher, and (b) to request information pertaining to the researcher's dissertation.

None of the letters were answered, with the exception of three, which have been acknowledged.



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AT AMHERST

School of Education

Furcolo Hall
Amherst, MA 01003

Mayo 23, 1989

Sr. Director de la Lengua Vernacula

Universidad de Santiago de Compostela
Santiago, La Coruña.

Estimado compatriota:

Lamento el tener que dirigirme a Ud. de este modo, pero, las vicisitudes de la vida así nos lo exigen a tantos de nosotros y, no siempre debido a nuestros deseos.

He nacido en una aldea de Ribas del Sil, del que fué partido judicial Quiroga, Lugo. Estudié en la Escuela de Maestría de Lugo, por los años 1955 a 1962, luego fuí a trabajar, y estudié en la Escuela Social de Barcelona, emigré a Francia, Canada y en 1969 a los EE.UU.

En Norte América me dediqué inicialmente a sobrevivir, y al mismo tiempo asistí a diferentes universidades locales, terminé mi "masters" en pedagogía y los estudios post-graduados en educación bilingüe en Boston University. Actualmente estoy tratando de conseguir mi doctorado en la Universidad de Massachusetts. Este último, es pues, el motivo por el cual he decidido a pedir ayuda a mis colegas, y autoridades, a quienes, ni conozco, pese a lo dicho, todos tenemos algo en común y es el de estar vinculados a un grupo étnico o, a la educación, y a todos nos concierne el amor a la tierra que nos vió nacer.

Actualmente como he dicho me dedico a la educación secundaria en la ciudad de Boston, y estoy especializado en educación de estudiantes subnormales bilingües, por mas de 14 años.

En la actualidad el tópic de mi tema es, una combinación del problema Gallego con una breve introducción a las lenguas regionales, y ligerísimas ideas de la historia de España, esa era mi idea, no obstante, el consejo que he recibido fué, el de limitarme a comparar el modelo de Galicia con el de U.S.A., es decir el título será: Comparative Analysis of Bilingualism in Spain & in the U.S. y claro está con lo dicho irá "Impact on Education of Language Policy"

La inferencia que sería lógica es, que si Ud/s me pueden facilitar información en cuanto a la ley que rige el bilingüismo en Galicia, población a la cual se enseña la lengua materna, y cualquier otro tipo de dato que me pudiese ser facilitado, sería de gran ayuda para mí. Aunque trato de mantenerme al corriente

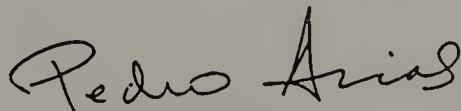
con lo que ocurre en España, esto no se hace fácil, y las distorsiones son abundantes y en 23 años que falto de la tierra hubo muchos, y drásticos cambios.

Mí deseo es también de que los Yanquis conozcan algo de nosotros, porque para ellos, solo existe Castilla, Cataluña y lo que ya conocen de antaño, a los Vascos. Al ser pues mí idea instilarles un poco de curiosidad, tengo que contar con fuentes, con, no solo mayor capacidad intelectual que la de un aldeano pero también con los conocimientos, consejos y ayuda de Ud/s los que viven la historia Gallega tal cual han dicho varios de nuestros ilustres, antepasados.

Le envío pues, un guión de lo que ya comencé a escribir en mí propuesta inicial. También le adjunto los títulos de la bibliografía que ya tengo a mí alcance. Le agradecería pues, sugerencias e información con relación a éste sujeto. Si sabe de algún trabajo similar al mío o cualquier información, persona o entidad que pudiese estar interesada en ayudarme le ruego me lo comuniqué o si lo tiene a bien Ud/s puede enviarle mí carta o una copia. Con gran agrado cubriré los gastos en que Ud/s incurra/n en hacer tales trámites.

Al ser mí deseo el terminar, o al menos hacer lo máximo posible este verano le agradecería si le/s fuese posible se comuniquen conmigo cuanto antes. A veces tengo amigos que van a España y podían traerme lo que fuese desde Madrid y en Madrid también tengo familia que podrían ayudarme.

Con mil gracias, y el deseo de poderle ser útil en el futuro le/s saluda atentamente.



Pedro Arias, Ed.D., Candidate.



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AT AMHERST

School of Education

Furcolo Hall
Amherst, MA 01003

Sept. 10, 1989

Sr. Catedrático de la Lengua Vernácula

Departamento de Lenguas de la Universidad de Santiago
Santiago de Compostela,
A Corunha, Spain.

Estimado compatriota:

Lamento el tener que dirigirme a Ud. de este modo, pero, las vicisitudes de la vida así nos lo exigen a tantos de nosotros y, no siempre debido a nuestros deseos.

He nacido en una aldea de Ribas del Sil, del que fue partido judicial Quiroga, Lugo. Estudié en la Escuela de Maestría de Lugo, por los años 1955 a 1962, luego fui a trabajar, y estudié en la Escuela Social de Barcelona, emigré a Francia, Canadá y en 1969 a los EE.UU.

En Norte América me dediqué inicialmente a sobrevivir, y al mismo tiempo asistí a diferentes universidades locales, terminé mi "masters" en pedagogía y los estudios post-graduados en educación bilingüe en Boston University. Actualmente estoy tratando de conseguir mi doctorado en la Universidad de Massachusetts. Este último, es pues, el motivo por el cual he decidido a pedir ayuda a mis colegas, y autoridades, a quienes, ni conozco, pese a lo dicho, todos tenemos algo en común y es el de estar vinculados a un grupo étnico o, a la educación, y a todos nos concierne el amor a la tierra que nos vio nacer.

Actualmente como he dicho me dedico a la educación secundaria en la ciudad de Boston, y estoy especializado en educación de estudiantes subnormales bilingües, por más de 14 años.

En la actualidad el tópico de mi tema es, una combinación del problema Gallego con una breve introducción a las lenguas regionales, y ligerísimas ideas de la historia de España, esa era mi idea, no obstante, el consejo que he recibido fue, el de limitarme a comparar el modelo de Galicia con el de U.S.A., es decir el título será, *The Evolution of the Galician Language in Spain*. Tocare un poco el punto de vista histórico del problema educacional de Galicia y el Bilingüismo, comparandolo a la problemática de los EE.UU.

La inferencia que sería lógica es, que si Ud/s me pueden facilitar información en cuanto a la ley que rige el bilingüismo en Galicia, población a la cual se enseña la lengua materna, y cualquier otro tipo de dato que me pudiese ser facilitado, sería de gran ayuda para mí. Aunque trato de mantenerme al corriente con lo que ocurre en España, esto no se hace fácil, y las distorsiones son abundantes y en 23 años que falto de la tierra hubo muchos, y drásticos cambios.

Mi deseo es también de que los Yanquis conozcan algo de nosotros, porque para ellos, solo existe Castilla, Cataluña y lo que ya conocen de antaño, a los Vascos. Al ser pues mi idea instilarles un poco de curiosidad tengo que contar con fuentes, con, no solo mayor capacidad intelectual que la de un aldeano, pero también con los conocimientos, consejos y ayuda de Ud/s los que viven la historia de Galicia y la de España, tal cual han dicho varios de nuestros ilustres.

Le envío pues, un guión de lo que ya comence a escribir en mi propuesta inicial. Le agradecería pues, sugerencias e información con relación a este sujeto. Si sabe de algún trabajo similar al mio o cualquier información, persona o entidad que pudiese estar interesada en ayudarme, le ruego me lo comunique o si lo tiene a bien Ud/s puede enviarle mi carta o una copia, a la persona o entidad adecuada. Con gran agrado cubriré los gastos en que Ud/s incurra/n en hacer tales trámites.

Al ser mi deseo al terminar, o al menos hacer lo máximo posible este año le agradecería si le/s fuese posible se comuniquen conmigo cuanto antes. A veces tengo amigos que van a España y podían traerme lo que fuese desde Madrid, y en Madrid también tengo familia que podrían ayudarme.

Podría Ud/s decirme si ha sido normalizada la lengua Gallega (me refiero concretamente a uniformidad, lingüística), si lo ha sido, ¿como se llegó al acuerdo en el uso de la fonología, sintaxis, y morfología?. A mi entender, las diferencias dialectales en uso cuando yo era joven eran fácilmente discernidas. ¿Se ha hecho algún muestreo, o no se ha hecho nada? Si se hizo algo podría Ud. describirme el proceso, o dirigirme a donde me puedan aclarar esa incognita?

Es de suma importancia para mi, el poder tener datos, resultados etc. de antes y despues de la implementación del Bilingüismo en España, principalmente en Galicia. Le agradecería infinito además, si me contesta Ud. si le es posible a los datos de la encuesta que le remito.

Con mil gracias, y el deseo de poderle ser útil en el futuro
le/s saluda atentamente.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Pedro Arias". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent loop at the start of the first name.

Pedro Arias, Ed.D., Candidate.

P.D.: Lamento infinito que esta sea mi 2a. carta a Ud., desconocía
que los gallegos o expertos de esa lengua hayamos perdido el
interés, humildad y generosidad que un día nos caracterizó.
Muchas gracias no obstante



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AT AMHERST

School of Education

Furcolo Hall
Amherst, MA 01003

13 de Abril, 1990

Excmo. Sr.

D. Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Presidente da Xunta Gallega.

Santiago de Compostela
La Coruña, España

Es con gran alegría que me dirijo a Ud. para felicitarle, no solo por haber Ud. ganado la presidencia del pueblo Gallego, sino también por su demostrado cariño y esfuerzo, hechos del pasado, en pro de nuestra tan amada Galicia y España., y lamentablemente, también tengo quejas.

Mí más profunda y humilde enhorabuena a Ud., y a Galicia

Permitame ahora acto seguido, que me presente, nacido cerca de Lugo (Ribas del Sil), por el año 1943. Claro está orgulloso de ser Gallego de nacimiento, y uno de los que según nuestro también muy querido profesor Dr. Alonso Montero, "vivió la historia de Galicia," consecuentemente me halló en este país no por mí buen deseo de ser emigrante sino por la misma necesidad que han tenido tantos de nuestros ilustres antepasados, aunque yo, no sea uno de ellos. Ello no significa que no amo a la tierra que me vió nacer.

Es al mismo tiempo, que siendo yo también profesor en las escuelas de la ciudad de Boston. Luego de haberme dirigido a los Sres. Director de Política Educativa, y Conselleiro de Educación de esa junta, y, teniendo en mí poder los recibos devueltos por correos con firmas, de fecha, 19/9/89 y 22/9/89 respectivamente. El hecho de que estos Sres. y otras autoridades académicas etc. no se dignen contestar, me da, no solo tristeza, de ver que en Galicia nada ha progresado, sino que también lamento que se siga embaucando a los que mas le debemos, entre los cuales he estado yo. Es a este país al que debo, el que hoy posea diferentes títulos Universitarios, en la especialidad de educación bilingüe y de la educación mal llamada en España "de minusvalidos" educación especial.

Se que Ud. tendrá más y mejores cosas que hacer, no obstante, no estaría por demás que los gallegos comiencen a pensar que por el mundo algo se aprende, y, para que los que se quedaron ahí puedan vivir mejor, los que no tuvimos esa suerte, no tenemos menores ilusiones hacia esa tierra en la cual no vivimos, pero amamos.

Es también para mí, muy penoso, el tener que exponer en mi tesis doctoral, algunas de las limitaciones que estoy teniendo, las cuales deseo compartir con Ud. porque Ud. también fué educador.

It is most unfortunate that the effectiveness and accuracy of this dissertation and similar works dealing with the immediate problems of the Galician language should be hindered by the disdain of fellow Galicians, who could play a great role in the resurrection of their people and culture, such as the Dean of the Vernacular Language of the University of Santiago de Compostela, the Director of Educational Policy, the Secretary of Education for Galicia, and the Royal Academy for the Galician Language.

The breadth and potency of this dissertation is greatly restricted by the demagoguery and complete lack of cooperation from Galician officials. It is incomprehensible and demoralizing that Galicians themselves should treat their people with the typically Castilian indifference and hostility that exiled F. Rodríguez Enríquez to Argentina.

