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# Semente (Galician)

Case Study - June 2019

Sustaining Minoritized Languages in Europe

CENTER FOR FOLKLIKE AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

**Sowing The Seeds at Semente:**

**Grassroots Revitalization and Language Activism in Contemporary Galicia**

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## **A. Introduction of Program and Community**

### **1. Provide a description of the language program and community**

The program that is the focus of this case study is called Semente, which means ‘seed’ in Galician. It consists of Galician-medium pre and primary schools which emerged in 2011. The initiative was set up by a group of language activists in response to deep dissatisfaction with government policy and its perceived inability to provide adequate support for Galician. There are now five independent Galician-medium pre-schools located in four different Galician cities including Santiago de Compostela, Vigo, Ferrol, and Lugo with several other branches initiated in other parts of Galicia including pre-schools in the cities of Coruña, Pontevedra and the town of Ames. Since 2018, two primary schools have been set up in the city of Santiago de Compostela and the municipality of Narón, close to Ferrol.

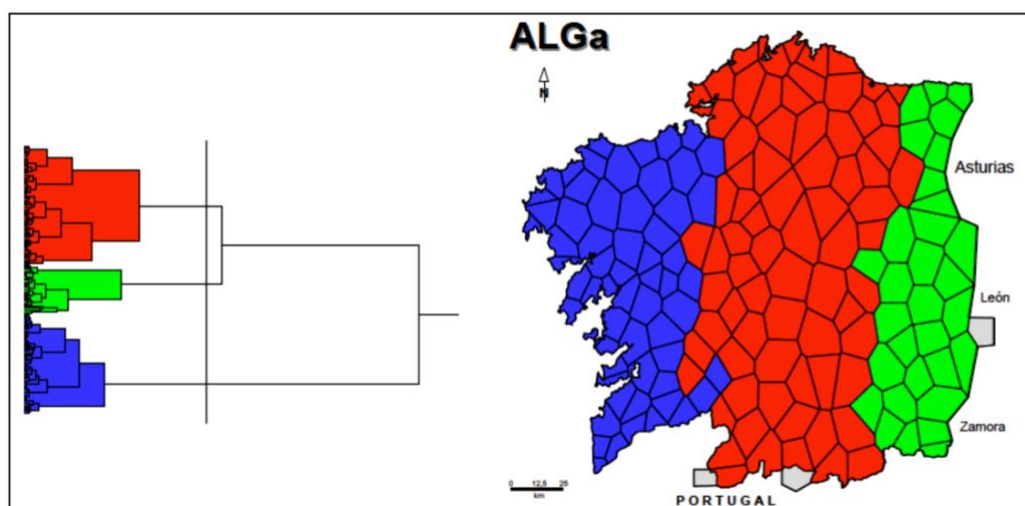
The Semente project grew from an initiative developed by a group of language activists from within the grassroots association ‘Gentalha do Pichel.’ The association is a non-profit group that engages in various initiatives to revive Galician customs and traditions. Their specific focus on revitalising the Galician language is key to understanding the origins of Semente and its subsequent expansion. The ultimate aim of Semente is to set up a network of what they see as the first ‘Galician National School’ (‘Escola Nacional Galega’) in twenty-first century Galicia. By positioning itself as a ‘national project,’ Semente calls into question the existing public-school system in Galicia and its perceived failure to provide adequate support for the language.

Semente’s explicitly stated aim is to use the “language of our [the Galician] people” (Semente Compostela), and to facilitate its acquisition, preservation, and consolidation. For its members, the Galician language is seen as “an essential part of our culture, of our history and of our future, and we defend its international projection [connecting it to the Portuguese-

speaking world], creating an intercultural space in which the respect for other living cultures.<sup>1</sup> The founders see Semente schools as providing a space for “transformative pedagogy” which is socially inclusive. Some of their founding principles include coeducation, laicity, an assembly-based decision-making system, proximity with nature, respect for child autonomy, and direct contact with the local community, be it the locality in which the school is located, the district, the town, or city.

### Figure 1

*Western, Central and Eastern Block (Dubert & Sousa, 2016)*



#### *1.1 Name the language, and any dialects, and sub-dialects*

The official name of the language is ‘galego.’ There are also other sociolects which evolved in the surrounding areas of Galicia, e.g.: in the border with Asturias, Castile, and Northern Portugal such as Galego-Asturiano and Galego do Bierzo. Within the current

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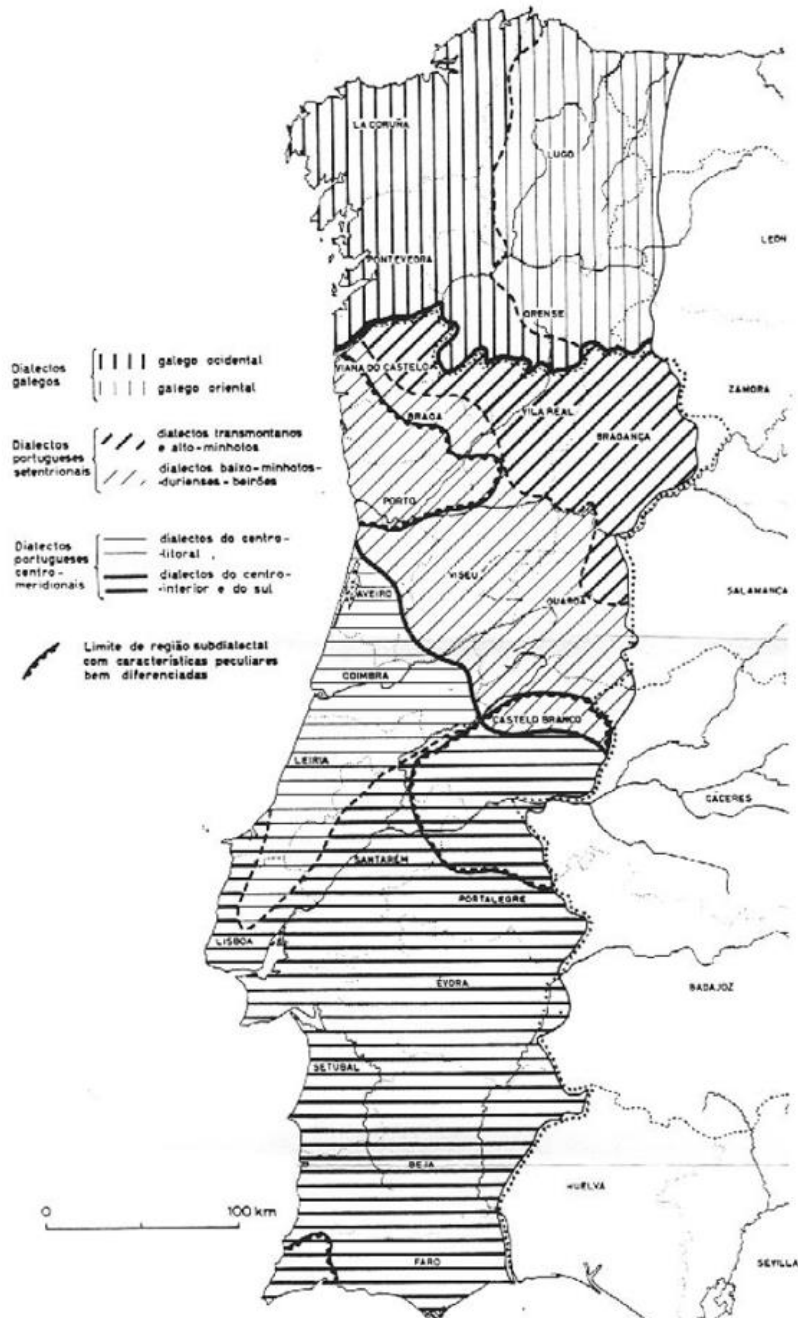
<sup>1</sup> [Our translation]: “parte indissolúvel da nosssa cultura, da nosssa história e do nosso futuro, e defendemos o seu carácter internacional; criando um espaço de interculturalidade formentará-se a importância do respeito á outras culturas que vivem no nosso país.” (Semente, 2011)

Galician territory, there are officially three isoglossic areas: the Western Block, the Central Block, and the Eastern Block. In the following map, we can see a dendrographic classification of 167 dialectological objects which roughly coincide with the isoglossic delimitations (Western, Central, and Easter) outlined above:

In the Galician context, a grassroots movement also exists that advocates for the inclusion of the spoken varieties of Galician within the Portuguese-speaking world, known as ‘reintegracionismo’ (reintegrationism). Though a minority movement, it nonetheless plays a significant role in Semente and forms the basis of the particular language ideology on which the schools were founded. Philologically speaking, and for most of the medieval period, Galician and Portuguese have been contemporarily understood to be part of the same ‘linguistic system’ or as varieties of an ‘archaic language’ named ‘Galaico-Português’ (see below for further discussion). Under the reintegrationism model, Semente’s goal is to educate the first generation of galego-português, Galician-Portuguese, speakers in the twenty-first century galego internacional’ (international Galician); ‘galego reintegrado’ [reintegrated Galician]; or even ‘português da Galiza’ (the Portuguese of Galicia). Most of these terms are highly controversial and carry with them considerable political implications. Figure 2 shows a classification of Galician-Portuguese dialects (Lindley Cintra, 1971) as laid out before the current Galician standard was established.

**Figure 2**

*Classification of Galician-Portuguese dialects (Lindley Cintra 1971)*



Mapa 2 - Classificação dos dialectos galego-portugueses

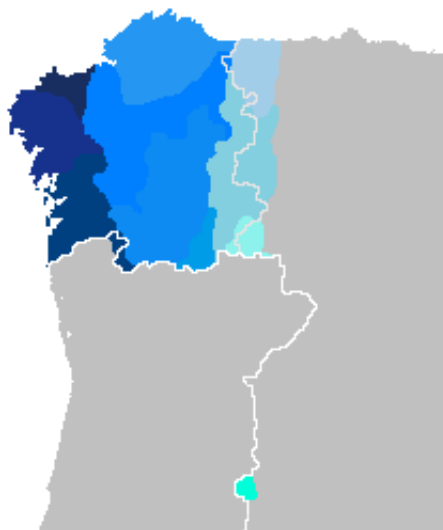


***1.2 Name the autochthonous or minoritized community/communities that speak the language***

The language is officially spoken in the geographical area that constitutes the Autonomous Community of Galicia and some of its bordering areas: O Bierzo (currently part of the neighbouring region of Castile) as well as Portelas (Zamora). In both places, Galician can be taught at schools if the institutions so wish. This is based on an interterritorial agreement between the respective autonomous governments. Currently, more than 1,000 students study Galician at school in these two areas. In the region of Extremadura (Spain), there is also a variety of Galician-Portuguese named ‘Fala’ (literally “speech”), spoken by approximately 10,500 people – though no official status has been given to the language, its community of speakers has a strong identity. Galician is also spoken in many countries to which Galician people have emigrated.

**Figure 3**

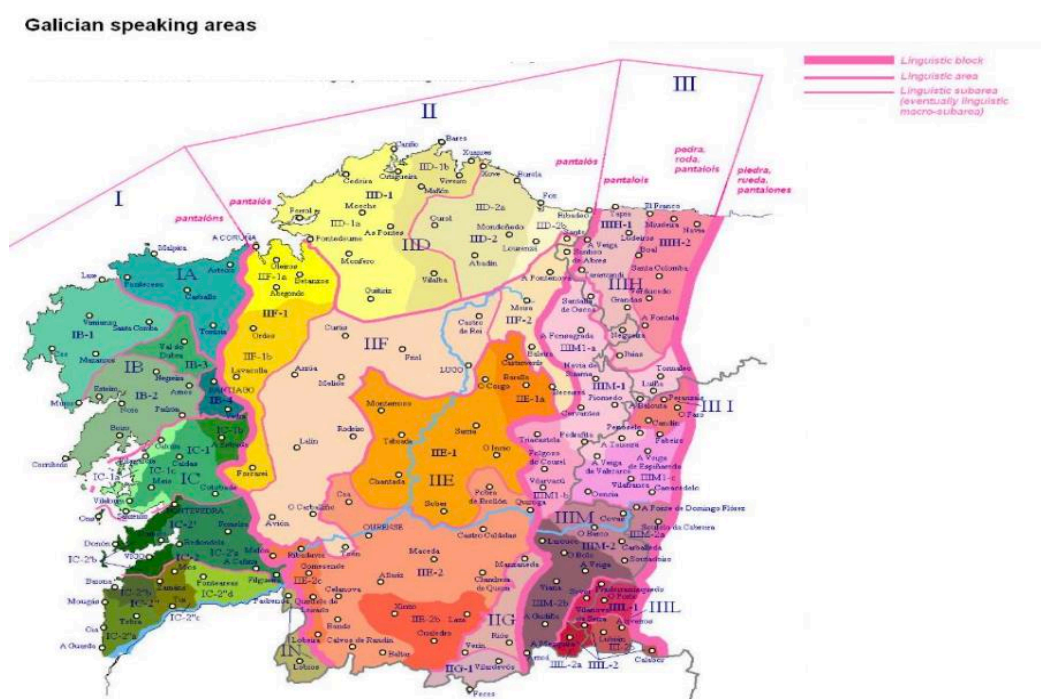
*Official dialectal varieties of Galician*



From the perspective of those who see Galician as part of the Lusophone world, Galician would also be spoken, though with different accents and vocabulary, in Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Portugal, Guinea-Bissau, East Timor, Equatorial Guinea, Macau, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Princip. Figure 3 shows the areas where Galician is ‘officially’ considered to be spoken both within the current Galician territory and the bordering areas. Figure 4 shows the richness of Galician dialectology, dividing Galicia by linguistic blocks, linguistic areas, and linguistic subareas.