Le adjunto también una encuesta, que es el objeto de mi queja, si algún día tiene Ud. la oportunidad de dirigirse a los académicos/políticos de Galicia puede Ud. expresarle el descontento de uno más, pero este, es de los que piensa que si no nos dedicamos a la investigación y cooperación con otras gentes no iremos muy lejos, y nuestro avance será de visión muy limitada.

Muchos de nosotros tenemos mucha esperanza puesta en Ud., y Galicia, necesita su experiencia y cambios honestos, a base de educación, de un pueblo que fué de siempre castigado, abandonado y abusado, es así pues, como su paisano, le deseo buena suerte

Sinceramente,.

Pedro Arias
Pedro Arias González



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AT AMHERST

School of Education

Furcolo Hall
Amherst, MA 01003

Abril 13, 1990

Instituto Nacional de Estadística

Madrid, España.

Estimados Sres.:

Les ruego me perdonen, por el modo de dirigirme a Uds. pero, después de más de 20 años que falto de mi tierra natal, Galicia las cosas han cambiado considerablemente y creo fue, para lo mejor.

Soy profesor, en las escuelas de la ciudad de Boston, y mi especialización es la educación especial "minusválidos" y también poseo un título post-graduado bilingüe, ambos de universidades de esta zona. En España me había hecho Maestro Industrial en Lugo, por los años de 1962. Como a tantos otros gallegos tuve que optar por la ruta de la emigración. La tierra que me vio nacer no se me olvidó no obstante, y mi propósito es, hacer el mejor estudio posible dentro de las muchas limitaciones que me están saliendo al paso.

Pretendo hacer mi disertación doctoral en la University of Massachusetts, en las Lenguas Vernaculas de España con énfasis en la Lengua Gallega y añadiré un poco de Nuestro Pasado claro está.

He enviado una encuesta a la Universidad de Santiago, Director de la educación para Galicia y al Conselleiro de Educación, desafortunadamente ninguno de ellos se dignó contestarme ni devolverme la encuesta. Es por esto que me dirijo a Uds. con la esperanza de que me faciliten los datos estadísticos de la encuesta adjunta, creo nuestra tierra no está tan incivilizada como para no poseer datos tan importantes, tal cual mis paisanos gallegos me pretenden hacer creer.

Si en algo les puedo ser yo de utilidad, por favor no duden en comunicarme cuanto antes. Mis intenciones son de dejar mi tesis terminada antes de ir a España este verano de vacaciones.

Les agradezco de antemano su ayuda, y espero en el futuro poderles corresponder a Uds. si me fuese posible.

Sinceramente,

Pedro Arias
Pedro Arias González



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AT AMHERST

School of Education

Furcolo Hall
Amherst, MA 01003

Abril 13, 1990

Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia

Secretaría Técnica
Madrid, España.

Estimados Sres.:

Les ruego me perdonen, por el modo de dirigirme a Uds. pero, despues de mas de 20 años que falto de mí tierra natal, Galicia las cosas han cambiado considerablemente y, creo fué, para lo mejor.

Soy profesor, en las escuelas de la ciudad de Boston, y mi especialización es la educación especial "minusvalidos" y también poseo un titulo post-graduado bilingüe, ambos de universidades de esta zona. En España me había hecho Maestro Industrial en Lugo, por los años de 1962. Como a tantos otros gallegos tuve que optar por la ruta de la emigración. La tierra que me vió nacer no se me olvidó no obstante, y mí propósito es, hacer el mejor estudio posible dentro de las muchas limitaciones que me estan saliendo al paso.

Pretendo hacer mí disertación doctoral en la University of Massachusetts, en las Lenguas Vernaculas de España con énfasis en la Lengua Gallega, y añadiré un poco de Nuestro Pasado claro esta. He enviado una encuesta a la Universidad de Santiago, Director de Educación para Galicia y al Conselleiro de Educación, desafortunadamente ninguno de ellos se digno contestarme ni devolverme la encuesta. Es por esto y debido a que en Madrid en el pasado tuvieron mas dignidad, (que mis paisanos gallegos) es pues por lo cual les ruego me envíen la máxima información posible, pero cuando menos, contestenme lo máximo que puedan a mí encuesta.

Si en algo les puedo ser yo de utilidad, por favor, me lo dicen cuanto antes, mis intenciones son, el dejar mi tesis terminada antes de ir a España este verano, en Julio.

Les agradezco de antemano su ayuda, y espero en el futuro poderles corresponder a Uds.

Sinceramente,

Pedro Arias González



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AT AMHERST

School of Education

Furcolo Hall
Amherst, MA 01003

Abril 13, 1990

Xunta de Galicia

Secretaría de Educación
Santiago de Compostela
La Coruna, Espana.

Estimados Sres.:

Les ruego me perdonen, por el modo de dirigirme a Uds. pero, despues de mas de 20 años que faltó de mi tierra natal Galicia, las cosas han cambiado considerablemente y no se, si fué, para lo mejor, o puede que sea que yo he tenido mala suerte o tal vez que me diriji a "personajes" que no debería haberlo hecho, de cualquier modo, siempre he tenido mas fe de la que tengo hoy en día de mis paisanos gallegos.

Soy profesor, en las escuelas de la ciudad de Boston, y mí especialización es la educación especial "minusvalidos" y también poseo un título post-graduado bilingüe, ambos de universidades de esta zona. En España me había hecho Maestro Industrial en Lugo, por los años de 1962. Como a tantos otros gallegos tuve que optar por la ruta de la emigración. Creí de este modo contribuir a que los que no tuviesen que emigrar pudiesen vivir mejor. Es pues que la tierra que me vio nacer no se me olvidó, y mi propósito es, hacer el mejor estudio posible dentro de las muchas limitaciones que me estan saliendo al paso, de nuestra lengua y cultura.

Pretendo hacer mí disertación doctoral en la University of Massachusetts, en las Lenguas Vernaculas de España con énfasis en, la Lengua Gallega, y añadiré un poco de Nuestro Pasado claro está. He enviado una encuesta a diferentes entidades, y parece ser nadie ha tenido, la dignidad, ni la cortesía de contestarmela. Es pues por lo cual les ruego me envíen la máxima información posible, pero cuando menos, contestenme lo máximo que puedan a mi encuesta.

Si en algo les puedo ser yo de utilidad, por favor me lo comunican cuanto antes, mis intenciones son, el dejar mi tesis terminada antes de ir a España este verano, a principios de Julio.

Les agradezco de antemano su ayuda, y espero en el futuro poderles corresponder a Uds.

Sinceramente,

Pedro Arias
Pedro Arias González



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AT AMHERST

School of Education

Furcolo Hall
Amherst, MA 01003

April 14, 1990

Instituto da Lingua Galega

Avda. José Antonio, 6-9 E
Ourense, Espana.

Muy Srs. Mios :

Agradecería de ustedes tengan a bién facilitarme la información que a continuación reseno, y, también les ruego si por favor me contestan a la encuesta adjunta, cualquier información adicional o direcciones de personas que puedan facilitarme mas datos serán bién recibidos. Si desean enviar esta encuesta a otras personas no duden en hacerlo, yo con gusto le sufragare los gastos por minimos que eston fueran, estos datos los necesito a ser posible enenviados por avión, por barco, no dan llegado nunca.

Espero Uds. seran tan amables asimismo en facilitarme información y aclararme el actual status de la Lengua Gallega, según tengo entendido en sus manos esta la normalización de la misma. Le ruego asimismo si me aclarasen algo sobre la polemica actual de si el Gallego debería o no acercarse al Portugués y, cual es suposición. Al igual que la posición de la Real Academia de la Cultura Gallega.

De anticipado muchas gracias, sinceramente.

Pedro Arias
Pedro Arias González

P.D.: El objeto de esta información; es, para poder terminar mi disertacion doctoral en Massachusetts, EE. UU., actualmente soy profesor en un "High School" Instituto de la ciudad de Boston.



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AT AMHERST

School of Education

Furcolo Hall
Amherst, MA 01003

Abril 14, 1990

Servicio de Normalización Lingüística

Rua Armando Duran
Lugo, Espana.

Estimados Srs.

Hace de esto muchos años, cuando yo correteaba por esas calles lucenses, alla por la escuela de Maestría donde me dieron el titulo de Maestro Industrial, 1962. Las vicisitudes de la vida me llevaron a otras tierras, como un día dijo Don Jesús Alonso Montero. Los que pagan son "los que viven la historia", yo soy uno de esos. La fortuna no obstante me deparó el favor de poderme hacer profesor en EE.UU. donde hice mi Master y Post-Graduado en esta zona de Boston, en el area bilingüe y de educación especial.

Actualmente estoy trabajando en mi tesis Doctoral y como es lógico nada para mí más importante que el estudio, del porque los que no hablabamos el Castellano eramos "os paletos." Esta idea me intrigó y me impulso al estudio y la dibulgación en este pais de mi lengua vernácula. Esto trajo consigo sus problemas y es por esto que necesito la ayuda de mis paisanos.

Necesito la mayor parte posible de la encuesta adjunta contestada, a ser posible devuelta inmediatamente, deseo terminar mi disertación cuanto antes, y la correspondencia por barco se hace eterna (yo, pagare los gastos de envío si es necesario).

Le agradecería asimismo cualquier información o datos adicionales que me pudiesen enviar, tales como, ¿Qué factores se tuvieron en cuenta para la normalización del Gallego, y, quién tomó las determinaciones?. ¿Que ruta lleva el Gallego?, la de Portugal, la anarquía o, ¿son los filólogos y lingüistas los que tienen la última palabra. ¿Cómo se determinó/a la fonética? y también la morfología, ¿se tienen en cuenta los diferentes modos del habla, me refiero no a los pueblos de Galicia sino a las comarcas?

Nombres de catedráticos también son bien recibidos, vive aun Don. Jesus Alonso Montero?. Yo soy profesor en Boston, Massachusetts.

Le agradezco de antemano su información, si en algo puedo serle útil, estoy a su entera disposición, muchas gracias.

Atentamente,
Pedro Arias
Pedro Arias González



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AT AMHERST

School of Education

Furcolo Hall
Amherst, MA 01003

Abril 18, 1990

D. Salustiano del Campo

" Sistema 13 "
Madrid, Spain

Estimado Sr. :

Me habra Ud. de disculpar por dirigirme a Ud. de un modo tan inortodoxo, la verdad es, que, ni yo le conozco a Ud. y estoy seguro que yo, soy aun menos conocido por Ud. Por fortuna en la biblioteca de la Universidad the Harvard hallé una referencia a un trabajo suyo, en el libro de Gonzalo Moya y Jesús Lago. Pese a que nací en Galicia en 1943, hace de esto muchos años que me ausente de España, es decir, desde 1965. Luego de haber trabajado en diferentes ocupaciones y asistiendo a universidades locales obtuve mi masters en Educación Especial y mi Post Graduado (CAGS) en Educación Bilingüe. Posteriormente pase a hacer el doctorado en la University of Massachusetts y es en esta encrucijada donde yo me hallo actualmente

Me he dirigido a varias autoridades académicas y políticas, en busca de datos para mi trabajo que mas que nada, estoy tratando de que se conozca nuestra cultura un poco mas por estas tierras. Lo cierto es, que parece ser, por mas que las cosas cambien, la mentalidad, parece no haber cambiado. No se, si es que no hay estadísticas en relación con mi trabajo o son tan comunes que nadie se digna decirmelo, sea en forma positiva o negativa. Ciertamente en este aspecto creo aun no podemos criticar a este pais tal cual hacemos constantemente, aun nos queda que aprender.

Debido al mucho tiempo que he perdido en busca de esta información, ya casi he prescindido del énfasis que estos datos aportarían a mi trabajo y mi deseo es el de terminar para julio. Es pues por esta razón que le ruego si Ud. puede cubirme esta encuesta se lo agradezco infinito, trataría de hacer los cambios posibles. Si tiene cualquier otros datos o información serán pues apreciados.

Disculpeme si me dirijo a Ud. de este modo, lo cierto es que según parece Ud. debe de dedicarse sea a la antropología or sociología social, yo, me dedico a la educación pública en las escuelas de Boston. Estoy también haciendo un trabajo de tesis


doctoral en las lenguas vernaculas de España, es decir tres de ellas de un modo muy superficial y el gallego pretendo hacer un trabajo algo mas profundo.