**Figure 4**

*Freixeiro, S. [Public domain] (2008) Galician Speaking Areas.*



The linked GIF shows the territorial evolution of the spoken varieties within the Iberian Peninsula between 1,000-2,000 (Vigo, 2009). The following world map entitled *A nossa língua no mundo* (Our language in the world) explains, from the reintegrationist point

of view, where the Galician-Portuguese language is spoken worldwide (Associaçom Galega da Língua, 2021) This was created by AGAL, the main association which has worked to bring together most of the reintegrationist movement in Galicia.

**Figure 5**

*World map, A nossa língua no mundo (AGAL)*



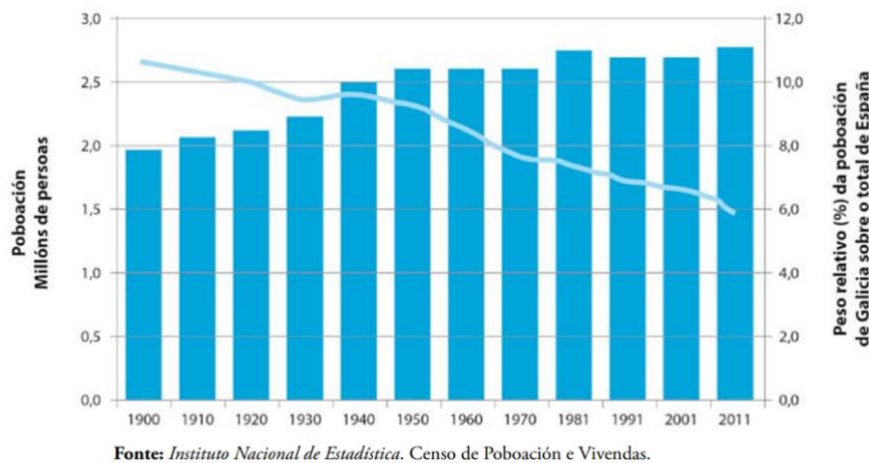
Within the Semente community, we also find symbology relating to the reclamation of Galician as an ‘international’ language connecting Galicia to the rest of the Lusophone countries, such as is displayed in Figure 6 in which the Galician flag is positioned at the heart of Lusophone countries.

**Figure 6**

*Flags of Lusophone countries, including Galicia*

***1.3 Describe the geographic area in which the language is spoken.***

For the purpose of this section, we will focus specifically on the Autonomous Community of Galicia. The Galician territory has historically had a population density well above the average of the Iberian Peninsula as a whole (Monteagudo et al., 2016, p. 27). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Galician population represented 11% of that of the Spanish State but it has, since then, decreased to below 6%. Figure 7 gives an overview of the evolution of the relative weight of the Galician population for the period between 1900 to 2011 in relation to the entire population of the Kingdom of Spain: Though reaching its peak in 1982 with 2,813,893 residents, Galicia's population started to decline after this turning point (Monteagudo et al., 2016, p. 29).

**Figure 7***Galician population 1900 to 2011*

Due to economic and political factors, Galicia has a long history of out-migration. Dating back to the 1870s and further expanding in the period between 1880 and 1930, Galicia's own 'mass-migrations' meant a significant number of Galicians left the country in search of a better life elsewhere including Argentina, Cuba, Mexico, and Uruguay (Núñez Seixas, 2016, p. 137). It has been estimated that over one million Galicians emigrated during the first three decades of the twentieth century. In the capital of Argentina alone, over 800,000 citizens are of Galician descent (Gugenberger, 2002, p. 1168). Migration flows during Spain's post-civil war years of the 1950s and 1960s show significant number of Galicians emigrating to destinations in northern Europe including Switzerland, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom (Núñez Seixas, 2002). These migrants were likely to be Galician speakers (Recalde Fernández 1997, as cited in O'Rourke, 2011, p. 45). After the financial-economic crisis of 2008, a new wave of out-migration took place and it is estimated that around 11,000 Galicians have emigrated every year since 2008, most of them aged between 20 to 39 years old. The UK is one of the main destinations for Galician migrants in

Europe and according to Secretaría Xeral de Emigración (General Directorate of Migration in Galicia) (2017) among the 109.399 Galician migrants in Europe, 14.369 reside there (p. 9).

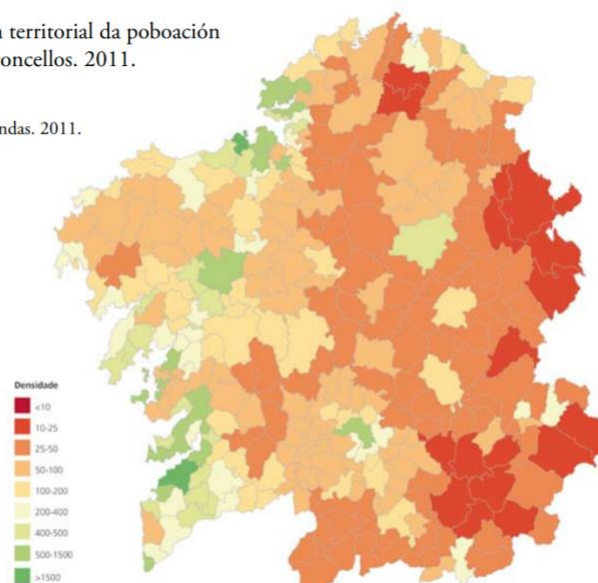
The current population of Galicia is around 2.702 million and, as of 2018, 516.489 Galicians reside abroad. As a result of this worldwide diaspora, Galician continues to be spoken and evolve beyond the borders of territorial Galicia.

## Figure 8

*Territorial distribution of the Galician population by borough councils, 2011*

**Figura 2.4.** Distribución territorial da poboación galega, por concellos. 2011.

**Fonte:** Adaptación dos datos do Censo de Poboación e Vivendas. 2011.



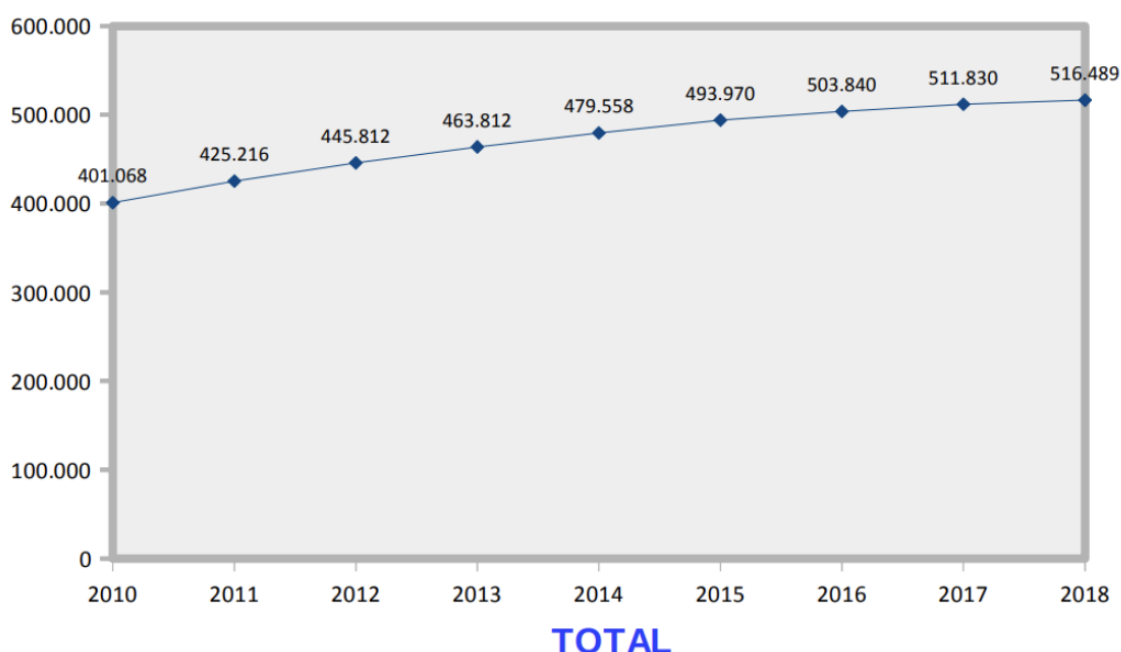
### ***1.4 Provide a brief history of the language.***

Galicia emerged as a Kingdom in the early Middle-Ages and was a posteriori annexed to the neighbouring Kingdom of Castile. Galicia's indigenous language Galego-Português ('Galician-Portuguese') had been renowned for its literary prestige but declined as a result of Castilian political and linguistic subjugation. Due to the political conjuncture, Galician and Portuguese evolved separately. Portuguese thrived as a national language of an independent political entity, whilst Galician came to be relegated to informal use and removed from the

echelons of power, hence becoming a subaltern language. The Galician elite were deliberately replaced by Castilian-speaking nobility, making Castilian the language of prestige and power. This historic period is known as *Séculos Escuros* ('Dark Ages,' sixteenth to eighteenth centuries), during which no cultural production was published in Galician.

### Figure 9

*Level of Galician emigration 2010-2018*



The so-called *Rexurdimento* ('Revival', nineteenth century, in line with European Enlightenment) brought with it renewed interest in vindicating a Galician cultural identity of which the Galician language was a key element. Attempts were made to restore Galicia's linguistic, literary, and cultural past through movements such as *Xeración Nós* (The We Generation) and the *Irmandades da Fala* (Brotherhoods of the language). However, this revival period was short-lived and was violently disrupted by the Francoist regime in 1939, following Spain's civil war and an ensuing forty years of dictatorial rule. While Galician was not explicitly forbidden by law during Franco's dictatorship, the regime's policies

encouraged the exclusive use of Spanish and ridiculed those who spoke Galician in public. Following the death of the dictator in 1975, the democratic transition which followed saw the ratification in 1981 of Galicia's Statute of Autonomy which restored a degree of self-government to Galicia along with the other historical communities in Spain including the Basque Country and Catalonia. From the 1980s onwards, different laws and measures have been put in place to normalise the use of the language in public spaces including education, public administration, and media.

With the normalization of the use of the language also came movement towards standardization. This process has led to considerable debate around the most appropriate orthographic norm. On the one hand, autonomistas ('autonomists') claim that Galician is an independent language and therefore its standard variety ought to be fully differentiated from Portuguese; reintegracionistas ('reintegrationists') consider that Galician is a variety of Portuguese—or vice versa—and should hence join the Lusofonia (International Portuguese Speaking Community) by adjusting to the Portuguese orthographic standard. To date, the only accepted official variety is the former, adopted and used by the Galician Government and all public institutions (and most private entities) within the current Galician territory.

**2. Provide a brief history of the language revitalization efforts and the immediate community that the program serves or is situated in.**

After the 'reinstatement' of political autonomy for Galicia in 1981, the teaching of the language became, to a greater or lesser extent, mandatory. However, the language policy of the Xunta (the Galician Government) has been described by many commentators as *laissez-faire* (Lorenzo Suárez, 2005). Galicia's language policy is inextricably linked to the hegemony of the Galician branch of the Spanish conservative party (Partido Popular), in



government since the 1980s with only a brief period of political change between 2005 and 2009 which saw a coalition government between the Galician branch of the Spanish Socialist Party (PDdG – Partido Socialista de Galicia) and the Galician Nationalist Bloc (BNG – Bloque Nacionalista Galego).<sup>2</sup> During this period the General Directorate of Language Policy in Galicia was held by a member of the Galician Nationalist Bloc (henceforth BNG). In terms of educational language policy, during that time, the BNG made a proposal to enforce the 1982 law which stated that a minimum of fifty percent of school subjects should be taught through the medium of Galician. Up until then, the fifty percent minimum tended to be interpreted as a maximum requirement, particularly in urban schools where Spanish was the more widely used language. Although amendments to the existing law had been proposed to change educational policy as radical and conflictual in what was up to then seen as the ‘tamest’ of Spain’s ‘historical nations.’ In addition, the coalition government created a network of publicly funded ‘language immersion’ schools called ‘Galescolas’. These schools which were aimed at children aged between zero and three years old opened their doors in 2007 but were dismantled in 2009 with the return to power of the conservative centre-right wing Popular Party. Towards the end of the PSdG-BNG coalition, there was heated public debate on language rights which formed a key part of political debate in the run-up to the 2009 elections.

Part of the Popular Party’s manifesto was to dismantle language policy changes proposed by the coalition government. In 2010, this promise was fulfilled as following the return to power of the conservative government, Galescolas was replaced by a new educational model ‘Galiñas Azuis’ (literally “blue chickens”), a trilingual model which was

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<sup>2</sup> Coalition of left-wing Galician Nationalist parties.

deemed by many language activists as detrimental to the vitality of the language. Under the trilingual model, one-third of the school subjects would be taught in Spanish, English, and Galician respectively. In addition, it was stipulated that 'pure sciences' would be taught in Spanish (including maths, physics, etc.).

### Figure 10

#### *A Galiña Azul Logo*



Despite the mandate that a third of subjects are to be taught in each of the three languages, in 'Galiñas Azuis' the language of the classroom is generally determined by that spoken by the majority of children. Given the already low presence of Galician in urban areas, such as Vigo, where only three percent of pre-school children speak Galician in the home, the new educational model does little to counteract the hegemony of Spanish and the precarious position of Galician. According to many commentators, this 'trilingual' decree has led to a considerable decline in the number of teaching hours in Galician and it is seen to have had negative effects on attitudes towards Galician, particularly amongst the youth.

A small number of cooperative or privately-run projects continue to exist (e.g., Raiola in Santiago de Compostela, Andaina in Coruña), but for the most part, the new decree brought an end to an immersion model for Galicia.

***2.1 How did the language revitalization efforts begin? What are some of the key factors or triggers that led to increased language revitalization or changes in attitudes (a leader, a historical catalyst, policy, revival, or renewed interest in an art form...)***

It is within the context of perceived institutional hostility towards Galician as described above, that the Semente project emerged in 2011 as one of the proposed initiatives developed by a core group of language activists within the ‘social centre,’ A Gentalha do Pichel.<sup>3</sup> For some of the founding members of Semente, ensuring a pro-Galician education for a future generation of Galicians was linked to their own life stages as future parents. Creating their own educational project was seen as the only way to guarantee the full education of their children in Galician.

The dismantlement of the Galescola immersion model described above along with what many language activists saw as a further weakening of Galician language policies, were the key triggers in initiating the Semente project at that particular moment in time. However, they also saw Semente as being part of a broader social movement with an existing agenda in which language rights were one, albeit key, element along with a commitment to other social projects including feminism, environmentalism, anti-capitalism, and responsible consumerism. Language activists were also of the opinion that the Galician immersion school model they were proposing needed to emerge from the bottom-up and to ensure continuity of the movement, it needed to be part of the grassroots social structure as opposed to a power-dependent top-down initiative. The type of project they were proposing was one which would

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<sup>3</sup> Alternative spaces for Galician language and activism linked to cultural, social, and political associations (O’Rourke 2019)

be self-funded and self-managed by and for ‘Galician civil society.’ As one of the founding members put it:

Galician (GA): “Cando un goberno se apropia dunha iniciativa que ten que ser popular pode acabar así claro. Quen garante que iso vaia ter continuidade se o goberno muda? Entón, ou sexa, foi como algo, unha intuición que todos tiñamos mas que acabamos de confirmar, non? Que hai cousas que teñen que surxir do tecido social para que realmente arraiguen e teñan continuidade, senón nada o pode garantir....” (Semente Founder, Gentalha do Pichel, May 2018).<sup>4</sup>

English (EN): When a government appropriates an initiative that is meant to be ‘popular’ [of the people], it can end up like this, of course. Who can guarantee that it will have continuity if the government changes? So, I mean, it was like, an intuition that we all had but that we just had confirmed, right? That there are things that must arise from the social fabric for them to settle down and have continuity, otherwise nothing can guarantee it [continuity].

As such, the members of Semente reject criticisms sometimes levied on them which classify their project as a private school with connotations of elitism associated with such a model. They argue the need to move beyond the private versus public binary in the education system and position Semente within a third space which provides an alternative educational model, both linguistically and pedagogically through an “iniciativa popular” whereby, through bottom-up action, they organise themselves to resolve issues collectively.

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<sup>4</sup> For practical reasons, the interview extracts in this report have been transcribed in the official Galician standard but we would like to acknowledge that many of the community members do not adhere to the official standard and prefer to use the ‘reintegrationist’ version.

***2.2 Are there some sociological stages that you can identify in your trajectory related to group development that influence and intersect with other factors driving minority language revitalization movements as they develop over time?***

Language activists had already explored Galician immersion schooling as a model in the early twentieth century through the work of revivalist moments such as the Irmandades da Fala (literally ‘Brotherhood of the Language’). The founders of Semente built on the ideas developed during that period. As far back as 1910, the Irmandades da Fala voiced concerns about the ‘degalicianising’ effect of the school through explicit contempt for the language and the imposition of Spanish as the sole medium of instruction. This was seen as an infringement of Galician children’s basic human rights. A key inspirational figure for the founding members of Semente is Ánxel Casal, former mayor of Santiago de Compostela who was murdered by the Francoist regime in 1936 during the fascist uprising of general Francisco Franco. As a Galician republican and member of the Partido Galeguista (Pro-Galicianist Party), Ánxel Casal was an uncomfortable figure for the regime. He was one of the founders of the Escolas de Insiño Galego (literally, Schools of Galician Teaching) that were pioneered in the 1920s. These schools were to be free of charge, including the provision of books with costs being covered by its members as well as through sponsorship from the iconic pro-Galician newspaper A Nosa Terra.

Initially, education was to be through the medium of Spanish to comply with the legal requirements of the time, but Galician was to be introduced gradually as the schools became established. Almost one hundred years later, Semente, whose aim has been to establish full Galician immersion schools, faces similar complications in order to abide by legal requirements whereby at the end of primary education, children are required to have equal competence in both Galician and Spanish. To fulfill this requirement, one-third of all subjects

need to be taught through the medium of Spanish. In the early twentieth century, Casal advocated for multilingual education and the learning of as many languages as possible, although in practice, the central goal was to make Galician the language of the classroom. This is not dissimilar to the multilingual ethos which Semente has also adopted, but like Casal, they main to make Galician the main language of the classroom. The similarities between the ‘Escolas de Insiño Galego’ and Semente include (1) perceptions of the school as a ‘degalicianising’ force; (2) need to create a sui generis project responding to Galician interests; (3) project born out of a wider activist movement, Irmandades da Fala for the former, and a Gentalha do Pichel for the latter; (4) no institutional support; (5) crowdfunding campaigns to help finance the project; (6) importance of the complementarity and continuity of school and family, school content focused on the ‘problematics of the country’ as well as the need for teachers to be fully competent in Galician; (7) laicity and republicanism; (8) feminism; (9) educational approach: closeness between teachers and pupils, respect for children’s own learning pace, alternative ways of learning; (10) highly interactive classes and contact with nature.

The ‘Escolas de Insiño Galego’ and Semente also differ in a number of respects (1) social class of the members, as the ‘Escolas’ were targeted for lower middle-classes, whereas Semente is conceptualised as a working-class project; (2) Spanish teaching included in the initial Irmandades project, whereas Semente only focuses on Galician; (3) the Irmandades project was free thanks to the quotas from members, whereas Semente is fee-charging (with some exceptions through a bursary system).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> [Our translation: [the schools] will be starred by a generation of youngsters who joined the Irmandades in 1916-17. The hard-core movement was made up of a group of lower middle-class youngsters...]. “Terão como protagonistas a geração de moços que entra na Irmandade em 1916-17. O núcleo duro do movimento, composto por um grupo de moços e moças de

***2.3 Can you identify any phases in the developmental stages in the language revitalization movement where exogenous forces have a greater influence? Can you identify any stages where endogenous forces have had a greater influence? Please explain the interplay between these forces.***

Exogenous forces include the Prestige catastrophe and the Nunca Máis movement (Figure 11), the 15M ‘indignados’ movement against economic austerity, and the ‘fabricated’ economic crisis of 2008. In 2002, a grassroots movement emerged in Galicia as a result of the Prestige ship environmental disaster. The movement came to be known as Nunca Máis (Never Again). Its banner was designed using the Galician flag but replacing its white background with black to depict the colour of the oil spill. The level of mobilisation that this movement generated at the time was unprecedented in Galician history.

**Figure 11**

*Nunca Máis flag*



In one of the protests organised in Santiago de Compostela in 2002, more than 200,000 were said to have taken part. The demonstrations revolved around publicly

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classe meia baixa...” (Vázquez Souza 2016: 15). Vázquez Souza, Ernesto (2016) “Umha velha Galescola. As Escolas do Ensinho Galego”. Galiza: Semente Trasancos.

denouncing the mishandling of the ecological catastrophe by both the Galician and Spanish governments and demanding of reparatory measures for the Galician people. Galician political scientists from the University of Santiago de Compostela, Diz Otero & Lois Gonzalez (2005), categorised the emergence of this movement as the ‘reconstruction of the civil society in Galicia’, partly due to the transversality and political plurality of the movement as a whole, something which had not previously been seen in Galicia’s highly divided political landscape. During an interview with one of the most prominent activists in Semente and the Gentalha, one activist explained how the Nunca Máis movement was a turning point in the way he and other activists have come to understand social movements and activism in Galicia more broadly. It generated strongly emotional ties between people around a common goal, a sense of solidarity and, as he emphasised, this movement influenced the way in which activism would be framed from then on in Galicia:

GA: “...pois a cuestión é que se, é dicir, a miña participación en movementos sociais, si que hai unha formación política ou ideolóxica máis relacionado co ámbito das ideas. Mais, eu penso que hai unha serie de persoas na miña xeración que coincidimos no movemento Nunca Máis [...] É dicir, é un momento dramático, un momento de crise ecolóxica, política, pero que estableceu lazos afectivos e a forma de traballar naquel momento, penso que condicionou despois moito o noso traballo como activistas” (Language Activist, Compostela, May 2018)

EN: “...and the matter is that, I mean, my participation in social movements, there was indeed political and ideological training but more related to the realm of ideas. But I think that there are a number of people in my generation who met during the Nunca Máis movement [...] I mean, it was a dramatic moment, a moment of



ecological and political crisis which established, however, emotional ties; and the way of doing things back then, I believe, predetermined a lot our work as activists.”

The 15M or ‘indignados’ movement emerged from a protest organised on May 15th, 2011, in response to the political disaffection of civil society with the austerity measures imposed on public services to, allegedly, palliate the level of debt as a result of the economic crisis. The movement manifested differently throughout the Spanish State and Galicia developed its own form of protest. During another conversation with the same language activist above, he explained that during the 15M demonstrations in Santiago de Compostela, it was the first time he witnessed the Spanish language being used by social movements during protests in Galicia. This, he said, was previously ‘unheard of’ and that for him and other people involved in activism, it was a wake-up call, a sign that the language dynamics of grassroots movements had started to shift.

Endogenous forces include the strength of Galicia’s own grassroots activism, articulated through a network of social centres which have influenced wider society for decades, and the conviction that the defense of the Galician language is at the core of all political and social struggles. Within these activist circles, as another activist puts it, there is an underlying understanding that the language movement’s strength is dependent on social relations based on equality, dialogue, deliberation, respecting individual’s emotions and the realm of affection. At Semente, this collective drive to preserve Galician rises above any ideological differences amongst its members:

GA: “...o movementa da lingua en Galiza está moi condicionada polas relacións sociais entendidas como unha relación entre iguais, de respecto e intentando convencer, dialogar, debater, máis sempre desde ese respecto polas emocións e sempre desde un punto de vista afectivo [...] no caso da Semente, por exemplo, un marco de

convivencia entre iguais independentemente de que logo as nosas ideoloxías sexan máis ou menos parecidas ou diferentes, non?” (Language Activist, Compostela, May 2018)

EN: “[...] the language movement in Galicia is very much predetermined by social relations, understood as peer relationships, as respect and trying to convince, dialogue, debate, but always based on respect for emotions and always from an affective point of view [...] in the case of Semente, for example, a peaceful coexistence amongst equals despite our ideologies being more or less similar or different, right?”

### **3. Who are the key social actors today (individuals, societies and organizations, schools)?**

There is a vast array of social actors including individuals, organisations, public bodies, and educational contexts which shape the Galician language landscape and its dynamics. These include official bodies and institutions such as the Galician Government, Xunta de Galicia, which implements its language policy via the General Directorate of Language Policy; as well as the Galician Language Institute (ILG); the Galician Royal Academy (RAG); the Galician Culture Council (Consello da Cultura Galega); and the Ramón Piñeiro’s Centre for Research in Humanities (Centro de Investigación en Humanidades Ramón Piñeiro). There are also a range of grassroots organisations and initiatives including Queremos Galego and A Mesa which collaborate with institutional platforms; on the margin of it all, we have the reintegrationist movement agglutinated mainly by the Associação Galega da Língua (AGAL) and the Academia Galega da Língua Portuguesa (Galician Academy of the Portuguese Language); as well as the main publishing houses in standard Galician: Xerais and Galaxia, and the reintegrationist counterpart: Através Editora. Semente

has no contact or interaction with the institutional spaces highlighted above, and very little contact with many of the grassroots organisations.