Le agradecería asimismo si me puede Ud. decir de que forma se llevaron a efecto sus estudios estadísticos, es decir, que tipo de población participó, y todo lo que Ud. me pueda indicar a cerca de la muestra y resultados. Claro está, si no hizo Ud. el estudio necesito conocer la fuente de información y la fecha en la cual se efectuó el trabajo. La referencia a su trabajo, yo la obtuve en el libro titulado Bilingüismo y Trastornos del Habla en España publicado en 1977, por Saltes. (p. 229)

Le ruego una vez más me disculpe por dirigirme a Ud. de este modo, pero como podrá comprender desde aquí no es fácil el hacer un trabajo como el que yo hubiese deseado sin poseer contactos en España, ni la cooperación de otros profesionales en la materia. Yo he salido muy joven de ahí, y por el mundo uno tiene que sobrevivir y no siempre de un modo, al estilo D. Quijote.

Este verano espero ir de vacaciones a España, si en algo le puedo ser de utilidad no dude en decirmelo, aquí tiene Ud. un colaborador incondicional, para el futuro.

Muchas gracias de anticipado, le saluda atentamente.



Pedro Arias González
Doctoral Candidate



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AT AMHERST

School of Education

Furcolo Hall
Amherst, MA 01003

Abril 23, 1990

Dr. D. Xesus Alonso Montero
Instituto de Vigo
Pontevedra, Spain.

Estimado profesor Montero:

Hace tiempo que quise dirigirme a Ud. y hasta la fecha no supe donde hallarle.

Perdoneme me dirija a Ud. de un modo tan poco académico lo cierto es que yo se Ud. es un hombre de acción, hace años le conocí aunque no tuve la fortuna de ser su discípulo, yo estudié por aquellas fechas en la Escuela del Trabajo en Lugo. Soy uno de esos que según uno de sus libros "vivi la historia de Galicia", como puede comprender soy uno de tantos que salimos de España y no precisamente por placer. En este país traté de superar mi situación y luego de muchas vicisitudes saque mi Master en pedagogía y mi post-graduado en la misma materia. Pasando el tiempo, pensé que debería especializarme, y lo hice en Ed. Especial y Bilingüe y actualmente estoy haciendo mi doctorado en educación.

Mi equivocación fué, el querer dar a conocer algo sobre nuestra lengua y cultura en estas tierras, de un modo claro y sin muchos tecnicismos maxime, cuando yo, ni soy filólogo, ni lingüista sino educador en las Escuelas Públicas de Boston.

He enviado una encuesta a diferentes lugares y, debe de ser de tan poco interés que nadie se dignó contestarme. Espero que Ud. por lo contrario aún posee ese interés de tratar de ayudar a los que se lo piden.

He tratado de averiguar como se ha hecho la normalización del Gallego y toda la información que poseo me da a entender que fué por decreto, y, no tomando un muestreo. Tengo aún más dudas, dudas a cerca de la fonética, se que la hay normas morfológicas, pero tengo un poco de dudas a cerca de todo ello.

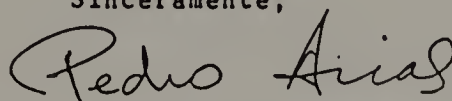
Tengo también información de como se hallaba Galicia en los 70, pero, se muy poco de si se han hecho estudios actuales y si se poseen resultados, sean positivos o no. Tampoco puedo discernir si el Gallego se está acercando al Portugués o no. Su apasionada Encuesta Mundial despertó las mentes del letargo pero, ¿qué piensa ahora la gente al ser obligatoria la lengua vernácula?. ¿Cules son los beneficios? me refiero, aparte de darnos la identidad que ya no es poco. También en otro de sus libros dice Ud "Na miña opinión solo hai dous camiños para salvar a nosa lingua ...". ¿cual es pues su visión, ya que los sueños, por los cuales Ud. luchó se estan cumpliendo?.

No quiero cansar su atención más de lo que he hecho, he no obstante de rogarle que si Ud. cree hay algo que yo debería añadir en un trabajo más bien básico y con carácter histórico, toda sugerencia y cooperación será bien recibida, máxime, cuando Ud. era el idolo de los que aunque poco podíamos hacer amabamos a Galicia., alla por Lugo, ano 1955 al 1962.

Mi propósito sería terminar mi tesis para el verano 1990, le agradecería cualquier información que Ud. me pueda enviar, lo haga por correo aereo. Con gusto pagaré los gastos.

Con el afecto y agradecimiento de uno que le hubiese gustado haber sido su alumno allá por los años yacitados.

Sinceramente,



Pedro Arias González



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AT AMHERST

School of Education

Furcolo Hall
Amherst, MA 01003

Abril 23, 1990

Srta. Ma. del Pilar García Negrón
Plaza e Cancela, 3-5, 6 Drcha.
15005 Coruña, Spain.

Estimada profesora García:

Hace tiempo que tenía deseos de comunicarme con Ud. y hasta que me he visto con la soga al cuello como se decía allá por los años 1955 al 1962 cuando yo estaba por la Escuela de Maestría de Lugo. Permitame pues presentarme, he nacido en las Riveras del Sil allá cerca de Quiroga, por el año 1943, he tenido la fortuna de hablar con D. Manuel María el cual me habló de Ud. he lamentado no poder hallarle el verano de 1988 cuando estuve en Galicia de vacaciones, tratando de conseguir información para mi disertación doctoral, esta era pues la razón, por la cual hubiese sido para mí una suerte de haberle conocido. Según parece Ud. es una experta en lenguas vernáculas y mi tesis está basada hasta cierto punto en esas líneas. Mi idea era mucho mas amplia, no obstante, poco a poco, me he tenido que ir limitando.

He pedido a diferentes organismos información y nadie se dignó contestarme, y desgraciadamente hasta la encuesta que le adjunto por peregrina que parezca, sus datos me son necesarios. Mi trabajo es de un carácter histórico, y mi objetivo es el dar a conocer nuestras lenguas, y un poco de nuestra cultura. claro está dentro de los límites que me permitan y en relación con el punto de vista educativo y bilingüe que son mis especialidades en el ramo de la educación, sujeto al que me dedico en las Escuelas Públicas de Boston.

Mi meta es enfatizar en nuestra lengua como la más importante, en su día ya lejano y por lo menos que se sepa aquí que no solo se habla Castilian en España.

Como le dije he tenido dificultades con la información, la Academia Gallega, Xunta, Catedra de lenguas vernaculas de Santiago y Salamanca y otras fuentes, Conselleiro de Educación, Director de Política Educativa etc., nadie contestó ni positivamente ni de otro modo. A veces me hago la pregunta ¿qué cambio en Galicia?.

Aún no estoy muy al corriente de que dirección está tomando el Gallego como lengua, ¿el camino de Portugal?. ¿Cómo está siendo aceptado y, que ventajas se están obteniendo, aparte de la Identidad del Pueblo?

Hay también en mí mente la pregunta de ¿qué estudios se han hecho para ver si el pueblo quiere ser bilingüe funcional y no diglósico, luego viene también ¿cómo y quién normalizó la lengua, yo creo no es lo mismo hacerlo por decreto que por muestreo, también en mí mente está la curiosidad, no ya de la morfología, sino también, la fonética. El Gallego de Lugo no es tampoco igual al de Vigo, Lugo, Quiroga, Santiago etc.

Luego Ud. ve por donde voy al hacer una encuesta simple pero que creo va al grano del problema. Me tendra que disculpar, las emociones tendremos que dejarlas de lado y tratar de ser impaciales en lo posible. El hecho de ser ignorado y de que cuando he estado en Santiago os conselleiros non falasen a nosa lingoa, me dió mucho que pensar y hasta llegué a aventurarme a decirme a mí mismo ¿es esto una farsa? ¿es acaso que los que "vivimos la historia" no tenemos otro derecho que el del pataleo?

Ud. podrá comprender que el no ser lingüista ni filólogo me hace ser "desconfiado" como educador que se formo fuera de España también veo diferentes las cosas, posiblemente es por este motivo me gurtaría intercambiar impresiones con Ud., si algún día nos fuese posible. Desearía dejar mi tesis terminada antes de las vacaciones de verano, no obstante, tengo más dudas si esto va a poder ser posible

Si algún día viene por Boston no deje de darnos una llamadita, tanto mi esposa como yo somos educadores en esta tierra de América por varios años. Si en algo le podemos ser de utilidad no dude en comunicarnoslo.

De anticipado mi profundo agradecimiento,

Pedro Arias
Pedro Arias González

APPENDIX B:
SURVEY INSTRUMENT

POR FAVOR, LE RUEGO CONTESTE LO MEJOR QUE PUEDA A LAS SIGUIENTES PREGUNTAS. CRUCE (X), O MARQUE ✓, LO QUE NO LE INTERESE.

No es necesario que firme o ponga su nombre (unico si quiere que nos comuniquemos) mí dirección es: School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002, U.S.A., yo soy estudiante de la Universidad de Massachusetts. Si hay algo que no le interesa dejelo Ud. en blanco, le ruego conteste lo máximo posible no obstante.

ESTO ES UN ESTUDIO ACADEMICO DE TESIS DOCTORAL.

1. ¿Cuántos estudiantes habia antes de la implementacion de las lenguas vernáculas (El Gallego, Vasco, Catalán en 1975)? _____

¿Cuántos de los anteriores terminaban (obtenian su diploma) en la escuela elemental....., secundaria....., vocacional....., técnica superior....., universitaria.....

2. ¿Cuántos jóvenes hay hoy en día en edad escolar?
en Galicia _____ % en España _____ %

3. ¿Cuántas escuelas hay en Galicia? _____ en España? _____

4. ¿Cuántas escuelas hay en Galicia, de enseñanza pública y privada?

Primaria (E.G.B.).....	_____
Secundaria (B.U.P.)/	_____
Vocacional.....	_____
Pre-Universitaria (C.O.U.)...	_____
Universitaria.....	_____

5. ¿Cuántos estudiantes comenzaron sus estudios? en: _____ %

Galicia _____ España _____

E.G.B. _____

B.U.P. _____

C.O.U. _____

Universitaria _____

Vocacional _____

E.G.B. _____

B.U.P. _____

C.O.U. _____

Universitaria _____

Vocacional _____

6. ¿Cuántos estudiantes terminaron sus estudios? en: ___%

Galicia _____ % España _____ %

E.G.B. _____	E.G.B. _____
B.U.P. _____	B.U.P. _____
C.O.U. _____	C.O.U. _____
Universitaria _____	Universitaria _____
Vocacional _____	Vocacional _____

7. ¿Se ha hecho algún estudio con los padres, para conocer si están o no satisfechos con la educación bilingüe?

Con Padres: sí _____ no _____

Con Estudiantes: sí _____ no _____

Comentarios:

8. ¿Se han hecho estudios, de quién, y cuántos están? ___%

Satisfechos

No Satisfechos

mayores de 18 hombres _____

mayores de 18 hombres _____

mayores de 18 mujeres _____

mayores de 18 mujeres _____

menores de 18 niños/
ñas _____

menores de 18 niños/
ñas _____

9. ¿Qué lengua quiere, o es más importante aprender para Ud.?

Castellano _____	Gallego _____
Galaico-Portugués _____	Castellano y lengua _____
Otra lengua _____	materna _____

10. ¿Qué opinión tiene Ud., de la enseñanza en lengua vernácula, y cuál es su opinión a cerca de este tipo de enseñanza?

cree Ud. que aprende mejor el niño en su
lengua materna _____

cree Ud. que aprenden lo mismo en
cualquier lengua _____

cree Ud. que se le facilita el aprendizaje
al niño _____

cree Ud. que da seguridad y elimina
ansiedad al niño _____

11. ¿Debería el Gallego aproximarse al Portugués?

sí _____ no _____

12. ¿Cree Ud. que todas las personas en Galicia deben,
de hablar el Gallego?

sí _____ % no _____ %

indiferente _____

¿Porqué?

13. ¿De que genero es Ud.? Masculino _____ Femenino _____

mayor de 18 años? _____ soy menor de 18 años? _____

14. ¿Le gustan a Ud. las Lenguas Regionales?

sí _____ no _____

15. ¿A que edad dejo Ud. de ir a la escuela? _____

16. ¿Cual fué su último curso/titulo académico? _____

17. Por favor me puede Ud. dar otras ideas que crea
importantes?

Le agradezco infinito su cooperacion y sinceridad, esta encuesta es, para mis estudios doctorales, he nacido en Galicia, y estoy tratando de que se conozca nuestra lengua y cultura en los EE.UU.

MUCHAS GRACIAS, desde los EE.UU. Pedro Arias.

APPENDIX C:

MAP OF IBERIA AND BALEARES: MAIN LANGUAGES SPOKEN
IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND BALEARIC ISLANDS

MAP OF IBERIA AND BALEARES:

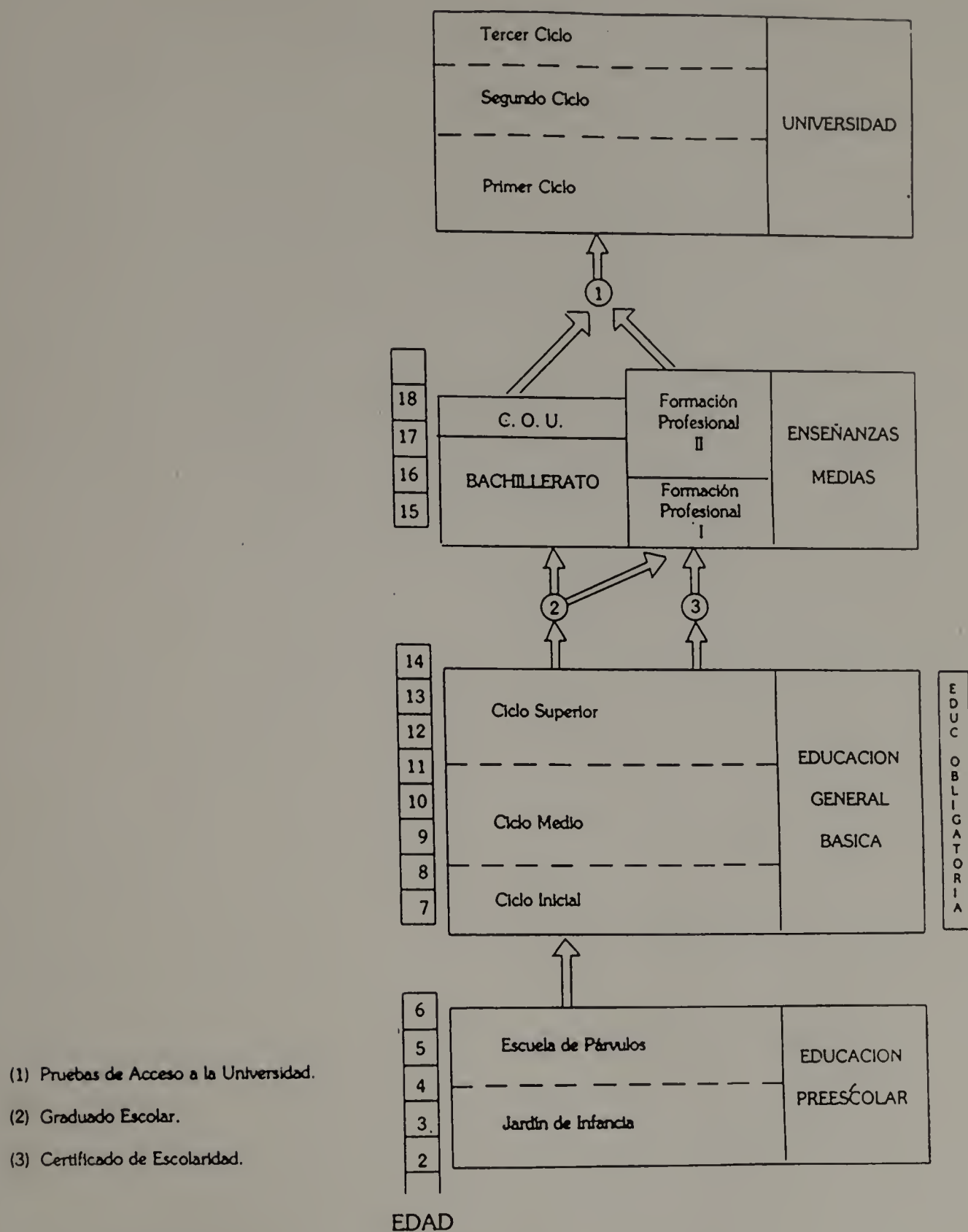
MAIN LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND
BALEARIC ISLANDS

APPENDIX D:

THE SPANISH EDUCATION SYSTEM AND RELATED DATA

(From Estadística de la Enseñanza en España:
1986-1987; Madrid: Ministerio de
Educación y Ciencia)

SISTEMA EDUCATIVO ESPAÑOL



(1) Pruebas de Acceso a la Universidad.

(2) Graduado Escolar.

(3) Certificado de Escolaridad.

EDAD

SERIES

1. ALUMNADO MATRICULADO, ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS Y PROFESORADO, POR CLASE DE ENSEÑANZA. TODAS LAS ENSEÑANZAS.

CONCEPTO	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
ALUMNADO MATRICULADO										
Educación Preescolar	1.008.796	1.077.662	1.159.654	1.182.425	1.197.497	1.187.817	1.171.062	1.145.968	1.127.348	1.084.752
Educación General Básica	5.579.682	5.580.414	5.806.850	5.605.452	5.629.874	5.633.516	5.633.009	5.640.938	5.594.285	5.575.519
Bachillerato y COU	877.516	998.479	1.055.788	1.091.197	1.124.328	1.117.600	1.142.308	1.162.154	1.230.029	1.265.894
Formación Profesional	457.812	455.943	515.119	558.808	619.080	650.770	895.180	728.000	726.249	734.186
Reforma Enseñanzas Medias	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.936	33.452
Diversas Enseñanzas de 2º grado	219.648	318.827	344.863	329.913	353.043	404.445	437.551	423.100	470.532	487.917
ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS										
Educación Preescolar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Educación General Básica	619.880	623.829	650.093	648.664	664.557	681.647	648.672	668.715	679.574	673.280
Bachillerato y COU (1)	56.831	123.494	133.237	153.200	155.804	160.096	187.688	170.929	161.057 (2)	167.463 (3)
Formación Profesional	-	90.475	90.363	116.371	126.304	141.857	150.754	168.167	156.037 (2)	155.581
Reforma Enseñanzas Medias	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.156	3.898 (2)	6.218 (4)
Diversas Enseñanzas 2º grado	21.171	31.077	16.722	23.357	16.542	15.412	11.381	6.961	11.609	13.573
PROFESORADO (1)										
Educación Preescolar	26.352	31.338	34.168	35.588	36.848	37.343	38.084	38.793	39.573	39.217
Educación General Básica	202.988	205.960	205.550	211.074	214.391	216.047	219.023	221.071	224.096	221.830
Bachillerato y COU	51.466	59.375	63.645	63.645	66.160	69.768	71.256	73.388	75.550	75.629
Formación Profesional	28.075	30.762	33.583	38.556	40.190	42.174	45.339	47.838	49.408	51.062
Diversas Enseñanzas de 2º grado	7.972	5.849	4.663	4.683	4.140	5.744	6.205	6.984	7.233	7.714

(1) 4. marzo que termino el COU
 (2) Andalucía, datos del curso 1984-85.
 (3) Andalucía, Canarias y Cataluña, datos provisionales
 (4) Faltan los datos de la REM en centros de FP en Andalucía y de BUP en Cataluña
 (5) El profesorado de la REM figura en BUP-COU y FP

SERIES

2. UNIDADES, PROFESORADO Y ALUMNADO MATRICULADO, POR TITULARIDAD Y SEXO.
EDUCACION PREESCOLAR.

CONCEPTO	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-86	1985-86	1986-87
UNIDADES ESCOLARES										
En centros públicos	26,624	31,166	34,736	35,610	37,011	37,855	38,386	39,335	39,668	39,326
En centros privados	13,281	15,896	19,124	20,535	21,557	22,425	23,690	24,666	25,625	26,010
	15,343	15,269	15,611	15,075	15,454	15,430	14,696	14,649	14,043	13,316
PROFESORADO										
En centros públicos	26,352	31,338	34,188	36,688	36,846	37,343	38,064	38,793	39,573	39,217
Varones	13,109	15,907	16,653	20,322	21,568	22,339	23,712	24,645	25,648	25,939
Mujeres	213	292	578	909	1,219	1,360	1,404	1,726	2,034	1,224
En centros privados	12,968	15,615	16,075	19,613	20,349	20,959	22,308	22,917	23,614	24,715
Varones	15,153	15,431	15,535	15,066	15,276	15,004	14,372	14,148	13,925	13,278
Mujeres	429	271	500	283	275	297	329	513	616	340
	14,724	15,160	15,035	14,773	15,003	14,707	14,043	13,635	13,109	12,938
ALUMNADO MATRICULADO										
En centros públicos	1,008,796	1,077,652	1,169,654	1,182,426	1,197,897	1,187,617	1,171,062	1,145,968	1,127,348	1,084,752
Varones	455,594	521,928	611,496	651,338	670,950	683,220	699,943	699,170	702,057	681,702
Mujeres	240,201	275,290	322,343	344,226	355,216	362,575	369,665	368,861	370,001	354,141
En centros privados	215,393	246,638	289,153	307,112	315,734	320,645	330,276	330,309	332,056	327,581
Varones	553,202	555,724	548,358	531,067	526,947	504,397	471,119	446,798	425,291	403,050
Mujeres	256,648	258,451	254,068	245,169	245,201	235,161	219,421	209,453	201,495	192,774
	296,554	297,273	294,290	285,918	281,746	269,216	251,698	237,345	223,796	210,276

Nota: Hasta el curso 1979-80, inclusive, las cifras se refieren a centros estatales y no estatales, en lugar de centros de titularidad pública y privada.

SERIES

3. UNIDADES, PROFESORADO Y ALUMNADO MATRICULADO Y ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS, POR TITULARIDAD Y SEXO. EDUCACION GENERAL BASICA.

CONCEPTO	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
UNIDADES ESCOLARES										
En centros publicos	167.968	171.858	176.635	176.424	178.845	180.923	183.861	186.066	186.389	186.264
En centros privados	109.773	114.347	117.309	119.573	121.604	123.163	126.270	128.057	129.861	130.823
	58.195	57.511	58.328	58.851	57.241	57.760	57.591	58.028	58.528	65.441
PROFESORADO (1)										
En centros publicos	202.988	205.960	206.560	211.074	214.391	216.047	219.023	221.071	224.096	221.530
Varones	122.797	127.314	128.718	130.954	133.678	136.012	140.004	143.348	148.893	148.505
Mujeres	56.036	57.884	58.386	58.522	59.590	59.367	59.736	59.921	60.564	58.099
En centros privados	66.761	69.430	70.332	72.432	73.986	76.645	80.268	83.425	86.129	92.406
Varones	80.191	78.646	76.832	80.120	80.815	80.035	79.019	77.725	77.403	73.325
Mujeres	29.833	28.158	29.297	29.223	29.541	28.864	27.809	27.085	27.128	25.166
	60.268	49.488	47.535	50.897	51.274	51.371	51.210	50.640	50.275	48.159
ALUMNADO MATRICULADO										
En centros publicos	6.579.662	6.590.414	6.606.850	6.606.452	6.629.874	6.633.518	6.633.009	6.640.938	6.640.938	6.676.619
Varones	3.460.267	3.491.195	3.528.243	3.549.836	3.574.944	3.582.438	3.597.190	3.623.832	3.621.238	3.597.272
Mujeres	1.840.260	1.860.161	1.863.980	1.895.133	1.916.197	1.916.172	1.926.746	1.945.890	1.940.331	1.907.627
En centros privados	2.119.396	2.099.219	2.078.607	2.066.616	2.064.930	2.061.060	2.036.619	2.017.106	1.973.047	1.978.247
Varones	1.020.167	1.003.598	982.092	971.695	972.848	977.766	972.020	963.180	946.635	958.546
Mujeres	1.099.228	1.095.621	1.096.616	1.086.021	1.082.084	1.073.326	1.063.799	1.053.926	1.026.412	1.019.701
ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LA ESCOLARIDAD										
Título Graduado Escolar	619.890	623.829	650.093	648.864	664.557	681.647	648.672	668.716	679.574	673.260
Varones	403.710	390.948	406.677	424.747	442.045	463.668	441.197	466.535	492.036	509.091
Mujeres	200.170	190.635	201.030	207.173	216.097	226.554	214.654	224.369	244.901	250.409
Certificado de Escollencia	203.540	200.411	204.647	217.674	226.948	236.314	226.643	242.166	247.135	258.682
Varones	216.170	232.883	244.416	224.117	222.512	217.779	207.475	202.160	187.538	164.189
Mujeres	119.425	127.204	134.034	119.535	123.892	118.039	116.852	116.490	107.127	91.480
	96.745	105.679	110.382	104.582	98.620	99.740	90.623	86.690	80.411	72.709

Nota: Hasta el curso 1979-80, inclusive, las cifras se refieren a centros estatales y no estatales, en lugar de centros de titularidad publica y privada (1) incluidos los directores, profesores de ocio y otro personal docente comunales a la Educacion Preescolar, EGB y Educacion Especial

SERIES

4. CENTROS, PROFESORADO, ALUMNADO MATRICULADO Y ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS, POR TITULARIDAD Y SEXO.