**4. Given known problems with numbers of speakers, we need some reference points to these numbers. Please provide your definition for native speakers and new speakers (or your preferred terminology for these categories). Please provide your data sources.**

Typical definitions of the native speaker concept usually draw on the idea that being a native speaker means having an innate proficiency in a language and this innateness makes them the “ideal” speaker (Bloomfield, 1933; Chomsky, 1957) and the term native, as the etymology suggests, implies birth into a specific community or place. The innate qualities associated with nativeness tend to stem from connections and ties with the language in the home or in a particular speech community historically associated with the language. In the classical understanding of the term, native speaker is frequently used interchangeably with mother tongue. Native speaker, mother tongue and speech community, while often used to define the linguistic competence and states of different categories of speakers, are, of course, not unproblematic and have come under scrutiny. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the link between native speakers, mother tongue, place of origin, and knowledge or use of a language cannot be assumed. Mother tongue is an ambiguous term. In bilingual and multilingual contexts, it is not necessarily clear, even to the speakers themselves, what their mother tongue is or which language they first learned to speak and from whom (Davies, 2003; Pokorn, 2005; Skutnabb-Kangas & Philipson, 1989). Classifications of the native speaker have also shown to be problematic (e.g., Davies, 1991, 2003; Kachru, 1990; Phillipson, 1992; Rampton, 1990; Singh, 1998, 2006). Indeed, in his foreword to the *Other Tongues* by Kachru (1982), Charles Ferguson (1982, p. vii) suggested that “the whole mystique of native speaker and mother

tongue [be] quietly dropped” from the vocabulary of linguists. This opened up a debate in the field about how the “native speaker” concept was being understood, particularly in the context of English language teaching where pride of place tended to be given to speakers of Anglo-Saxon varieties with little or no recognition of other varieties including Indian English, Nigerian English and other varieties of English spoken in Britain’s former colonies. Labels, such as native speaker, mother tongue and speech community, reflect the monolingual ideologies in which languages are seen as bounded and named entities. In many ways, such conceptualisations are limited in describing heteroglossic societies in which multiple linguistic repertoires co-exist within the population and instead provide a somewhat static account of sociolinguistic reality (Pennycook, 1994, 2007).

Despite the limitations of these terms from an analytical point of view, such concepts continue to exist as folk terms and are often used as a means of distinguishing between different types of speakers (Doerr, 2009, p. 1). Native speaker is frequently distinguished from non-native speaker along bipolar lines whereby being native is associated with being “authentic” and “pure” whereas being a non-native speaker frequently denotes sounding “artificial”, “contaminated” and “imperfect”.

Discomfort with “non-native” as a label and the deficiency models which it implies prompted a move away from the term in search of other ways of describing speakers who spoke a language which was not the language in which they were first socialised. A plethora of alternative terms and labels exist including for example “emergent bilinguals” (García & Kleifgen, 2010) and “multilingual subjects” (Kramsch, 2009). Some of these same issues emerge in minority language contexts where the native speaker ideology was deeply rooted. O’Rourke and Ramallo (2011) drew attention to native-non-native dichotomy in minority

language contexts, with a specific focus on these dynamics in the Galician context and the role of neofalantes (new/neo-speakers) in the process of language revitalisation.

Neofalantes constitute a relatively new sociolinguistic category in Galicia. Sharing a set of common linguistic trajectories, but with different social and ideological backgrounds, neofalantes constitute a profile of speaker which began to emerge in the 1960s. This profile was consolidated in the context of socio-political changes in Galicia since the 1980s as described above and, to a certain extent, more favourable language policies for some of the other languages of Spain (including Galician, Basque and Catalan) in the context of Spain's transition to democracy. Neofalantes are essentially the product of the bilingual education policies in place in Galicia since the 1980s which have brought recent generations of young Galicians into contact with the Galician language in a formal setting.

The new speaker concept already existed as a folk term in Galicia to refer to Galician who had not been brought up speaking the language in the home but who had at some stage in their lives (usually adolescence) made a conscious decision to switch to Galician. This switch tended to involve the displacement of Spanish altogether leading to a phenomenon we refer to as majority language displacement (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013). Essentially, all Spanish-speaking Galicians under the age of 50 could be classified as neofalantes in that they acquired Galician outside of the home and were exposed to the language at primary and secondary school within Galicia's bilingual education system. This is a system that has been in place since the 1980s following Spain's transition to democracy and more favourable policies around linguistic diversity in Spain. However, as we can see elsewhere and as Hornberger (2008) highlights, schools alone cannot save a minority language, and much of the oral and written competencies which the post-Franco generation acquired through formal schooling is not always converted into active use of the language. While everyone who has

gone through the education system in Galicia can be considered a neofalante potential, not all of this potential is harnessed and only a small percentage of the population (approximately 2%) can be considered Galician converts similar to what Woolard (1998) referred to in the 1980s as Catalan converts. O'Rourke and Ramallo (2015) distinguish between “neofalantes potenciais” (potential new speakers) and “neofalantes activos” (active new speakers) (see also Nandi, 2018; O'Rourke, 6). While there is some variation in understandings around the concept of neofalante, clear distinctions are made between this category of speaker and falantes tradicionais (traditional speakers) or falantes de toda a vida (life-long speakers) (see O'Rourke, 2019). As we discuss in more detail in Section E, these were terms which we found were frequently used by parents, teachers, and activists at Semente. The term neofalante itself was explicitly used by many social actors although it tended to be understood in different ways by different people as the examples below will show.

One of the founding members of Semente, for example, uses the term to describe urbanites who are linked to collectives like Semente, who display a high degree of linguistic awareness and who at some point in their lives engage in a reflexive process around their own linguistic behaviours. There is, as he says, a realisation that they want to be part of Galician society which speaks Galician:

GA: “É moi habitual na Semente e noutros colectivos que teñen conciencia lingüística, moitas das persoas que se incorporan son neofalantes, somos persoas de ámbito urbano, que nalgún momento das nosas vidas reflexionamos sobre o tema lingüístico e chegamos á conclusión de que,<sup>7</sup> bueno! Que queríamos estar na parte da

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<sup>6</sup> O'Rourke, B. (2018). Just use it! Linguistic conversion and identities of resistance amongst Galician new speakers. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 39(5), 407–418. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2018.1429455>.

<sup>7</sup> Indicates a phonetic elongation.

sociedade que fala galego. Pero foi unha reflexión, case sempre hai unha reflexión.”

(Semente Founder, Compostela, June 2018)

EN: “It is very common in Semente and other collectives which have a linguistic awareness, many people who join are new speakers, we are people from an urban context, who at a moment in our lives begin to reflect on the linguistic theme and we come to the conclusion that, well! That we wanted to be in the part of a society which speaks Galician. But there was a reflection, there is almost always a reflection.”

Others used the term to describe their perceived inadequacy as speakers through poor use of pronouns and Galician-sounding structures and the difficulties they had in shedding themselves of these traits:

GA: “A min nótaseme que son neofalante, os pronomes, as estruturas. Todo aí, a min cóstame un mundo” (Teacher, Semente Compostela, May 2018)

EN: “One can tell that I am a new speaker, the pronouns, the structures. Everything, it is really challenging.”

GA: “A xente que fala galego e é aquí aos dous minutos de falar comigo decátase de que non, de que son neofalante” (Parent, Semente Compostela, May 2018)

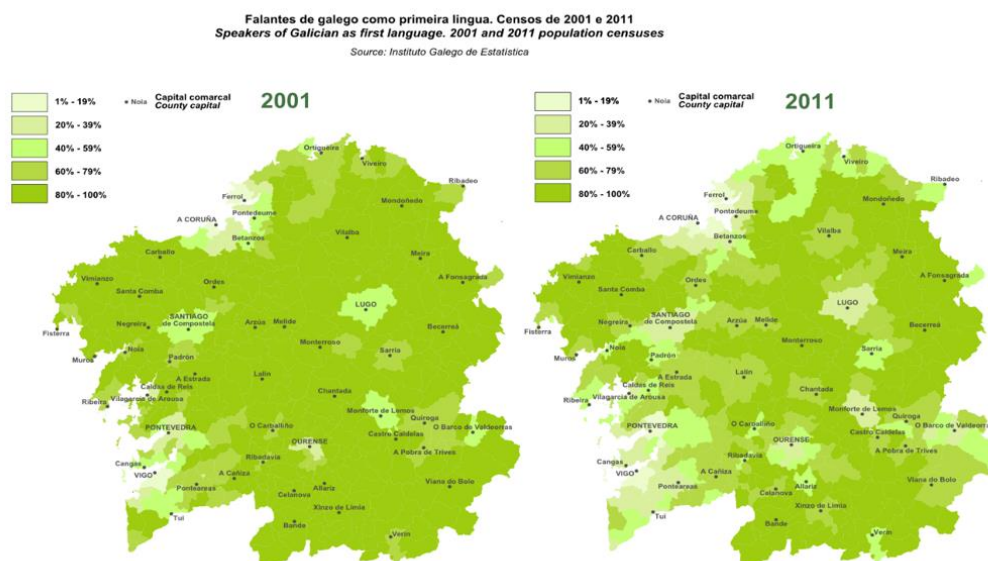
EN: “The people who speak Galician and who are from here, in two minutes of speaking with me they detect that no, that I am a new speaker.”

**4.1 What was the number of native speakers at the apex of this language's vitality, and what was the approximate number at the time the revitalization efforts were initiated and at other important points of time in its development?**

Galician was spoken by the majority of the population of Galicia up until very recently in the region's history Rexurdimento (Revival) in the 19th century which sought to restore the Galician language as a vehicle of social and cultural expression after the so-called Séculos Escuros (Dark Centuries) and the dominance of Castilian. We can infer from reported accounts in MSG 1996 (cited in del Valle 2000) that over 90% of the population were Galician speakers at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. We can also infer from the rural/urban distribution of the population at the time, ninety percent rural and ten percent urban, that rural areas were predominantly Galician-speaking and the remaining ten percent in urban areas were Spanish-speaking (Rei-Doval, 2007).

**Figure 12**

Galician speakers as first language 2001-2011, IGE





Between 1900 and 1936 there was a progressive decline in the number of Galician speakers as a result of immigration to the cities which in turn prompted many to switch to Spanish. Further accounts show a continued drop in the numbers of Galician speakers in the 1960s, in particular, as a result of increased urbanisation and a move to the cities in search of work. This tended to lead to displacement of Galician as people's main language and the gradual move to Spanish-dominant practices as a marker of progress and social advance (Álvarez-Cáccamo, 1993). Attempts were made to construct a new identity in these urban spaces (Monteagudo, 1999; O'Rourke, 2011). This was coupled with a political regime at the time that solely authorized Spanish as the language of public space including the education and media spheres. The regime used strategies to ridicule the language and its speakers which in turn were deployed to discourage the use of Galician. Since the 1980s, language policy has attempted to intervene in this process mainly through the education system. However, sociolinguistic surveys would seem to suggest that although formal competence in the language has increased, active use of the language continues to decline especially amongst younger age groups (see Figure 13).

Although census returns and sociolinguistic surveys do not explicitly distinguish between 'native' and 'new speakers', this can be to some degree inferred from the data. Native speakers relate to those who in surveys report having Galician as the first language they learned to speak but, of course, can also include those who report both Spanish and Galician as the languages in which they were socialised. As many scholars have shown (see Urla, 2012; Duchêne & Humbert, 2019), census results and the counting of languages can provide a somewhat distorted account of the social life of language and its use on the ground, so care needs to be taken when interpreting such figures. Surveys and census results also tend to miss out on the in-between spaces of language use, language mixing and translingual

practices and are presented with a particular understanding of what a language is, namely, as a bounded, discrete, and named entity (Pennycook, 2010).

### Figure 13

*People according to the language they usually speak by age, Galicia, and provinces. IGE.*

#### People according to the language they usually speak by age. Galicia and provinces

Row variables: Space, Common language, Age  
Column variables: Measures, Time

	Percentage			
	2003	2008	2013	2018
<b>Galicia</b>				
In Galician always				
From 5 to 14 years	27.10	15.26	13.20	14.27
From 15 to 29 years	28.49	18.59	19.78	18.94
From 30 to 49 years	36.63	22.06	23.07	23.66
From 50 to 64 years	51.16	34.26	35.42	32.78
65 years or older	66.11	52.90	52.74	48.48
Total	43.20	30.29	31.20	30.57
More Galician than Spanish				
From 5 to 14 years	13.23	20.87	11.91	11.85
From 15 to 29 years	17.25	24.37	16.91	18.45
From 30 to 49 years	20.17	26.59	20.90	20.64
From 50 to 64 years	21.91	32.67	24.22	25.35
65 years or older	15.76	25.60	21.08	24.91
Total	18.32	26.73	20.29	21.72
More Spanish than Galician				
From 5 to 14 years	25.50	34.28	27.79	29.75
From 15 to 29 years	28.72	31.58	29.66	30.75
From 30 to 49 years	21.39	26.87	26.62	28.25
From 50 to 64 years	13.42	17.30	18.85	21.51
65 years or older	7.60	10.52	12.38	12.96
Total	18.83	22.70	22.26	23.32
In Spanish always				
From 5 to 14 years	34.17	29.59	47.09	44.13
From 15 to 29 years	25.55	25.47	33.64	31.86
From 30 to 49 years	21.81	24.48	29.42	27.45
From 50 to 64 years	13.51	15.77	21.52	20.36
65 years or older	10.53	10.98	13.80	13.65
Total	19.66	20.28	26.25	24.40
Total				
From 5 to 14 years	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
From 15 to 29 years	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
From 30 to 49 years	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
From 50 to 64 years	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
65 years or older	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**4.2 What is the percentage of native and new speakers to the total population of the community? To the total population of the state or nation (if different)?**

According to recent sociolinguistic data on language use, over half of the population of Galicia report Galician as the main or predominant language that they were brought up speaking in the home, and as such, according to definitions discussed above, would come under the category of ‘native speaker’ (Instituto Galego de Estatística, 2014). This compares with less than 30 percent within the under twenty-five age cohort reporting Galician as their first language. Figures are even more acute amongst Galicia’s urban youth, with around one-tenth reporting Galician as their first language. For many of this younger generation, particularly those residing in Galicia’s main urban centres, Spanish is the language of the home. It thus follows that for a younger generation of Galicians, the education system has come to be their primary agent for the production of the language.