BACHILLERATO Y CURSO DE ORIENTACION UNIVERSITARIA.

CONCEPTO	1977-76	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
CENTROS	2.242	2.342	2.425	2.445	2.488	2.495	2.547	2.595	2.635	2.659
Publicos	788	871	956	1.004	1.032	1.033	1.073	1.110	1.246	1.302
Privados	1.474	1.471	1.489	1.441	1.456	1.482	1.474	1.485	1.389	1.357
PROFESORADO	51.406	59.375	63.645	66.160	67.931	69.768	71.256	73.386	75.550	76.629
En centros publicos	28.240	34.374	38.137	41.454	42.853	44.708	46.136	48.171	51.216	757
Varones	14.419	17.663	19.670	21.340	22.072	23.142	23.591	24.603	25.898	25.182
Mujeres	13.821	18.711	18.467	20.114	20.791	21.566	22.545	23.568	25.320	595
En centros privados	23.226	25.001	25.508	24.706	25.068	25.060	25.120	25.217	24.332	872
Varones	13.076	14.138	14.230	13.621	13.779	13.588	13.522	13.486	12.886	85
Mujeres	10.150	10.863	11.278	11.085	11.289	11.482	11.598	11.731	11.446	287
ALUMNADO MATRICULADO (INCLUIDO COU)	877.516	999.479	1.055.766	1.091.197	1.124.329	1.117.600	1.142.308	1.182.154	1.230.029	1.265.694
Oficial	502.473	815.138	682.522	718.190	736.987	733.582	757.885	789.173	838.770	874.674
Varones	233.745	275.759	304.908	320.311	328.271	324.425	335.971	351.852	377.894	402.305
Mujeres	268.728	339.379	377.614	387.879	408.716	409.157	421.914	437.321	460.876	472.369
Colegiada	309.347	363.968	373.266	373.007	387.342	384.018	384.423	382.961	391.259	391.220
Varones	162.544	189.758	192.250	187.231	192.819	191.193	190.790	194.440	194.572	192.436
Mujeres	146.803	174.211	181.016	185.776	194.723	192.825	193.633	198.541	196.687	198.784
Libre i:	65.696	20.372	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Varones	35.480	10.792	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mujeres	30.216	9.580	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CURSO DE ORIENTACION UNIVERSITARIA	93.552	163.135	182.901	223.982	242.987	241.873	244.003	253.679	261.617	266.328
Alumnado matriculado	56.831	123.494	133.237	153.200	155.804	180.008	167.888	170.929	161.057	167.463
Alumnado evaluado positivamente										

Nota: Hasta el curso 1978-79, inclusive, se recogen datos del Plan Annuo de Bachillerato (Bachillerato General y Técnico) en proceso de extincion. Hasta el curso 1979-80, inclusive las cifras se refieren a centros estatales y no estatales, en lugar de centros de titularidad publica y privada.

(1) A partir del curso 1979-80 la matrícula Colegiada abarca tambien la libre

SERIES

5. CENTROS, PROFESORADO, ALUMNADO MATRICULADO Y ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS,
POR TITULARIDAD Y SEXO.
FORMACION PROFESIONAL.

CONCEPTO	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
CENTROS	1.878	1.971	2.037	2.142	2.323	2.366	2.397	2.334	2.248	2.194
Publicos	581	667	722	864	936	991	964	1.029	1.018	1.063
Privados	1.297	1.304	1.315	1.278	1.387	1.375	1.433	1.305	1.230	1.131
PROFESORADO	28.075	30.762	33.583	36.556	40.190	42.174	45.339	47.838	49.408	51.062
En centros publicos	10.524	13.374	15.677	19.653	23.036	25.082	26.945	30.799	32.953	36.002
Varones	8.306	10.291	11.933	14.850	17.188	18.556	19.558	21.985	23.035	23.984
Mujeres	2.218	3.083	3.744	4.803	5.848	6.526	7.387	8.814	9.918	12.038
En centros privados	17.551	17.388	17.906	16.903	17.154	17.082	18.384	17.039	16.455	15.060
Varones	12.137	11.522	11.929	10.592	10.818	10.398	11.279	10.376	9.791	8.802
Mujeres	5.414	5.866	5.977	8.311	6.538	8.894	7.115	8.663	6.664	6.258
ALUMNADO MATRICULADO	407.812	455.943	515.119	558.808	619.090	650.770	695.180	726.000	726.249	734.186
En centros publicos	175.902	211.729	253.302	301.873	345.809	362.692	377.378	416.735	426.822	463.255
Varones	127.198	151.715	176.717	209.148	237.690	248.900	254.981	275.504	274.894	290.785
Mujeres	48.704	60.014	76.585	92.527	108.119	113.792	122.397	141.231	151.928	172.470
En centros privados	231.910	244.214	261.817	257.135	273.281	288.078	317.802	309.265	299.427	270.931
Varones	140.811	142.605	148.791	137.750	137.561	138.187	153.652	147.058	143.144	133.998
Mujeres	90.999	101.609	113.026	119.385	135.720	148.891	164.150	162.209	156.283	136.933
ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS	92.454	90.475	90.383	116.304	126.304	141.857	150.754	168.167	156.037	133.296
Plsn Antigo	17.069	6.928	4.906	599	198	-	-	-	-	-
Oficialia	9.300	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maestria	7.769	6.928	4.906	599	198	-	-	-	-	-
Plsn Nuevo	75.385	83.547	85.477	115.772	128.106	141.857	150.754	168.167	156.037	155.581
Pnmer grado	89.036	73.879	72.005	89.432	94.947	102.736	108.173	117.103	101.882	97.597
Segundo grado	6.349	9.668	13.472	26.340	31.159	39.121	42.581	51.064	54.155	57.984

Nota. Hasta el curso 1979-80, inclusive, las cifras se refieren a centros estatales y no estatales, en lugar de centros de titularidad publica y privada

SERIES

6. ALUMNADO MATRICULADO Y ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS, POR TITULARIDAD Y SEXO.

REFORMA DE LAS ENSEÑANZAS MEDIAS (Plan Experimental).

CONCEPTO	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
ALUMNADO MATRICULADO				20.936	33.452
En centros públicos	13.121	20.669
Varones				7.753	11.634
Mujeres				5.368	9.035
En centros privados				7.815	12.783
Varones				4.766	7.313
Mujeres				3.049	5.470
ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS				3.898	8.281,1
Ciclo I	-	-	3.156	3.898	7.824,1
Ciclo II	-	-	-	-	39,1

(1) Faltan los datos en institutos de FP de Andalucía y de BUP en Cataluña

SERIES

7. CENTROS, PROFESORADO, ALUMNADO MATRICULADO Y ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS.
DIVERSAS ENSEÑANZAS DE 2.º GRADO.

CONCEPTO	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
ARTES APLICADAS, OFICIOS ARTISTICOS Y CERAMICA										
Centros	66	62	63	70	70	71	78	91	95	92
Profesorado	1.525	1.487	1.541	1.594	1.709	1.717	1.780	1.980	2.037	2.123
Alumnado matriculado	38.690	41.368	45.589	22.684 (1)	24.657 (1)	24.300 (1)	26.405 (1)	26.838 (1)	25.261 (1)	24.840 (1)
Alumnado que termino los estudios	1.160	1.170	1.160	1.674	1.050	1.459	1.482	1.616	1.675	2.093
ESCUELAS DE COMERCIO										
Centros	41	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Profesorado	900	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alumnado matriculado	15.718	-	2.416	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
De grado pencial	16.329	-	2.416	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
De grado profesoral	387	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alumnado que termino los estudios	1.914	-	368	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
De grado pencial	1.638	-	368	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
De grado profesoral	276	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AYUDANTES TECNICOS SANITARIOS										
Centros	171	106	68	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Profesorado	3.684	1.866	780	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alumnado matriculado	30.078	18.728	5.842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alumnado que termino los estudios	9.144	10.040	5.240	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CAPACITACION AGRARIA										
Centros	50	33	35	29	37	36	33	28	25	24
Profesorado	435	321	296	240	313	369	332	316	283	260
Alumnado matriculado	2.024	1.451	1.424	1.151	1.543	1.900	1.575	1.495	1.373	1.262
Alumnado que termino los estudios	986	676	520	479	679	843	791	715	605	654
IDIOMAS										
Centros	-	6	6	6	6	12	12	13	15	24
Profesorado	-	377	432	473	487	559	582	639	661	791
Alumnado matriculado	-	115.098	149.064	147.421	145.944	169.792	185.389	174.729	209.574	231.604
Alumnado que termino los estudios	-	-	-	-	-	1.710	1.709	1.485	1.791	2.037
CONSERVATORIOS DE MUSICA (G.º ELEMENTAL Y MEDIO)										
Centros (2)	54	60	69	94	101	125	152	172	176	186
Profesorado (2)	1.266	1.373	1.330	1.621	2.003	2.399	2.784	3.237	3.522	3.929
Alumnado matriculado	126.375	131.669	130.270	149.716	184.904	202.567	207.534	203.732	215.679	212.924
Alumnado que termino los estudios	17.638	16.759	6.977	16.985	10.931	10.135	6.048	1.696 (4)	5.656	7.654
ARTE DRAMATICO Y DANZA (3)										
Centros	12	12	13	19	27	29	34	39	43	43
Profesorado	160	225	194	212	262	329	356	429	411	425
Alumnado matriculado	6.763	6.293	10.056	8.941	12.121	12.347	13.260	13.333	13.441	15.192
Alumnado que termino los estudios	329	432	439	375	344	175	179	298	357	209
E. MILITAR (SUBOFICIALES)										
Centros	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
Profesorado	-	-	-	-	260	371	371	383	299	186
Alumnado matriculado	-	-	-	-	3.674	3.539	3.368	2.973	2.642	2.075
Alumnado que termino los estudios	-	-	-	-	1.670	1.090	1.152	1.149	919	726

(1) No se incluyen los cursos monograficos

(2) Se refieren a todos los centros y profesorado de Conservatorios de Musica y Centros no oficiales de Musica que imparten las enseñanzas de Grado Elemental, Medio y Superior

(3) Incluye toda la informacion de los distintos grados

(4) Faltan datos del Grado Elemental

RESUMEN

2. CENTROS, PROFESORADO, ALUMNADO MATRICULADO Y ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS, POR CLASE DE ENSEÑANZA Y SEXO. CENTROS PÚBLICOS.

CONCEPTO	CENTROS	PROFESORADO		ALUMNADO MATRICULADO		ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS	
		Total	Mujeres	Total	Mujeres	Total	Mujeres
TOTAL GENERAL	187.747	877.223	184.838	6.176.348	3.001.048	2.211.848	1.088.811
Educación Preescolar	1.291 (1)	25.939	24.715	681.702	327.561	-	-
Educación General Básica	14.577 (2)	148.605 (3)	92.406 (3)	3.597.272	1.689.645	-	-
Educación de Adultos	(4)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Educación Especial	254 (5)	8.725 (6)	6.254 (6)	74.333 (6)	28.179 (6)	-	54.574
B.U.P.	1.302	51.757	26.595	692.213	371.307	96.244	61.905
C.O.U.	-	-	-	192.260	106.779	108.851	-
Formación Profesional	1.063	36.002	12.038	463.255	172.470	90.483	38.742
Reforma de las Enseñanzas Me-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
dias	-(7)	-(7)	-(7)	20.669	9.035	5.232 (8)	2.065 (8)
Otras Enseñanzas de 2.º Grado (9)	260	6.295	2.627	453.844	296.060	12.820	7.045

(1) Centros específicos de Preescolar. Este nivel se imparte en un total de 26.010 unidades.
 (2) De ellos, 4.611 colegios exclusivamente de EGB y 9.966 de más de un nivel (E. Preescolar, EGB y E. Especial). La EGB se imparte en un total de 130.823 unidades.
 (3) Incluye el profesorado de adscripción general e los centros de E. Preescolar, EGB y E. Especial.
 (4) En E.P.A. hay un total de 4.659 unidades.
 (5) Centros específicos de Educación Especial. Este modalidad se imparte en un total de 8.459 unidades.
 (6) Se refiere el total de Educación Especial, tanto en centros específicos como en colegios de EGB con unidades de Educación Especial.
 (7) La Reforma de las Enseñanzas Medias se imparte en centros de B.U.P. y de F.P., por ello no se especifican los centros y el profesorado, ya que se comparten con estas Enseñanzas.
 (8) Faltan los datos en centros de F.P. de Andalucía y B.U.P. de Cataluña.
 (9) Incluye: Artes Aplicadas y Oficios Artísticos, Cerámica, Conservatorios de Música, Arte Dramático y Danza, Idiomas, Capacitación Agraria y E. Militar (suboficiales).

RESUMEN

3. CENTROS, PROFESORADO, ALUMNADO MATRICULADO Y ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS, POR CLASE DE ENSEÑANZA Y SEXO. CENTROS PRIVADOS.

CONCEPTO	CENTROS	PROFESORADO		ALUMNADO MATRICULADO		ALUMNADO QUE TERMINO LOS ESTUDIOS	
		Total	Mujeres	Total	Mujeres	Total	Mujeres
TOTAL GENERAL	9.588	129.843	61.305	3.100.937	1.587.334	1.583.982	102.656
Educación Preescolar	1.465 (1)	13.278	12.936	403.050	210.276	-	-
Educación General Básica	4.716 (2)	73.325 (3)	48.159 (3)	1.978.247	1.019.701	-	-
Educación de Adultos (4)						
Educación Especial:	317 (5)	2.709 (6)	1.954 (6)	23.432 (6)	9.789 (8)	-	-
BUP	1.357	23.872	11.287	307.353	158.862	61.533	30.698
COU				74.068	36.205	58.612	29.132
Formación Profesional	1.131	15.060	6.256	270.931	136.933	65.098	40.452
Reforma Enseñanzas Medias	.. (7)	.. (7)	.. (7)	12.783	5.470	2.966 (8)	1.900 (8)
Otras Enseñanzas de 2º Grado (9)	110	419	709	34.073	22.120	753	474

(1) Centros específicos de preescolar. Esta nivel se imparte en un total de 13.316 unidades.

(2) De ellos, 663 colegios exclusivamente de EGB y 4.053 de más de un nivel (E. Preescolar, EGB y E. Especial). La EGB se imparte en un total de 55.441 unidades.

(3) Incluye el profesorado de adscripción general a los centros de E. Preescolar, EGB y E. Especial.

(4) En E.P.A. hay un total de 2.665 unidades.

(5) Centros específicos de Educación Especial. Esta modalidad se imparte en un total de 2.542 unidades.

(6) Se refiere al total de Educación Especial, tanto en centros específicos como en colegios de EGB con unidades de Educación Especial.

(7) La Reforma de las Enseñanzas Medias se imparte en centros de B.U.P. y de F.P., por ello no se especifican los centros y el profesorado, ya que se comparten con estas Enseñanzas.

(8) hanzas.

Faltan los datos de centros de F.P. de Andalucía y B.U.P. en Cataluña.

Incluye Artes Aplicadas y Oficios Artísticos, Cerámica, Conservatorios de Música, Arte Dramático y Danza, Idiomas, Capacitación Agraria y E. Militar (suboficiales).

RESUMEN

4. ALUMNADO, POR EDAD Y CLASE DE ENSEÑANZA.
TOTAL.

EDAD	TOTAL	Educación Preescolar	Educación General Básica	BUF y COU	Formación Profesional	Reforma de las Enseñanzas Medias	Diversas Enseñanzas de 2.º Grado
TOTAL GENERAL	9,181,720	1,094,782	5,375,518	1,265,304	732,196	33,457	487,917
De 2 años	22,047	22,047	-	-	-	-	-
De 3 años	80,550	80,550	-	-	-	-	-
De 4 años	442,306	442,306	-	-	-	-	-
De 5 años	539,849	539,849	-	-	-	-	-
De 6 años	600,670	-	600,670	-	-	-	-
De 7 años	624,926	-	624,926	-	-	-	-
De 8 años	655,900	-	655,900	-	-	-	-
De 9 años	669,348	-	669,348	-	-	-	-
De 10 años	687,589	-	687,589	-	-	-	-
De 11 años	689,996	-	689,996	-	-	-	-
De 12 años	685,246	-	685,246	-	-	-	-
De 13 años	669,900	-	669,900	-	-	-	-
De 14 años	615,498	-	220,691	280,535	101,431	11,173	1,668
De 15 años	521,784	-	71,253	291,835	144,989	11,975	1,732
De 16 años	398,814	-	-	258,440	131,648	6,865	1,861
De 17 años	350,848	-	-	239,468	106,812	2,522	2,046
De 18 años	186,394	-	-	97,258	86,038	577	2,521
De 19 años	102,472	-	-	45,160	54,549	150	2,613
De 20 años	177,766 (1)	-	-	53,196 (1)	108,719 (1)	190 (1)	15,662 (1)
NO consta	459,814	-	-	-	-	-	459,814

(1) Includo el alumnado de 20 años y mas

5. ALUMNADO, POR EDAD Y CLASE DE ENSEÑANZA.
MUJERES.

EDAD	TOTAL	Educación Preescolar	Educación General Básica	BU P y COU	Formación Profesional	Reforma de las Enseñanzas Medias	Diversas Enseñanzas de 2.º Grado
TOTAL GENERAL	4.300.444	637.837	2709.308	671.183	309.403	141.508	318.200
De 2 años	10.367	10.367	-	-	-	-	-
De 3 años	40.277	40.277	-	-	-	-	-
De 4 años	219.618	219.613	-	-	-	-	-
De 5 años	267.575	267.575	-	-	-	-	-
De 6 años	293.816	-	293.816	-	-	-	-
De 7 años	306.248	-	306.248	-	-	-	-
De 8 años	321.197	-	321.197	-	-	-	-
De 9 años	327.089	-	327.089	-	-	-	-
De 10 años	336.695	-	336.695	-	-	-	-
De 11 años	336.568	-	336.568	-	-	-	-
De 12 años	335.170	-	335.170	-	-	-	-
De 13 años	326.775	-	326.775	-	-	-	-
De 14 años	293.665	-	96.445	151.208	39.444	5.173	1.395
De 15 años	244.468	-	29.343	154.798	53.787	5.125	1.415
De 16 años	189.284	-	-	133.957	51.141	2.852	1.334
De 17 años	174.679	-	-	128.510	43.837	985	1.347
De 18 años	90.286	-	-	50.740	37.695	238	1.613
De 19 años	51.428	-	-	23.757	25.928	62	1.681
De 20 años	95.836 (1)	-	-	28.183 (1)	57.571 (1)	70 (1)	10.012 (1)
No consta	299.403	-	-	-	-	-	299.403

(1) Incluido el alumnado de 20 años y más.

6. TASA DE ESCOLARIDAD, POR EDAD Y CLASE DE ENSEÑANZA.
TOTAL.

Edad	TOTAL	Educación Preescolar	Educación General Básica	B.U.P. y C.O.U.	Formación Profesional	Reformas de las Enseñanzas Básicas	Diversas Enseñanzas de 2.º Grado
TOTAL GENERAL	78,83	84,77	87,76	87,16	15,91	0,67	4,18
De 2 años	4,66	4,66	-	-	-	-	-
De 3 años	18,82	16,82	-	-	-	-	-
De 4 años	88,26	88,26	-	-	-	-	-
De 5 años	100,00	100,00	-	-	-	-	-
De 6 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 7 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 8 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 9 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 10 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 11 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 12 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 13 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 14 años	93,37	-	33,48	42,10	15,39	1,69	0,25
De 15 años	79,47	-	10,85	43,99	22,08	1,82	0,26
De 16 años	60,89	-	-	39,04	20,11	2,76	0,28
De 17 años	53,50	-	-	36,10	16,29	0,40	0,31
De 18 años	28,26	-	-	14,32	13,05	0,11	0,38
De 19 años	15,49	-	-	6,77	8,25	0,03	0,40
De 20 años	26,63 (1)	-	-	7,97 (1)	16,29 (1)	0,03 (1)	2,35 (1)

Nota: La población de referencia es la del Padrón Municipal de Habitantes a 1-4-1986.
(1) Incluye el alumnado de 20 y más años

RESUMEN

7. TASAS DE ESCOLARIDAD, POR EDAD Y CLASE DE ENSEÑANZA.
MUJERES.

EDAD	TOTAL	Educación Preescolar	Educación General Básica	BUP y COU	Formación Profesional	Reformas de las Enseñanzas Medias	Diversas Enseñanzas de 2.º Grado
TOTAL GENERAL	60,74	89,16	85,90	28,82	13,79	1,16	5,63
De 2 años	4,54	4,54	-	-	-	-	-
De 3 años	17,40	17,40	-	-	-	-	-
De 4 años	90,62	90,62	-	-	-	-	-
De 5 años	100,00	100,00	-	-	-	-	-
De 6 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 7 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 8 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 9 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 10 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 11 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 12 años	100,00	-	100,00	-	-	-	-
De 13 años	91,82	-	30,16	46,93	12,34	1,62	0,44
De 14 años	76,67	-	9,20	48,55	16,87	1,60	0,44
De 15 años	59,40	-	-	42,04	16,05	4,44	0,42
De 16 años	54,74	-	-	40,27	13,74	0,32	0,42
De 17 años	28,08	-	-	15,78	11,12	0,10	0,50
De 18 años	15,94	-	-	7,36	8,64	0,03	0,52
De 19 años	29,41	-	-	8,64 (1)	17,65	0,04 (1)	3,07

Nota: La población de referencia es la del Padrón Municipal de Habitantes a 1-4-1986

(1) Includo el alumnado de 20 años y mas.