**Figure 1**

*Spoken Language Use, IGE.*

**Persoas segundo a lingua na que falan habitualmente. Datos por idade e provincias. Ano 2013**

Medidas=Porcentaxe		Espazo=Galicia			
	En galego sempre	Máis galego ca castelán	Máis castelán ca galego	En castelán sempre	Total
De 5 a 14 anos	13,20	11,91	27,79	47,09	100,00
De 15 a 29 anos	19,78	16,91	29,66	33,64	100,00
De 30 a 49 anos	23,07	20,90	26,62	29,42	100,00
De 50 a 64 anos	35,42	24,22	18,85	21,52	100,00
De 65 ou máis anos	52,74	21,08	12,38	13,80	100,00
Total	31,20	20,29	22,26	26,25	100,00

New speakers include those who report having been brought up speaking Spanish but who switched to Galician later in life and now report predominant or regular use of Galician. According to previous cross-tabulations based on Figure 14, we can infer that approximately

two percent of the population would fit this category. Though this percentage includes people who report the exclusive use of Galician as their habitual language, it does not include those who report some use of Galician e.g., *máis castelán có galego* (who presumably engage in sporadic use of the language), nor does it include people who report exclusive use of Spanish but who report an ability to speak the language (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2015). Classifying speaker categories and coming up with actual numbers and percentages proves difficult. In the context of the particular revitalisation initiative at Semente, they are faced with a similar dilemma. As highlighted in Section 4 above, while social actors use specific labels to categorise themselves and other types of speakers, such labels are not always understood in the same way by all speakers and there is often a blurring between categories.

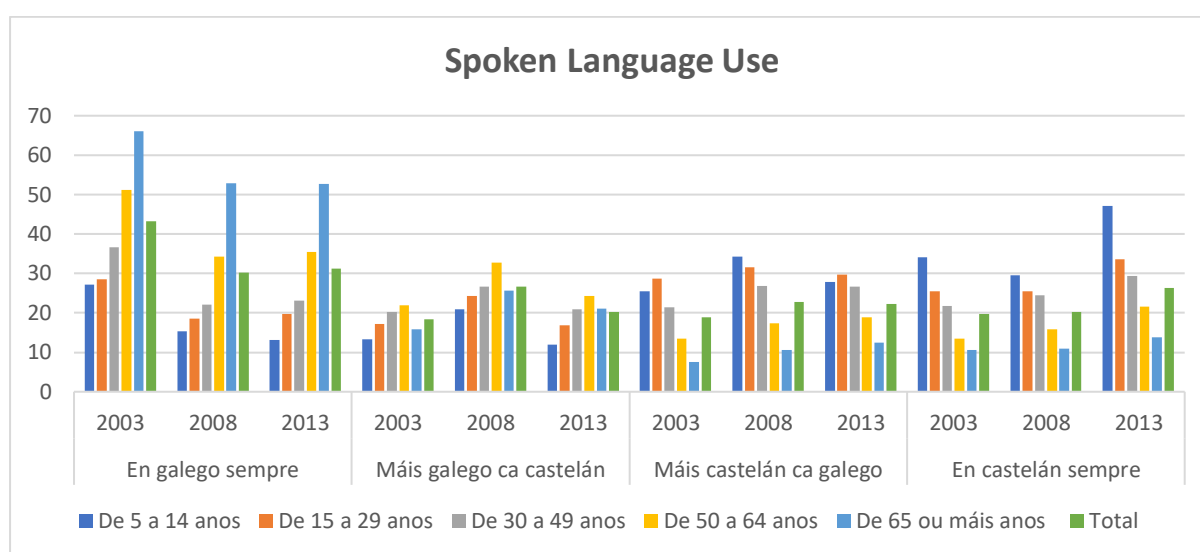
While many parents at Semente self-identify as *neofalantes*, the question arises around how they classify their children or what type of labels they use (if any) to describe themselves linguistically. These children of *neofalantes* could be classified as native speakers if we apply some of the definitions often used to categorise this profile of speaker: their primary language of socialisation was Galician, and it was the language that they were spoken to for the first three years of their life before going to Semente. However, this was not the case for all parents, and we find a small but growing percentage of Spanish-speaking parents who do not necessarily speak Galician to their children. To date, this constitutes a small group in Semente.

While the inclusion of Galician in the education system plays an important role in raising the status of the language, it does not however guarantee increased levels of language use at a societal level. As Hornberger (2008, p. 1) and many others have shown, “schools alone are not enough to do the job”. While the vast majority of those under twenty-five say they can speak Galician “well”, less than half report active use of the language. This figure

drops to one-fifth amongst young people living in urban contexts (Instituto Galego de Estatística, 2014). Despite increased institutional support for Galician, intergenerational transmission continues to decline. Over the last twenty years, the percentage of mother-tongue speakers of Galician fell from sixty to forty-seven percent (Ramallo, 2012).

**Figure 2**

*Spoken language use, adapted from IGE 2014.*

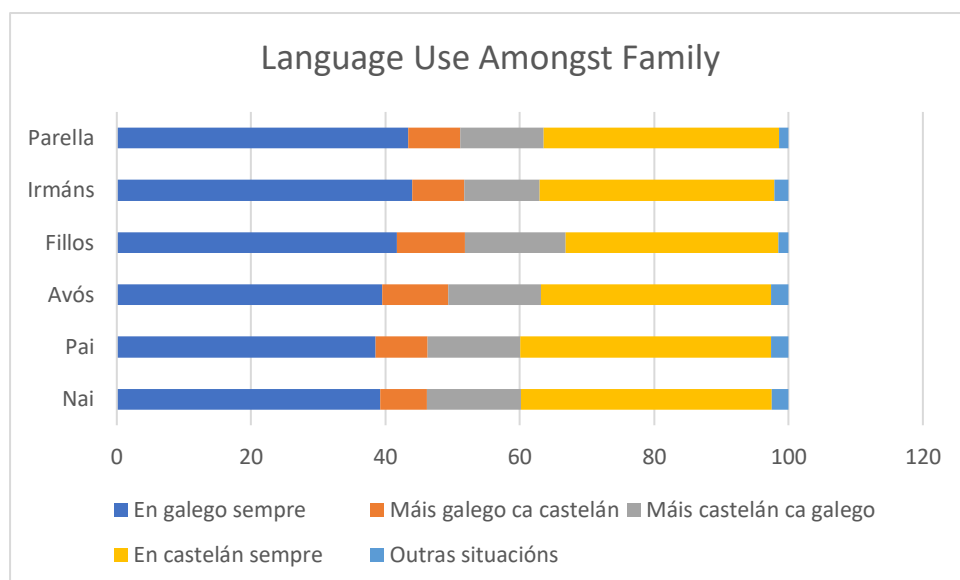


The use of Galician amongst first language speakers of Spanish is also shown to change over the lifecycle of the individual. Seven percent report increased bilingual behaviour over their lifetime, with a leaning toward predominant use of Galician, and a further two percent report abandoning Spanish altogether in favour of monolingual practices in Galician (Instituto Galego de Estatística, 2008). In most cases, this change is down to “personal” reasons as opposed to “work-related” motivations. Comparatively, first-language speakers of Galician who report shifts to Spanish seem to be more driven by its perceived value in instrumental as opposed to integrative terms (Monteagudo, 2012). This would seem to imply a more ethnocultural or identity-based frame for new speakers of Galician, as opposed to any inherent value awarded to the language as a form of economic capital.

In Semente about half of the parents we spoke to can be classified as neofalantes or self-define themselves as such. They were brought up speaking Spanish in the home but made a conscious decision as teenagers or in early adulthood to adopt Galician language practices. For many, this involved the full displacement of Spanish towards the predominant or exclusive use of Galician. About half of the parent group were brought up speaking Galician and identify themselves as paleofalante, falante de toda a vida, etc.

### Figure 3

*Language Use Amongst Family, adapted from IGE 2014.*



As Semente has grown, there is also an increasing number of parents for whom Spanish continues to be the main language but who provide support for their children in becoming Galician speakers. For some parents, entry into Semente can prompt a moment of sociolinguistic change and can have a positive effect on their language practices. The majority of the children at Semente were brought up speaking Galician by neofalante parents who have made a conscious decision to make Galician the language of the home and the language they use with their children. These parents have put in place an explicit family

language policy to support this. As such they can be seen to be re-establishing intergenerational transmission of the language. In the case of teachers at Semente, we find the same mixture with some professing to having spoken it all their lives and others defining themselves as neofalantes (explicitly using that term).

## B. Attitudes

**1. Given that the relationship between the dominant language(s) to a minority language is the key to why the languages are or are not used in different domains, what are prevailing attitudes towards the majority language today?**

The dominant language is Spanish and in general is viewed as the language of prestige and social mobility. Language policy in Galicia since the 1980s has to a certain degree increased the symbolic and economic value of Galician on the linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1991). However, this has not been sufficient to bring about a reversal of language shift. In the last 40 years, Galician became a requirement for access to public sector employment. As a result, certain niche markets emerged within the new Galician public administration including jobs in the public media, education, and local and regional administrative bodies, giving employment to those who could show formal skills in the language. However, while the status of the language has been enhanced since the language policy of the 1980's, Spanish remains the language of prestige and social mobility. As one language activist at Semente put it:

GA: “Hai unha norma social moi clara que é a que vén construída desde hai moitos anos que di que o galego é inútil, que o galego non ten valores” (Language activist, Compostela, June 2018)

EN: “There is a very clear social norm which is, and which has come to be constructed for many years and which says that Galician is useless, that Galician does not have any value.”

Several decades ago, Ryan (1979) asked the question of why low-prestige languages continue to persist and what it is that prompts speakers of a dominant language (such as Spanish) to



adopt a non-prestige language (such as Galician) and to engage in the process of majority language displacement (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013) as is the case in many of the social actors linked to Semente.

There is a general recognition amongst parents, teachers, and activists at Semente that Spanish is the hegemonic language, and that Galician is relegated to its subordinate position because of that. One parent and language activist spoke explicitly about the dominant role of Spanish and, in particular, the role of peninsular Spanish within the Spanish state:

GA: “Eu creo que ás veces tamén nos faltan referentes, como o noso referente é o español que é dominador, que é centralista, que:, non? Que foi capaz, tendo millóns de habitantes, para moitos españois, para moitas españolas. Pensar que o que máis se fala é o español de Madrid, non? Ese estándar. Cando realmente é unha mentira moi grande non? O que máis se fala é realmente con seseo:, e con outras palabras que non existen máis que no telediario da televisión española, non?” (Parent and activist, Compostela, June 2018)

EN: “I think also that sometimes we lack reference points since our reference point is Spanish, which is dominant, which is centralist, which is right? Which was capable of, with millions of inhabitants, for many Spanish men and women. Think that what is most spoken is the Spanish of Madrid, right? That standard language. When really it is just one big lie, you know? What is most widely spoken is [the Spanish] with seseo, and with other words that only exist on the news on Spanish TV, right?”

The hegemonic position of Spanish also leads to heightened anxieties around the need to distinguish Galician from Spanish leading to tensions around mixing and translingual practices. Despite this, there is nevertheless, a recognition that it is important to learn and know how to speak Spanish. There is also a recognition that because Spanish is so widely

spoken in Galician society that it is a language that they will hear on a daily basis in private and public spheres including educational contexts, workplaces and the media. Spanish is put on the same level as learning English or other foreign languages, emphasising the instrumental as opposed to the integrative value of the language. One of the parents we interviewed highlighted that even parents at Semente who can be seen to have a higher level of commitment to the Galician language than the rest of the population want their children to be able to speak Spanish:

GA: "...vai aprender o castelán aínda que non queira, aínda que non queira. E por sorte quere, e eu quero que aprenda castelán e de feito cando el se solta en castelán, <chisca a lingua> aprécioo tamén porque é a única maneira de que o controle e fale castelán e que se solte e o fale, igual que o inglés, é obvio, por eso aprecio que o estea a falar e que faga, incluso o outro día fixo unha frase completa absolutamente completa sen meterlle unha colocación de pronomes do galego nin nada e xenial, xenial, colocou unha frase completa en castelán xenial, porque eu sei que o vai facer, non será no caso contrario, dá a sensación de que os nenos que son educados en castelán, os pais non lle din, eh, a ver se controlas o galego, é como bah, eso da igual aínda que non o controles, sin embargo eu estou seguro de que o 100 % ou eso é o que acho eu, que os pais que están en Semente, claro que queren que o seu fillo fale castelán." (Parent, Semente, May 2018)

EN: "...he will learn Castilian even if he does not want to, even if he does not want to. And luckily, he wants to, and I want him to learn Castilian and in fact when he speaks in Castilian. I appreciate it also because it is the only way to have a command of the language and to speak Castilian and that he speaks it, like English, obviously, because of that I appreciate that he speaks it and that he does, even the other day he said a

complete sentence without using pronouns from Galician, not too out of the ordinary, he used a full sentence in Castilian, great, because I know that is what he will do, it would not happen the other way round, it seems like children who are brought up in Castilian, their parents do not say to them, “hey, you need to have a command of Galician,” and like uh, it doesn’t matter if you don’t have a command of Galician. However, I am sure that 100% or that is what I think myself, that parents in Semente want their children to speak Castilian.”

Parents at Semente do not generally subscribe to the ‘one language one nation’ ideology which language activists are often tarred with. One of the mothers at Semente highlighted that she wanted Galician to be her child’s “mother tongue” but did not want him thinking that speaking other languages was “bad”. While her family language policy was to speak Galician in the home at all times, she also displayed a multilingual ideology and encouraged her son to learn and speak many languages:

GA: “...eu quero que o galego sexa a súa lingua materna pero quero evitar transmitirlle que ten que falar galego ou que hai algo malo en falar outras linguas. O que eu non quero é que el vexa que as únicas opcións son o galego ou o castelán. Entón digamos que un pouco a miña política é na casa falamos galego e logo linguas, pero moitas” (Parent, Compostela, June 2018)

EN: “...I want Galician to be his mother tongue, but I want to avoid passing on the idea that he has to speak Galician or that there is something wrong with speaking other languages. What I do not want is for him to see that the only options available are Galician or Spanish. So, let’s say that my policy is at home we speak Galician and then languages, lots of languages.”

Another mother we spoke to makes somewhat similar remarks, highlighting encouragement to her child to switch to Spanish if she so wishes (or to any other language for that matter). However, she is also careful to point out that her daughter is Galician and therefore should be allowed to speak the language without being criticised for doing so.

***1.1 In what ways or domains has the language gained or lost prestige? How have these changed at different times in the history of the revitalization efforts? 1.2 How has this relationship or attitude changed over time? 1.3 What were the triggers that caused this shift/these shifts?***

Historically, Galician came to be a subordinate language to Spanish leading to its historical stigmatisation and its relegation as a socially and economically inferior language to Spanish. These beliefs were internalised by the population and the underlying understanding was that in order to get on in the world one needed to speak Spanish and abandon Galician altogether. During the Galician revival period, these prejudicial beliefs were brought into question and revivalists sought to change these historically negative attitudes towards the language. Much of the literature at the time and into the early twentieth century talks about the role of the education system, which was entirely through the medium of Spanish, in consolidating these underlying beliefs. As highlighted in Section A.2.2, questions were raised about the linguistic rights of Galician-speaking children and the humiliations they suffered at school, which was leading many families to encourage their children to switch to Spanish. As discussed earlier, the Xeración Nós and later, the Partido Galeguista sought to address these issues. Similarly, as described above, the Irmandades da Fala (Brotherhood of the Language) also sought to address these issues by setting up immersion schools in Galician. A lot of the ideas proposed by this movement in the early part of the twentieth century were shelved with the coming to power of General Francisco Franco and the forty years of ensuing dictatorship

which followed. During this time Galician was once more relegated to the margins as Spanish became the only acceptable language for use in public domains, including the education system. Galician (like the other languages of Spain including Catalan) underwent a process of what Kloss (1966) referred to as dialectalization whereby Galician was considered a dialect of Spanish. A popular catchphrase that the Francoist regime displayed on the streets at the time was, “Hable bien. Sea Patriota – No sea bárbaro. Es de cumplido caballero, que Vd. hable nuestro idioma oficial o sea el castellano. Es ser patriota. Viva España y la disciplina y nuestro idioma cervantino.” (Speak well. Be a patriot – do not be barbarian. It is a gentlemen’s duty to speak our official language, that is, Castilian. It’s to be patriotic. Long live Spain, discipline, and our Cervantine language (our translation)) (González, 1985, p. 105).

Galician has however regained some of its lost prestige since the 1980s in the wake of Spain’s transition to democracy. Galicia, along with Catalonia and the Basque Country, was granted Autonomous status while remaining part of the Spanish state. This gave the Galician Government a certain amount of control over Galician affairs including education, administration, and the media. Sociolinguistic studies show that attitudes towards Galician are strongly favourable with most support for the language amongst a younger generation who have gone through an education system which includes Galician (Bouzada-Fernández, 2003; O’Rourke, 2011; Observatorio da Cultura Galega, 2011). As a result, all Galicians under the age of 50 can now read and write in the language, although with a lower level of proficiency than in Spanish, something which was absent in previous generations where, although the majority of the population was Galician-speaking, they were illiterate in the language. Revitalisation efforts, in the form of language planning, span four decades so this is a relatively short period of time in the overall history of the language. The inclusion of the language in the education system has instilled a greater sense of sociolinguistic awareness

amongst this younger generation. Most studies would seem to suggest that many of the prejudicial beliefs which linked Galician to poverty and rurality no longer exist at certain levels of consciousness. However, research shows that other types of stigmas have emerged. For instance, speaking Galician in urban contexts continues to be seen as marked behaviour, often associated with Galician nationalism (O'Rourke, 2011, 2018; O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2013). In Galicia we also find a small but powerful, pro-Spanish active minority amongst certain middle-class sectors of the population who see Galician as an imposition and as a breach of their language rights (O'Rourke, 2014, see González Pascual, 2014; Oregueira Fernández, 2009 for a detailed analysis).

In Galicia's recent sociolinguistic history, the period between 2006 and 2009 marks a period of brief change in terms of language policy interventions and support for the language. Language policy in Galicia has been criticised for what is considered by some commentators as a *laissez-faire*. The coming to power of the Galician Nationalist Bloc in coalition with the centre-left Socialist Party opened up a new space for Galician language activists and supporters. During these four years, some more pro-Galician interventionist approaches were undertaken. One such initiative was the opening of Galician-immersion pre-schools, *Galescolas*, as described in an earlier section, which was complemented by proposals to increase the use of Galician within the education system overall. These proposals were strongly contested by certain sectors by the centre-right and became the focus of political debate in the run-up to the 2009 elections in Galicia. This also brought to the fore the voices of a small but powerful Spanish-speaking elite through the group called *Galicia Bilingüe*. As highlighted above, the return to power of the Partido Popular (Popular Party) in 2009 led to the passing of a new law, the *Lei do Plurilingüismo*, which promoted a trilingual model in Galician education whereby a third of the subjects would be taught in English, a third in Spanish and a third in Galician. The law was strongly contested by Galician language

activists and supporters of the language, seeing it as a further dilution of an already precarious position of Galician within the school system. The founding of Semente in 2011 can, in part, be seen as a reaction to these policy changes and, overall, “unha inquietudanza sobre o ensino españolizador” (concern about the Hispanicising education) and the hegemony of Spanish more broadly.

**2. Describe the influence of dominant language ideologies, such as ‘one language one state,’ in the community and/or in the language revitalization movement?**

*2.1 What are the outcomes, expected and unexpected? 2.2 What alternative/counter-discourses/ideological frames have been mobilized in the community or in the language revitalization movement? For example, has there been resistance to language planning measures? What is/are the source(s) of that resistance?*

For some people in Semente and activists linked to the movement, strong links are often established between language and ethnocultural identity. Sociolinguistic surveys in Galicia show that the majority of Galicians see the language as an important part of their sense of Galicianness (Fernández Rodríguez & Rodríguez Neira, 1996). Del Valle (2000) draws on Paulston’s (1994) framework of social mobilisation to understand how the level of recognition amongst members of a minority group (in our case Galician) of certain cultural features (including language) particular to the group, together with the perception that the minority group has of its relation to some dominant ‘other’. Paulston (1994) proposes a four-point continuum of social mobilisation ranging from ethnicity to geographic nationalism. Del Valle (2000) puts Galician into the first category of “ethnicity”, understood here as a type of social mobilisation established on the basis of learned behaviour linked to a common past and common cultural beliefs and values. Minority groups operating within this type of social

mobilisation, in general, do not see themselves as being discriminated against or as taking part in a power struggle with another ethnic group. This according to Paulston is, therefore, a weak form of social mobilisation, and groups which fit this category are most likely to lose their minority language and assimilate to the language of the dominant group. O'Rourke's research on urban Galician youth in the early 2000s confirms this theory and shows the ongoing process of language shift to Spanish amongst these age groups (O'Rourke, 2011). The same study, however, showed that some of these urban youth appeared to adopt the next point on the social mobilisation continuum where 'ethnicity turn[s] militant' (Paulston, 1994, p.: 3). This form of social mobilisation resembles that of an ethnic movement, in which minority groups adopting this type of social mobilisation perceive both common cultural values and competition between themselves and the majority for scarce resources; and the third stage, these perceptions are linked to territorial demands on the part of the minority group and potentially independence. In the context of these types of social mobilisation, according to Paulston's framework, language can become symbolic of the power struggle between the minority and the dominant group. This indeed seemed to be the case for the minority of urban youth in Galicia who identified themselves by their Galician national identity and perceived a power struggle with the Spanish state. For urban youth who defined themselves as first and foremost galego/a, positive attitudes towards Galician seemed to be linked to both active use of the language and support for the politics of Galician nationalism (O'Rourke, 2011).

Some social actors linked to Semente, also fit the social mobilisation category of ethnicity turned militant where, as we can see from the examples below, there is a clear perception of struggle and tensions with the Spanish State and whereby language becomes symbolic in such struggles:



GA: "...eu sempre recordo ter unha conciencia nacional i tentar falar galego sempre (...) eu sempre tiven conciencia nacionalista, nunca me sentín española, é dicir, o cambio, de feito eu lémbrome de adolescente que envexaba moitísimo aos vascos, porque os vascos o tema do idioma non teñen ningún, é dicir, poden ser español-falantes, pero ninguén vai cuestionar" (Mother, Gentalha do Pichel, June 2018)

EN: "... I always remember having a national consciousness and trying to speak Galician always (...) I always had a national consciousness, I never felt Spanish, I mean, the change, in fact, I remember as a teenager I really envied the Basques because the language question...they don't have any, I mean, they can be Spanish-speakers but nobody will question it [that they are Basque]."

GA: "[I despois] a lingua é un xe# [é un xene de identidade.] (...): [Pois claro... Si acabas ca lingua acabas ca súa identidade.]" (Parent)

EN: "[And then] a language is an identity gene (...) well of course ... if a language is gone then, so is identity."

For some, language becomes symbolic of struggle prompting the complete displacement of Spanish from their linguistic repertoires as the following examples illustrate:

GA: "Eu falo galego cen por cen. Ou sea, no: a min escoitarme unha palabra en castelán é: practicamente imposible." (Parent)

EN: "I speak Galician one hundred percent. I mean, you will never hear a word in Spanish from me... that is practically impossible."

GA: “Non fago música en galego por militancia, se non que falo galego por militancia (...) non concibo a miña música cantando en castelán, por exemplo, non a concibo. Non subiría a un palco.” (Language activist)

EN: “I don’t do music in Galician for activist reasons but rather I speak Galician for activist reasons (...) I do not conceive my music singing in Spanish, for example. I wouldn’t go on stage [in Spanish].”

GA: “Son monolingüe... Podo falar en español nun momento determinado se vou a España ou se vén aquí un español pero eu non son unha persoa que fale en español nunca, non... falo español igual que falo en portugués ou en inglés. Cando é necesario” (Language activist)

EN: “I am monolingual ... I can speak Spanish if I go to Spain or if a Spanish person comes here but I never speak Spanish myself, never, no... I speak Spanish the same way that I would speak Portuguese or in English. When it is necessary.”

Such ideologies circulate at different levels within Semente and have to varying degrees been internalized by parents, teachers, activists and children themselves. While it is perhaps tempting to classify seemingly monolingual ideologies as essentialist, it may be more accurate to refer to what is at play here as strategic essentialism. In a context in which Spanish is the hegemonic language, social actors at Semente see the need to carve out a “safe space” for Galician and make what Fishman (1991) has referred to as “breathing spaces” for the language (O’Rourke, 2019). At Semente we observed different strategies used by teachers and parents to maintain such spaces as Galician-speaking. For example, Semente had a language mascot as well as other imaginary figures who they are told only spoke Galician:

GA:

Child 1: Pinto, un señor (incomprensible)

Child 2: si, que está na Semente agora

Bernie: si? Está na Semente? E que fai na Semente?

Child 1: pois <prff> fai tolerías

Bernie: i canta e fala castelán?

Child 1: no, galego

Child 2: galego

Child 1: pero si nos escoita falar castelán, marcha

Bernie: si?

Child 1: si

<risas>

Child 1: temos outra que é a ratiña

Child 2: pois

Child 1: e tamén

Child 2: pois

Bernie: si escoita castelán, marcha

Child 1: si, Ramira

Child 2: (incomprehensible30'')

Bernie: e marcha tamén se escoita falar castelán?

Child 1: [e ten un burato]

Bernie: ah si? E hai moita xente que fala castelán aquí?

Child 1: <mmmm> si, [nomes das outras nenas]

Child 2: eu tamén

Bernie: tu tamén falas?

Child 2: en portugués, galego i castelán

(Classroom observations, Semente)

EN:

Child 1: I am painting, a man

Child 2: yes, who is in Semente

Bernie: really? Who is in Semente? What does he do in Semente?

Child 1: well <prff> silly things???

Bernie: and does he sing in Spanish?

Child 1: no, in Galician

Child 2: Galician

Child 1: but if he hears us speaking Spanish he leaves

Bernie: really?

Child 1: yes

<laughs>

Child 1: we have another which is a little frog

Child 2: and

Child 1: and also

Child 2: well

Bernie: if he hears Spanish he leaves

Child 1: yes, Ramira

Child 2: (incomprehensible)

Bernie: and he also leaves if he hears Spanish?

Child 1: [and he has a hole]

Bernie: really? And are there many people who speak Spanish here?

Child 1: <mmmm> yes [names of other girls]

Child 2: so, do I

Bernie: You also speak Spanish?