RESUMEN

8. TASAS DE ESCOLARIDAD, POR EDAD Y CLASE DE ENSEÑANZA.
VARONES

EDAD	TOTAL	Educación Preescolar	Educación General Básica	BUP Y COU	Formación Profesional	Reforma de las Enseñanzas Medias	Diversas Enseñanzas de 2.º Grado
TOTAL GENERAL	77.23	53.47	27.52	24.22	17.64	0.50	2.24
De 2 años	4.78	4.78	-	-	-	-	-
De 3 años	16.29	16.29	-	-	-	-	-
De 4 años	86.06	86.06	-	-	-	-	-
De 5 años	99.84	99.84	-	-	-	-	-
De 6 años	100.00	-	100.00	-	-	-	-
De 7 años	100.00	-	100.00	-	-	-	-
De 8 años	100.00	-	100.00	-	-	-	-
De 9 años	100.00	-	100.00	-	-	-	-
De 10 años	100.00	-	100.00	-	-	-	-
De 11 años	100.00	-	100.00	-	-	-	-
De 12 años	100.00	-	100.00	-	-	-	-
De 13 años	100.00	-	100.00	-	-	-	-
De 14 años	94.82	-	36.61	37.55	18.27	1.77	0.08
De 15 años	82.11	-	12.41	38.68	27.01	2.03	0.09
De 16 años	62.31	-	-	36.21	23.94	1.17	0.16
De 17 años	52.33	-	-	32.15	18.71	0.47	0.21
De 18 años	28.42	-	-	12.94	14.21	0.12	0.27
De 19 años	15.06	-	-	6.20	8.45	0.03	0.28
De 20 años	23.99	-	-	7.33 (1)	14.95 (1)	0.03 (1)	1.60

Nota. La población de referencia es la del Padrón Municipal de Habitantes a 1-4-1986
(1) Incluido el alumnado de 20 años y más

RESUMEN

9. TASAS BRUTA Y NETA DE ESCOLARIDAD, POR CLASE DE ENSEÑANZA Y SEXO.

CONCEPTO	TASA BRUTA			TASA NETA		
	Total	Varones	Mujeres	Total	Varones	Mujeres
	Preescolar (2-5 años)	54,77	53,47	56,15	54,77	53,47
Jardín de infancia (2-3 años)	10,78	10,57	11,01	10,78	10,57	11,01
Parvulos (4-5 años)	95,43	93,13	97,88	95,43	93,13	97,88
Educación General Básica (6-13 años)	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Ciclo Inicial (6-7 años)	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Ciclo Medio (8-10 años)	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Ciclo Superior (11-13 años)	100,00	100,00	100,00	94,74	92,94	96,65
Bachillerato Unificado Polivalente (14-16 años) ..	50,72	46,51	55,17	42,16	38,57	45,96
Curso de Orientación Universitaria (17 años)	40,61	36,64	44,81	22,96	20,11	26,01
Formación Profesional (14-18 años)	22,34	25,16	19,36	17,37	20,44	14,14
1.º Grado (14-15 años)	32,95	37,46	28,16	16,35	22,11	14,36
2.º Grado (16-18 años)	15,26	16,00	13,53	6,45	9,89	6,92
Reforma de las Enseñanzas Medias (14-17 años) ..	1,27	1,40	1,14	1,24	1,11	1,36
1.º Ciclo (14-15 años)	2,27	2,50	2,02	1,76	1,90	1,61
2.º Ciclo (16-17 años)	0,27	0,30	0,25	0,24	0,26	0,22

(1) Como viene sucediendo todos los cursos, entre los 6 y los 13 años de edad se obtienen unas tasas de escolarización, tanto en varones como en mujeres, superiores al 100 por 100. Esta error, seguramente, procede de las dos variables en comparación: la matrícula escolar obtenida a través de la estadística educativa y la clasificación por edades de la población facilitada por el INE.

Independientemente de esta anomalía las cifras obtenidas año tras año, desde el curso 1976-77, muestran que la escolarización es, prácticamente, total: de 6-10 años desde 1976/77, de 6-12 años desde 1977/76 y de 6-13 desde 1981/82.

(2) En Formación Profesional se ha incluido el alumnado del "período de adaptación" en FP1 y al de "acceso al 2.º grado" en FP2

RESUMEN

10. ALUMNADO, POR GRADO DE ENSEÑANZA DE LA C.I.N.E., TITULARIDAD Y SEXO.

NIVEL DE ENSEÑANZA DE LA C.I.N.E. (*)	CATEGORIA DE LA C.I.N.E.	TOTAL		PUBLICA		PRIVADA	
		Total	Mujeres	Total	Mujeres	Total	Mujeres
TOTAL GENERAL	0-3	3.902.723	4.755.564	6.182.406	9.014.973	3.106.330	1.598.881
Enseñanza anterior al 1º Grado	0	1.084.752	537.837	681.702	327.561	403.050	210.276
Enseñanza de 1º Grado	1	3.519.045	1.711.269	2.313.261	1.090.134	1.205.784	621.135
Enseñanza de 2º Grado	2 y 3	4.684.029	2.383.725	3.187.533	1.597.276	1.498.406	767.570
- Ens. Gral. 2º Grado, 1ª Etapa	2	2.162.580	1.051.585	1.365.292	641.605	797.288	408.980
- Ens. Gral. 2º Grado, 2ª Etapa	3	1.265.894	670.032	884.473	478.066	381.421	193.067
- Otras Enseñanzas de 2º Grado	2 y 3	1.255.555	642.108	937.768	477.585	317.787	164.523
Educación de Adultos	-	315.895	176.863				

(*) CINE Clasificación Internacional Normalizada de la Educación de la UNESCO (C.I.T.E. (fr.) e I.S.C.E. (ing.))

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, N. B. (1959). The heritage of Spain (revised ed.). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Alonso-Montero, X. (1973). Informe dramático sobre la lengua Gallega [A dramatic study on the Galician language]. Madrid, Spain: Akal.
- Alonso-Montero, X. (1974). Encuesta mundial sobre la lengua y la cultura Gallegas y otras áreas conflictivas: Cataluña [Worldwide survey of the language and culture of Galicia and other conflictive areas: Catalonia]. Madrid, Spain: Akal.
- Alonso-Montero, X. (1974). Galicia vista por los no Gallegos [Galicia as viewed by non-Galicians]. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Jucar, Musigraf Arabi.
- Alonso-Montero, X. (1977). Lengua, literature e sociedade en Galicia [Language, literature and society in Galicia]. Madrid, Spain: Akal.
- Alvarez-Pérez, A. (1966). Enciclopedia intuitiva, sintética, practica [Intuitive, synthetic, and practical encyclopedia]. Valladolid, Spain: Minon.
- Aracil, L. V., Garcia-Negro, M. P., Rodríguez, F., & Carballo-Calero, R. (1980). Problemática des lingüas sin normalizar: Situación do Gallego e alternativas [The problems of languages without normalization: The situation of Galician and its choices]. Orense, Spain: Associacom Socio-Pedagoxica Galega.
- Aracil, L. V., et al. (1989). Problemática das lingüas sin normalizar: Situación do Gallego e alternativas (3rd ed.) [The problem of languages without normalization: The situation of Galician and its choices]. Orense, Spain: Galiza.
- Ares, Ma. C., Carballeira, X. Ma., Iglasias, P., Lema, X. Ma., & Rosa, L. (1988). Diccionario xerais de lingua (3rd ed.) [General language dictionary (Galician language)]. Edicions Xerais de Galicia, Madrid: Lavel.
- Associacom Galega da Lingua (AGAL), Comisson Linguística. (1982). Estudo critico das normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma Galego [A critical study of the orthographic and morphologic rules of the Galician language]. La Coruña, Spain: Associacom Galega da Lingua (AGAL).

- Avila, D. L., Combs, A. W., & Purkey, W. W. (1974). The helping relationship sourcebook (5th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Baldinger, K. (1972). La formacion de los dominios linguisticos en la Peninsula Iberica (2nd ed. corrected). (Spanish version, Lledo, E., & Macau, M.). [Formation of the linguistic domains in the Iberian Peninsula]. Madrid, Spain: Editorial Gredos. (Original work published in Berlin, 1958).
- Ballesteros Gaibrois, M. (1962). Historia de América [The history of America]. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Pegaso.
- Barreiro-Fernández, X. R. (1982). Historia de Galicia (4 vols.) [The history of Galicia]. La Coruña, Spain: Ediciones Gamma.
- Barreiro-Fernández, X. R., et al. (1984). Los Gallegos [The Galicians]. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Istmo.
- Bigge, M. L. (1976). Learning theories for teachers (3rd ed.). New York: Harper and Row.
- Bogdan, R., & Taylor, S. J. (1975). Introduction to qualitative research methods. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE). Official Government Publication. Madrid, Spain.
- Boston Globe. Boston, MA.
- Brenan, G. (1976). The Spanish labyrinth (8th ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Briton, D. M., Snow, M. A., & Wesche, M. B. (1989). Content-based second language instruction. New York: Newbury House.
- Cañada, S. (Ed.). (1974). Gran enciclopedia Gallega [Great Galician encyclopedia]. Santiago, Spain: Horaclio Fournier.
- Caputo, J. P. (1988). Boston High School as an at-risk intervention program: 1968-1979. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

- Carballo-Calero, R. (1970). Gramática elemental del Gallego Común [Galician language elementary grammar]. Vigo, Spain: Galaxia.
- Carballo-Calero, R. (1981). Problemas da lingua Gallega [The problems of the Galician language]. Lisbon, Portugal: Sa da Costa Editora.
- Carmody, F. J. (1973). L'Espagne de Ptolemee, toponymie pre-Romain [The Spain of Ptolemy, study of the pre-Roman names]. Berkeley, CA: Francis J. Carmody.
- Carre-Albarellos, L. (1977). Las leyendas tradicionales Gallegas [Traditional Galician legends]. Madrid, Spain: Espasa Calpe.
- Castroviejo, J. M. (1970). Galicia, guía espiritual de una tierra [Galicia, a spiritual guide]. Madrid, Spain: Espasa Calpe.
- Collins, R. (1983). Early medieval Spain. New York: St. Martin Press.
- Combs, A. W., Avila, D. L., & Purkey, W. W. (1976). Helping relationships (14th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Cooke, D. R., & LaFleur, N. K. (1975). A guide to educational research (2nd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Copee, H. (1981). History of the conquest of Spain by the Arab-Moors (Vols. I & II). Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.
- Cores Trasmonte, B. (1981). La sociedad incompleta: El drama de la capitalidad en Galicia [The incomplete society: The drama of mercantilism in Galicia]. La Coruña, Spain: Edicios do Castro.
- Corominas, J. (1978). Topica hesperica (Vols. I & II). [Studies on ancient dialects, the subtract and topography of the romances]. Madrid, Spain: Editorial Gredos.
- Corominas, J. (1982). El que s'ha de saber de la llengua Catalana [What there is to know of the Catalanian language]. Palma de Mallorca, Spain: Editorial Moll.

- Crow, J. A. (1985). Spain: The root and the flower (3rd ed., expanded and updated). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. (Original Copyright, 1963).
- Curros-Enríquez, M. (1978). Aires d'a mina terra [The ambience of my land]. La Coruña, Spain: La Voz de Galicia.
- Debesse-Arviset, M. L. (1983). El entorno en la escuela: Una revolución pedagógica [The school environment: A pedagogical revolution]. Barcelona, Spain: Fontanella.
- De Castro, R. (1976). Poesias (2nd ed.) [Poems]. Vigo, Spain: Patronato Rosalia de Castro.
- De Granda, G. (1968). Transculturación e interferencia lingüística en el Puerto Rico contemporaneo [Transculturation and linguistic interference in contemporary Puerto Rico]. Bogota, Colombia: Publicaciones del Instituto Caro Cuervo (XXIV).
- Descola, J. (1962). A history of Spain. New York: Knopff.
- Diller, K. C. (1978). The language teaching controversy. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Elliot, J. H. (1970). La España imperial [The imperial Spain]. Barcelona, Spain: Vicens Vives.
- Enchaide, A. M. (1968). Castellano y Vasco en el habla de Orio [Castilian and Basque according to Orio]. Pamplona, Spain: Aranzadi.
- Entwistle, W. J. (1936). The Spanish language, together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque. London: Faber & Faber.
- Entwistle, W. J. (1988). Las lenguas de España: Castellano, Catalán, Vasco y Gallego-Portugués (5th ed.) [Languages of Spain: Castilian, Catalan, Basque or Euskara and Gallaeco-Portuguese]. Madrid, Spain: Istmo.
- Equipo de Redacción PAL. (1984). Euskal herria, hombres, tierras y cultura [The language of the Basque nation, men, lands, and culture]. Bilbao, Spain: Mensajero.
- Estadística de la enseñanza en España: 1986-1987. [Statistics of education in Spain: 1986-1987]. Madrid, Spain: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia.

- Fernández, C. (1985). Franguismo y transición política en Galicia [Franco's era and political transition in Galicia]. La Coruña, Spain: Edicios do Castro.
- Fernández, S., & Brocos, M. (1966). Galicia hoy [Galicia today]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ruedo Iberico.
- Fernández del Riego, F. (1971). Historia da literatura Galega [The history of Galician literature]. Vigo, Spain: Galaxia.
- Fernández de Rota, J. A. (1987). Gallegos ante un espejo: Imagenación antropológica en la historia [Galicians before a mirror: Anthropological imagination in history]. La Coruña, Spain: Edicios do Castro.
- Fitzpatrick, J. P. (1971). Puerto Rican Americans. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Fox, Butterfield. (1990, January). Why they excel (parade). The Boston Globe, pp. 4-6.
- Freire, P. (1973). Pedagogía del oprimido (11th ed.). (J. Mellado, Trans.). [Pedagogy of the oppressed]. México: Siglo Veintiuno. (Original work published 1970).
- Freire, P. (1974). Education for critical consciousness. (The English language edition was prepared in association with the Center for the Study of Development and Social Change, Cambridge, MA). New York: The Seabury Press. (Original work published 1969).
- Freire, P. (1985). The politics of education. (D. Macedo, Trans.). Boston: Bergin & Garvey Publishers.
- Garcia de Diego, V. (1978). Manual de dialectología Española (3rd ed.) [A manual of Spanish dialectology]. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Cultura Hispana del Centro Iberoamericano de Cooperacion.
- Gass, S., & Selinker, L. (Eds.). (1983). Language transfer in language learning. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Glick, T. F. (1979). Islamic and Christian Spain in the early and middle ages. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Goldston, R. (1967). Spain. New York: Macmillan.
- Gómez-Rovera. (1990, July). Carta abierta al alcalde de Santander [Open letter to the Mayor of Santander]. El diario Montañés. Santander, Spain, pp. 6, 37.
- Gonzalez-Lorenzo, M. (1985). Bilingüalismo en Galicia [Bilingualism in Galicia]. Santiago de Compostela, Spain: Imprenta Universitaria.
- Gosciny, & Uderzo. (1973). Asterix the Gaul. Hodder & Belgium: Stoughton Children's Books.
- Hakuta, K. (1986). Mirror of language. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Hoopes, D. S., & Ventura, P. (Eds.). (1979). Intercultural sourcebook. Illinois: Intercultural Network.
- Hornby, P. A. (1977). Bilingualism: Psychological, social, and educational implications. Plattsburgh, NY: Academic Press.
- Indians. (1989, March 12). The Boston Globe, pp. A-25-26.
- Johnson, P. E. (1971). Learning theory and practice (2nd ed.). New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.
- Krashen, S. D., Scarcella, R. C., & Long, M. H. (Eds.). (1982). Child-adult differences in second language acquisition. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Labrada, L. (1971). Descripción económica de Galicia [An economic description of Galicia]. Orense, Spain: Editorial Galaxia.
- LaFontaine, H., Persky, B., & Golubchick, L. H. (1978). Bilingual education. New Jersey: Avery Publishing.
- Langer, W. L. (Ed.). (1968). An encyclopedia of world history (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Lapesa, R. (1942). Historia de la lengua Española (2nd ed., corrected) [History of the Spanish language]. Madrid, Spain: Escelicer.
- Lindley-Cintra, L. F. (1959). A linguagem dos foros de Castelo Rodrigo [The language of the laws of Castelo Rodriguez]. Lisbon, Portugal: Albano Tomas dos Anjos.

- Lison-Tolosana. (1983). Antropología cultural de Galicia [Cultural anthropology of Galicia]. Madrid, Spain: Akal.
- Lison-Tolosana. (1983). Brujería, estructura social y simbolismo en Galicia [Witchcraft, social structure and symbolism in Galicia]. Madrid, Spain: Akal.
- Lodge, H. C. (Ed.). (1939). History of nations (9th ed., Vol. 8). New York: P. F. Collier & Son.
- López-Quintás, A. (1984). Estrategia del lenguaje y manipulación del hombre [The strategy of language and the manipulation of man]. Madrid, Spain: Narcea, S.A. de Ediciones.
- Luca de Tena, G. (1976). Lengua cultura y periodismo en Galicia: 1876-1936 [Language, culture, and journalism in Galicia: 1876-1936]. Madrid, Spain: EDICUSA.
- Lynch, J. (1965). Spain under the Hapsburgs (2 Vols.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Malmberg, B. (1982). Introducción a la lingüística [An introduction to linguistics]. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Catedra.
- Maltitz, F. W. von. (1975). Living and learning in two languages. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Maravall, J. (1982). The transition to democracy in Spain. London: Croom Helm.
- Marcos-Marin, F. (1975). Lingüística Española [Spanish linguistics]. Madrid, Spain: Cincel.
- Marcussen Hatch, E. (1983). Psycholinguistics: A second language perspective. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Marín, D. (1961). La civilización Española [Spanish civilization]. (Vocabulary in cooperation with E. Rugg). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Mattoso-Camera, Jr. (1972). The Portuguese language. (A. J. Naro, Trans.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- McLaughlin, B. (1978). Second-language acquisition in childhood. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Meijide-Pardo, A. (1960). La emigración Gallega intrapeninsular en el siglo XVIII (Vol. 6) [The interpeninsular immigration of Galicia in the 18th century]. Madrid, Spain: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Mellado-Parson, R. (1972). La educación en Puerto Rico [Education in Puerto Rico]. Puerto Rico: Ramallo Brothers.
- Merriam-Webster. (Ed.). (1976). Webster's seventh new collegiate dictionary. Springfield, MA: G & C. Merriam.
- Michener, J. A. (1968). Iberia. Greenwich, CT: Fawcett Publications.
- Moya, G., & Lago, J. (1977). Bilingüismo y trastornos del lenguaje en España [Bilingualism and anomalies of language in Spain]. Madrid, Spain: Editorial Saltes.
- Murguía, M. (1974). Politica y sociedad en Galicia [Politics and society in Galicia]. Madrid, Spain: Akal.
- Murguía, M. (1985). Galicia (Vols. I & II). La Coruña, Spain: Editorial Daniel Cortezo.
- Natal, R. (1975). Guerra Hispano-Americana [The Spanish-American War]. Ato Rey, Puerto Rico: Ramallo Brothers Printing Company.
- The new book of knowledge (Vol. 17). (1968). New York: Collier.
- Ninyoles, R. L. (1980). Idioma y poder social [Language and social power]. Madrid, Spain: Editorial Tecnos.
- Oller, Jr., J. W., & Richard-Amato, P. A. (Eds.). (1983). Methods that work. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- La Opinión de la Calle [Public Opinion]. (1989, September 24). La Voz de Galicia. La Coruña, Spain: p. 29.
- Otero-Pedrayo. (1965). Guia de Galicia (4th ed.) [Guide of Galicia]. Vigo, Spain: Galaxia.
- Otero-Pedrayo. (1979). Historia de Galiza [The history of Galicia]. Madrid, Spain: Akal.

- Owens, R. G., & Steinhoff, C. R. (1976). Administering change in schools. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Paulston, C. B., & Bruder, M. N. (1976). Teaching English as a second language: Techniques and procedures. Cambridge, MA: Winthrop Publishers.
- Pedretti de Balon, A. (1978). Antigua y nueva gramática [The old and the actual grammar]. Uruguay: Panel Editores.
- Pei, M. (1960). The story of language. New York: Mentor Books, J. B. Lippincott.
- Pei, M. (1976). The story of Latin and romance languages. New York: Harper and Row.
- Peñalosa, F. (1981). Introduction to the sociology of language. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Pena-Trapero, X. B. (1972). A planificación rexional e Galicia [A regional planning and Galicia]. Pontevedra, Spain: Sept.
- Pensado, J. L. (1985). El Gallego, Galicia, y los Gallegos a través de los tiempos [Galician, Galicia, and Galicians, through the Ages]. La Coruña, Spain: La Voz de Galicia.
- Perdue, C. (Ed.). (1984). Second language acquisition by adult immigrants. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Pla-Dalmau. (1982). Enciclopedia autodidáctica [The autodidactic encyclopedia]. Gerona, Spain: Dalmau Carles.
- Real Academia Gallega. (1985). Normas ortográficas e morfológicas do idioma Gallego [Orthographic and morphologic rules of the Galician language]. Vigo, Spain: Artes Gráficas Galicia.
- Real Academia de la Lengua Gallega. (1987). Primera y segunda assembleas Lusitano-Gallega [The first and second Lusitano-Galician assemblies]. Madrid, Spain: Editora Nacional.
- Real Academia de la Lengua Vasca. (1977). El libro Blanco del Euskara [The white book of Basque]. Bilbao, Spain: Elkar, S. Coop.

- Risco, V. (1978). Historia de Galicia [The history of Galicia]. Orense, Spain: Galaxia.
- Robins, R. H. (1984). Breve historia de la linguística [A brief history of linguistics]. Madrid, Spain: Paraninfo.
- Rodríguez, F. (1976). Conflicto lingüístico e ideoloxía en Galicia [Linguistic conflict and ideology in Galicia]. Pontevedra, Spain: Xistral.
- Rodríguez, J. (1988, August 28). The multilingual advantage. The Boston Globe (written for The Hartford Courant).
- Rodríguez-Castellano. (1939). Historia de España [History of Spain]. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rodríguez-Enríquez, F. (1976). Le lengua Gallega: Su origen v evolución [The Galician language: Its origins and evolution]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ediciones Alaleo.
- Roh urges Koreans to forgive Japanese. (1990, May). The Boston Globe, p. 15.
- Rosario-Natal, C. (1975). Puerto Rico y la crisis de la Guerra Hispanoamericana [Puerto Rico and the crisis of the Spanish-American War]. Hato Rey, Puerto Rico: Ramallo Brothers.
- Rose, W. (no date). Racism and the teaching of Spanish. New York: Herbert Lehman College of the University of New York.
- Russell, P. E. (Ed.). (1973). Spain: A companion to Spanish studies. London: Methuen and Company.
- Scarcella, R. C., & Krashen, S. D. (Eds.). (1980). Research in second language acquisition. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Secretariado de Publicacions da Universidade de Santiago de Compstela. (1980). Normas linguísticas do Gallego [Linguistic rules of Galicians]. Vigo, Spain: Artes Gráficas Galicia.
- Serpell, R. (1981). Influencia de la cultura en el comportamiento [The influence of the culture on behavior]. Barcelona, Spain: Ediciones Ceca.

- Servicio Informativo Español. (1971). España en síntesis [Spain in synthesis]. Madrid, Spain: Servicio Informativo.
- Siguan, M. (1985). Enseñanza en dos lenguas y resultados escolares [Education in two languages and scholastic results]. Barcelona, Spain: Publicaciones y Ediciones de la Universidad de Barcelona.
- Spolsky, B., & Cooper, R. (Eds.). (1977). Frontiers of bilingual education. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Tovar, A. (1980). Mitología e ideología sobre la lengua Vasca [Mythology and ideology of the Basque language]. Madrid, Spain: Alianza Editorial.
- Trevor Davis, T. R. (1961). The golden century of Spain: 1501-1621. London: Macmillan.
- Trueba, H. T. (Ed.). (1987). Success or failure? Learning and the language minority student. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House.
- Trueba, H. T., & Barnett-Mirzahi, C. (Eds.). (1979). Bilingual multicultural education and the professional. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Trueba, H. T., Guthrie, G. P., & Au, K. Hu-Pei. (Eds.). (1981). Culture and the bilingual classroom. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The use of vernacular languages in education. Paris: UNESCO.
- Varela-Puñal, R. (1980). Galiza: Un pobo, unha lingua [Galicia: One people, one language]. Santiago, Spain: Follas Novas Edicions.
- Veiga-Arias, A. (1983). Algunas calas en los orígenes del Gallego [Penetrating studies into the origins of the Galician]. Vigo, Spain: Galaxia.
- Viale-Moutinho, J. (1973). Introdução ao nacionalismo Galego [Introduction to Galician nationalism]. Porto, Portugal: Paisagem.
- Vicen-Vives, J. (Ed.). (1961). Antigüedad, alta edad media y América primitiva (Vol. I) of Historia de España y América [Antiquity, the late middle ages and early America]. Barcelona, Spain: Vicens Vives.

Villan-Ponte, et al. (1977). Pensamento Galego (Vol. I) [Galician thought]. Vigo, Spain: Artes Graficas Galicia.

La Voz de Galicia. (Newspaper). La Coruña, Spain.

The World Book Encyclopedia. (1988). Chicago, IL: World Book, Inc.

Xunta de Galicia. Diario oficial de Galicia (DOG). Official Regional Government Publication. Santiago de Compostela, La Coruña, Spain.

Yonemura, M. (1974). Developing language programs for young disadvantaged children (2nd ed.). New York: Teachers College Press.

Zentella, A. C. (1987). Modern language association. In B. J. Craige (Ed.), Literature, language and politics in the 80s. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press. (In press).