Child 2: Portuguese, Galician, Spanish

As we can see from the above, children identify people in the group whom they associate with speaking Spanish. We can therefore infer from this that speaking Spanish is something which children know they should not do and that Semente is a Galician-speaking space. However, Spanish does get used in the classroom and teachers are often at pains to find corrective strategies to address this. One of the occasions, when the use of Spanish becomes more prevalent, is during children's free play activity. We observed some children using Spanish to imitate characters from cartoons they had seen on Spanish television.

Monolingual ideologies, therefore, serve a strategic essentialist function in Semente. However, other types of ideologies also circulate, and multilingual ideologies can be found to co-exist alongside these. Children are, for example, exposed to different varieties of Galician including dialectal forms, standard Galician, and reintegrationist Galician which aligns more closely to Portuguese. Teachers' multilingual resources are frequently drawn on. For example, one of the teachers was proficient in Galician and Spanish sign language and often introduced this into daily activities with the children. Therefore, while some forms of multilingualism are embraced, others (specifically Spanish multilingualism) are seen as dangerous and encroaching on the Galician-speaking space (see O'Rourke, 2019) which they have sought to create. Reintegrationist discourses/ideologies can be seen as a reaction to the lack of top-down language policies and perceived lack of support for the language and as a form of resistance against the hegemony of Spanish.

### ***2.3 What are the outcomes, expected and unexpected?***

One of the main outcomes of the strategies outlined above is that it allows a Galician-speaking space to be created, thus supporting the language revitalisation project to which Semente members subscribe. This has come with both expected and unexpected outcomes. Strategic essentialism is not understood by everyone in the same way, and it can lead to

tensions around who fits with the profile of the speaker that the movement is attempting to create. It may have the effect of deterring people with a less activist approach from joining the movement or making them see it as exclusionary.

### **3. What models of community are implied in definitions of “language,” “speakers,” “place” and how are they mobilized in the community or language revitalization efforts?**

In Galicia, as elsewhere, the traditional community of speakers is being eroded as a result of mobility and new communities of practice are emerging in urban space or as social networks. Social actors at Semente try to construct a sense of community by carving out their own Galician-speaking spaces within a predominantly Spanish-speaking city. The school building is one such space that is used not only for teaching purposes but also provides a space in which parents can hold meetings. The baby and toddlers’ group, *Sementinhas* (literally “little seeds”) takes place weekly in the school building and provides a space for parents with babies and younger children (in particular mothers) to meet and share experiences of parenthood in a Galician-speaking space. Beyond the school buildings, parents, and children from Semente frequent other spaces including the *Gentalha do Pichel*, which as highlighted above, is the social centre from which the Semente project emerged. There are frequent meetups in certain bars, cafes, and restaurants. Such spaces are often known to be spaces where Galician is spoken and where the owners are favourably disposed to the language. Indeed, within the city, there are spaces that parents and activists explicitly identify as being Galician-speaking. For example, some parents identified certain shops, hair salons, book shops, etc. where Galician was spoken by pro-Galician speaking proprietors who were explicitly supportive of the language. The ‘parque’ (park) is also another space where parents and children from Semente often gather as a group. In doing so, they create a

critical mass of Galician-speakers. Many parents spoke about negative experiences that they or others they knew had encountered when taking their children to parks where the majority of children were Spanish-speaking (see also O'Rourke & Nandi, 2019). In the absence of Galician-speaking spaces (e.g., swimming classes) parents at Semente carve out their own Galician-speaking enclaves in which they and their children can “breathe” and not be asked to justify their linguistic behaviour.

#### **4. To what extent do revitalization efforts look to the past/tradition versus taking a prospective approach, thinking of the future or modernity?**

Language revitalisation efforts at Semente and the activist spaces linked to the movement are entrenched in social practices that draw on the past, recovering customs and traditions by re-creating and reinventing them for the contemporary political project of the community. These have often been referred to by some of their founding members as “spaces of resistance” (núcleos de resistencia). Conservative narratives about tradition are deconstructed, transcreated, and brought into today's urban space. Tradition is conceived as an evolving manifestation of a people that needs to be revisited, critiqued, and repositioned within current socio-political debates, such as LGTBQ+, feminism, anti-neoliberalism, and environmentalism, etc.

Semente can thus be seen as part of a bigger social engine for language and cultural revitalisation. In one of the interviews with its founders, we heard about the critical importance of activities outside of Semente for the success of the project which are always related to a renewed perspective on tradition. As mentioned earlier in the report, the social



centre Gentalha do Pichel<sup>8</sup> acts as a hub in Santiago de Compostela for the reinvention of ‘autochthonous’ tradition(s) in which language revitalisation plays an overarching role. By facilitating a platform based on Semente’s philosophy Gentalha encourages the language and cultural activism undertaken by other associations in the city. It is crucial for Semente to create spaces of socialisation in Galician for their children where tradition is present and experienced outside of the classroom context. In the case of Gentalha, the interplay between the past, tradition, and the future is articulated through working groups and committees focused on history, language, ecology, and culture often working in collaboration with Semente.

For a considerable part of the broader language revitalisation movement in Galicia today, traditional speakers embody an authentic (Galician) linguistic and cultural identity. However, as one of the founders of Semente told us – as an older generation of traditional speakers dies out new ways of reinventing Galician language and culture in the twenty-first century are required. She believes that past generations not only initiated a break in intergenerational transmission but, as she put it: “broke up the transmission of everything” – cuisine, dance, language, popular knowledge, etc. This was, in her view, the result of a traumatic process of cultural annihilation and the hardships of the precarious rural lives from which the older generations sought to escape. The idea of ‘modernity’ imposed on them was always associated with being Spanish and speaking Castilian. For many, she suggested, this meant disguising who and what they were, in ethnolinguistic terms, and creating a different world for their children, one that was distinct from their own. Some aspects of tradition that were lost for generations are being recovered through the reinvention of past traditions. Folk

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<sup>8</sup> <http://gentalha.org/>

dance, for instance, provides a good example of a collective effort to re-enact traditions amongst counter-culture movements. However, it is important to emphasise, from the point of view of the main actors involved in the cultural and linguistic revitalisation movement, that most ‘Galician traditions’ stopped being passed on due to a Hispanicising political project that has, she argued, been orchestrated to dismantle Galicia’s own identity. Some of the founding members of Semente claim that before ‘their generations’, allegedly the generations of the so-called ‘democratic period’, everybody learned how to dance and sing at home, however, this is only happening now thanks to the collective effort of revitalisation movements such as Semente.

### Figure 17

*Galician national symbology, adapted from Gentalha.org.*



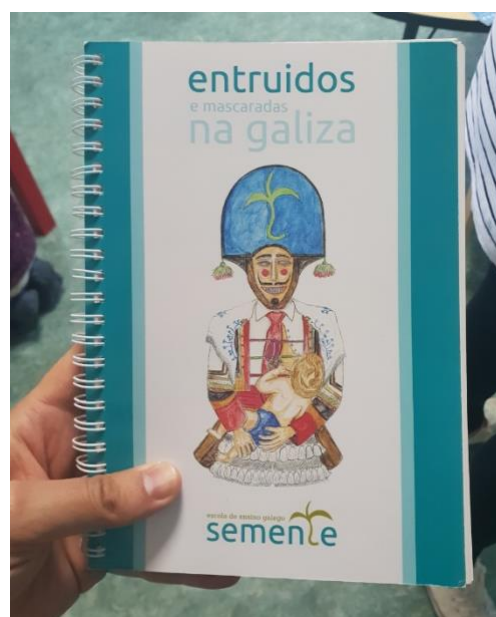
#### ***4.1 How are traditions re-invented or redesigned?***

The reinvention or redesigning of tradition at Semente/Gentalha consists of four fundamental components: (1) Reclaiming of geopolitical historiography; (2) Rediscovery and projection of

distinguished autochthonous cultural symbolism; (3) Intertwining of tradition with language by recovering and vindicating ‘historical orthography’ representing the elements being re-appropriated, (4) Connection with current intersectionality issues (e.g.: feminism, LGBTQ+, environmentalism, etc.).

### Figure 18

*Book of Carnival Traditions in Galicia. Fieldwork June 2018.*



One, the reclaiming of geopolitical historiography is undertaken through historical revision of the official ‘Spanish historiography’ about Galicia. In one of our group interviews, participants were of the opinion that the way history is taught in Spain only reinforces a Spanish identity and tries to erase any trace of Galician distinctiveness. Connections between Galicia and Portugal are nowhere to be found in the educational system curricula or in Galician society in general, which, in the view of one of Semente’s founders, is “unfathomable, for Galician history cannot be understood without Portugal”. This silencing and/or invisibility of Galicia’s own historiography is, many believe, normalised, and

internalised by the majority of the population. To counteract these mainstream narratives, the History Commission at the Gentalha do Pichel has examined the etymology and historical significance of names given to squares, streets, and emblematic public spaces in Santiago, looking at the way in which Galician names were substituted by Spanish names. Some of the members we interviewed refer to this as a ‘Spanish-washing of history’. An example of such ‘Spanish-washing’ is the name given to the famous Praza de Cervantes in Santiago de Compostela formerly known as the Praça do Pam.<sup>9</sup>

### Figure 19

*O Apalpador. Semente Compostela 2011.*



Two, the rediscovery of autochthonous symbolism is done through ethnographic fieldwork which seeks out remote places in Galicia where ‘autochthonous’ traditions are still

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<sup>9</sup> Other examples of geopolitical historiography reclamation include the publications of ‘50 datas na história da Galiza’ [50 dates in the history of Galicia]; *Swabian Kingdom of Galiza*; *A Sereia de Castelao*, *As Marias*, *A Revolta dos Irmandinhos*, a collection of Galician historical pictography (which is barely known by the general public) published in 2018, etc.

alive. This is the case of O Apalpador or the re-appropriation of Regueifa (a form of improvised ceremonial poetic melody) as a tool for social transformation. The figure of the Apalpador, similar to that of Santa Claus, can be found in accounts of nativity traditions given by people around the area of O Courel and O Cebreiro (Lugo). O Apalpador is said to be coal-maker who lives in the mountains and who on the 24th of December comes down to visit children while they are sleeping and leaves them chestnuts (López González, 2007). The traditional song for the celebration of this figure has also been revived and is sung by the well-known Galician folk singer, Xavier Diaz.

### Figure 20

*Enregueifate. Adapted from: <https://enregueifate.gal/oproxecto/>*



Enregueifate and Regueitubeiras are based on the Regueifa tradition that has been adapted to respond to the intersectional endeavours of both Semente and Gentalha do Pichel. One of its main promoters (Semente parent, public school teacher and also well-known Galician writer), emphasised several times during our interviews that the Regueifa was not only a way of encouraging the playful use of language but was also a means of ‘reinventing tradition’. As will be discussed in more detail in the sections below, Regueifa is a form of

improvised ceremonial poetic melody traditionally performed by men, but which today has been reinvented by female performers. This reinvention aligns with one of the core values promoted by Semente which is that of empowering females and embracing diversity, including sexual and gender identities. One of the public figures involved in the Regueifa movement described it as a “platform for developing intergenerational links and the transmission of creativity based on new understandings of tradition” (Regueifa Activist, Interview, Compostela, May 2018).

### Figure 21

*Festa do 17 que se fai o 12. Gentalha do Pichel 2018.*



Three, interconnections with the past are also made through a vindication of ‘historical orthography’. The contemporary reintegrationist movement itself could be seen as a way of reinventing tradition and recreating models of language and culture for the twentieth

century. The Gentalha do Pichel has a permanent exhibition of paintings and portraits of iconic Galician figures with accompanying views on Galician language standardisation ideologies. They show some of the statements these figures have made about the relationship between Galician and Portuguese to emphasise, as one of the founders of Semente put it, that “reintegrationism is not a new thing, made up by a few people” but a movement that has a tradition within a part of Galicia’s intellectual currents of thought, supported by renowned public figures from various backgrounds; a history, they claim, that has also been silenced and made invisible to the wider Galician society.

Four, the reinvention of tradition is part of a process in which a new future is being created. Galician customs and traditions, often associated with rural Galicia, are restored and reinvented in the urban space and intersected with modern discourses around Galician activism. How then are these dynamics played out in social practice? The poster in Figure 21 is taken from ‘A festa do 17 que se fai o 12’ (The party which takes place on the 17th but happens on the 12th). This event is related to the official Galician Language Day on the 17th of May. Each year, a Galician author is commemorated for their contribution to Galician literature. The Gentalha do Pichel organises a series of alternative activities throughout the day and evening of the 12th to counteract ‘officialist’ institutional narratives. It is a family event in which many people linked to the Gentalha do Pichel and Semente take part. Attending to the way the poster is designed, we can observe that many of the features which appear in the poster represent cultural practices in which tradition is reinvented. The language variety used is Galician-Portuguese, easily identifiable by the use of “nh” instead of “ñ” and “lh” instead of “ll”. Another particular trait of the AGAL (Associação Galega da Língua – Galicia’s most prominent reintegrationist association) reintegrated variety is the use of “mh” for the Galician nasal “n” between vowels (“umha”), as opposed to the “nh” that the official Galician norm would use (“unha”). This is very significant for two reasons. First,

phonetically, being able to pronounce “unha” as it was traditionally pronounced, indexes nativeness. Inability to pronounce “unha” ‘natively’, is often seen as one of the tell-tale signs of neofalantes, making it is a highly marked and stigmatised phoneme. Secondly, from the reintegrationist point of view, the use of “nh” as an inter-vowel nasal “n” is controversial as it could be confused with the Portuguese “nh” that corresponds to “ñ” in the official Galician norm, so AGAL came up with the solution of using “mh” instead so as to keep the Galician particularity while distinguishing it from the official Galician norm. The Portuguese standard uses “m”, “uma”. Also, words that end with “n” in official Galician are written with “m” in Galician-Portuguese to represent the phonetical nasality of the Galician “n” at the end of words. Emphasizing the use of reintegrationist orthography, one of the girls in the poster holds a banner with the letter R, which represents “reintegracionismo.”

If we attend to the semiotics of the poster used for the event, it is noticeable that, first, blue and white are used as primary colours (as per the background colours of the Galician flag). Some other elements related to Galician folklife are also noticeable, including the hat worn by one of the girls, typical of the attire worn by traditional Galician bagpipers, and the “zocas”, the traditional shoes worn by Galician farmers which have been reinvented for dancing and also for fashion. Many of the children at Semente have brightly coloured versions of traditional “zocas”. Although these shoes are intended for girls, parents at Semente encourage both girls and boys to wear them. The children also dress up in traditional costumes and wear traditional scarfs for performing traditional dances. These scarfs are usually worn by girls but again, Semente parents break with gender conventions and also encourage boys to wear these scarfs.

In the poster, feminism is visually prominent. Individuals are either female or androgynous. It can also be noted that the person wearing a hat has underarm hair, defying



conventional social norms. The title of the poster itself is also of interest: Umha lingua para todas [A language for all] where the female form “todas” (all) replaces the alleged ‘gender-neutral’ form “todos.”

#### ***4.2 In what ways is minority language practice or planning oriented towards use of the language to discuss new, modern or dynamic domains?***

Within Semente, Galician is not seen as a minority language as it is understood to be part of a wider Galician-Portuguese linguistic system. However, it is acknowledged that Galician speaking varieties and their vitality, in general, reflect the dynamics of a minoritized language. In this respect, one of Semente’s founders was very clear in her assertion that, in comparison to other minoritized languages that are spoken in the Spanish State (including Basque and Catalan), Galician speakers have at their disposal the resources available to an internationally spoken majority language, Portuguese. However, she argues that these resources are not being exploited. At Semente, the use of Portuguese-medium resources is encouraged in all aspects of language learning, teaching, acquisition, etc.

During a group interview, one of the participants expressed his frustration that there were no immediate models to improve Galician. He also commented on his perceived lack of knowledge of Galician idiomatic expressions, finding himself, oftentimes, unsure how ‘things are meant to be said’. During our discussion, he identified several expressions in Spanish that he did not know how to say in Galician. One of the founders of Semente highlighted that it was easier to learn a majority language like French or English where there were huge amounts of resources to draw on, this being much less the case in the context of a minoritized language such as Galician.

***4.3 How do planners or activists identify current needs and/or changes and respond to them? (for example, targeting specific populations, language practices, uses of media, etc.)***

Both Semente and Gentalha have language committees that meet on a weekly basis. During those meetings, all areas related to language policy and planning are discussed, debated, and decided upon.

**Figure 22**

*A herdança negada. Gentalha do Pichel 2019.*



Some examples of the issues discussed, and subsequent measures taken include: (1) assessing language dynamics at Semente schools and implementing new strategies to ensure the continuation of the project. This included discussions around families who were less engaged with the Galician language policy at Semente and whose children tended to use more Spanish in the classroom and during free play. This was seen to have a negative effect on the language dynamics more broadly, sometimes leading to increased use of Spanish by other children; (2) promoting Galician language use amongst businesses through, for example, an initiative called Projeto Pontos which was used to categorise local businesses according to

their commitment to use Galician and the quality of language used. A reward system was in place which gave points to those with a strong commitment to the language; (3) organising academic symposia to engage with researchers and academics on best practice and how to apply this to Semente, such as this year's symposium held at the Gentalha do Pichel titled: "VI Jornada de Análise para o Ensino Popular. A herdança negada: experiências e desafios na transmissom familiar da lingua" [VI Analysis Symposium for people's education. The denied legacy: experiences and challenges in linguistic intergenerational transmission].

## **C. Intergenerational Transmission and Lifelong Learning**

### **1. What support do adults/caregivers need to use the language in the home? What kinds of support are being made available to them?**

As highlighted in previous sections, many of the parents at Semente are neofalantes and have established Galician as the language of the home. For those parents, Galician tends to be the norm and their language of habitual use. In our discussions with these parents, however, many raised concerns about the fact that their children often responded in Spanish or mixed with Spanish. While they felt that there was some degree of control over linguistic practices in the home, outside of the home this was more difficult to manage in interactions with other non-Galician speaking families or children. Parents use different strategies to maintain Galician as the home language. One of the strategies is to keep input in Spanish to a minimum. Some of the families decide not to have a TV and replace this with input through the internet and DVDs. Apart from the Galician language channel TVG, finding films and entertainment in Galician is limited. However, parents tend to resort instead to Portuguese resources including cartoons, films, etc. with a wide variety of resources available on the internet or on the open market.

For families who can be referred to as “neofalantes recentes” more support is required to make this transition to support their children’s Galician language journey. However, all parents are given support through Semente in terms of their vocabulary and use of terms where they might use a more Castillianised form. Parents are also supported in their acquisition of reintegrationist norms. For example, the school produced a set of flashcards and vocabulary lists for everyday words and their reintegrationist equivalent. In many of the homes that we visited it was common to see such cards on display on the fridge door or some other location. Semente also produced a sociolinguistic document outlining guidelines for

parents to support their children's learning at home. Events are also organised annually which bring in invited speakers from other minority languages or on other themes.

As mentioned above, Sementinhas (literally little Semente) runs in conjunction with Semente itself and provides a forum for parents with children under the age of two. The group meets once a week and provides an opportunity for parents (usually mothers) to share their experiences and get support. Language is not the main focus of such support and involves others including breast feeding, sharing ideas about children's development, etc. It also provides a space for parents to explore what the Semente project is about with the intention of familiarising new families with the project.

## **2. To what extent is a monolingual household the ideal, valorized, or the goal of revitalization efforts? If not, what are the goals for family use?**

### ***2.1 How is the local/minority language fostered in the home? 2.2 How is the majority language included in the home?***

The goal of revitalisation efforts is to create a monolingual household in Galician and mixing tends to be frowned upon. Galician is the language that is used in the home by neofalante parents who have committed to using Galician all the time. In mixed language homes, the language will depend on the parent and sometimes shift to Spanish altogether. While the goal is to avoid the use of Spanish words, even amongst language activists, Spanish words are often used either because they have become naturalized or where Spanish is purposely used to create a certain effect, including for the purpose of making jokes. In homes where one or both parents are Spanish speakers then Spanish is often the norm with an attempt to incorporate Galician.

### **3. Discuss perceptions about language acquisition and how they affect parental and grandparental engagement and language transmission?**

There is a focus on intergenerational transmission within the home with parents of all linguistic backgrounds encouraged to use Galician in the home. In many cases, where parents were brought up speaking Spanish themselves, making Galician the language of the home with their own children required commitment and dedication. For long-established neofalante parents, this process is easier as the process of language conversion had already taken place before their children were born and the default language of the household was already Galician. Nevertheless, many highlight the broader societal pressures at play in establishing a Galician-speaking household, particularly in urban contexts where Spanish is often the more widely used language. They also highlight the difficult task of breaking old habits and long-established social norms including the perception amongst an older generation of Galicians (and therefore grandparents) that children should be spoken to in Spanish.

#### ***3.1 If there are misperceptions, how have they been or how are they being addressed? Are some more persistent than others?***

The misperception amongst an older generation is that to get on in the world it is necessary to speak Spanish. Parents and activists at Semente address this by giving value to Galician, and also through the reintegrationist movement by aligning it with Portuguese. While many of the older stigmas associated with speaking (such as rurality, poverty, and ignorance) have disappeared amongst a younger generation of Galicians (at least at certain levels of consciousness), new ones have emerged including the link between speaking Galician and nationalism.

**4. What role does intergenerational transmission of traditional knowledge and practices, such as traditional music forms, art forms, crafts, farming or herding, foodways, ecological knowledge, play in the transmission of the language?**

*4.1 To what degree does seeking out this knowledge by younger generations from older generations create motivation to learn the language? 4.2 How is this motivation leveraged from individual motivation into larger group motivation or to affecting the larger community?*

At Semente the transmission of traditional knowledge and practices is encouraged. This includes traditional music forms. Regueifa plays an important part in the transmission of the language. As highlighted in a previous section, Regueifa is a form of improvised ceremonial poetic melody. The word regueifa refers to the large loaf of flour, eggs, and sugar which was traditionally received as a prize by the winner(s) of a literary duel. By semantic extension, regueifa is the name given to the literary duel. In the past, regueifa as a literary contest tended to accompany weddings, carnivals, and local parish feasts and festivities. Traditionally regueifeiros/as (who tended to be male) would meet and recite regueifas, but today one is likely to hear regueifas sung at public performances and festivals.

The complex ritual of regueifa ceremonies had disappeared around the middle of the 20th century. One of the main reasons for their decay was the proliferation of unrestrained fighting and disrespect for traditional rules. However, in the 1990s regueifa benefited from a cultural revival through popular Galician agro-rap performers who called on Galician youth to reclaim the improvisational styles (Colmeiro, 2017; Prego Vázquez, 2012).

During our fieldwork, we had many opportunities to observe Regueifa e improvisación oral en verso (Regueifa and versed oral improvisation) prepared by secondary school teachers. In 2016, the Galician Ministry of Education approved the curriculum for a 1-

hour-per-week-subject that was taught for the first time amongst 8th graders (mostly 13/14-year-olds) during the 2016-17 school year. The experience is part of the Regueifesta educational project, which seeks to address capacities for self-management, social participation, cultural and environmental heritage, emotional intelligence, etc., through a broad set of actions, including school exchanges in Galicia and abroad, with song duels and oral improvisation as the driving thread. The project received the Educational Innovation Award from the Galician Government and since then it has been adapted to early childhood and primary education at the Semente.

This oral improvisation aims to develop social and relational skills (self-confidence, creativity, interpersonal relational abilities, memory, etc.) together with cultural, language and musical skills. Gender issues and sexism are addressed transversally. In Galicia, the practice of traditional regueifa song duels was usually limited to men (Taboada Chivite, 1972; Prego Vázquez, 2000; Casal Vila, 2003), and particularly to young adult males. While in the complex wedding ritual the initial regueifa dance duels were performed by married and/or older men and often also included the participation of women (Risco, 1962), the more aggressive song duels were the domain of younger villagers. Similar to other genres such as Hip Hop where there is also a crossing of gender lines, contemporary regueifa performances include both male and female practitioners. The incorporation of female practitioners and the evident role of women in Galicia's regueifa revival illustrate shifting patterns that transcend any form of biological determinism.

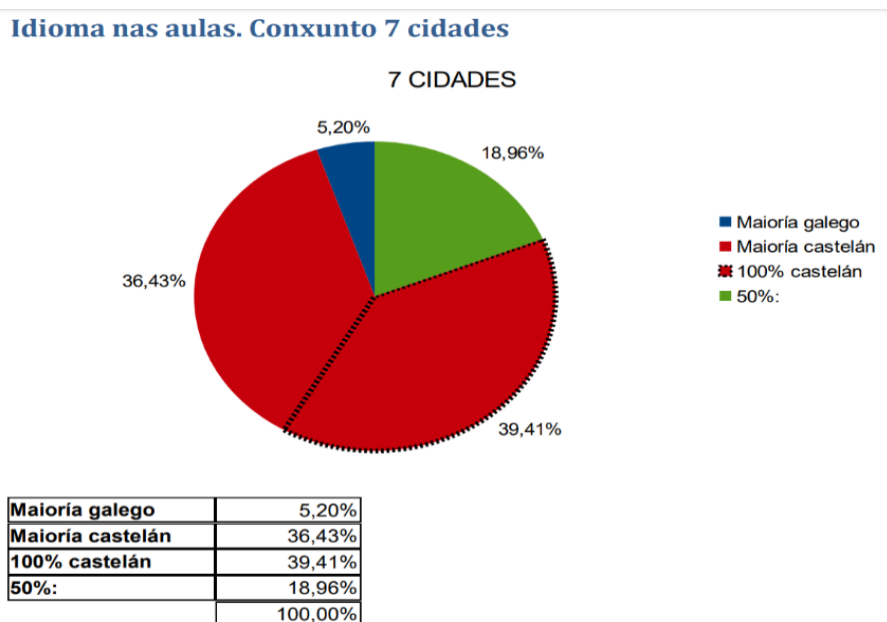


## 5. What strategies are used to bridge the gap between “school” or “authority” language practices, competencies, and sources of legitimacy, and the wider society?

For many language activists and parents at Semente, many of the Galician institutions whose role it is to promote Galician language vitality are seen to have failed to curb the hegemony of Spanish. These include the educational system and the media. As explained earlier, Galicia’s educational system consists of a trilingual educational model, however Spanish, particularly in urban areas, tends to have the most presence. In one of the most recent studies carried out by A Mesa Pola Normalización Lingüística (2015) to investigate the degree to which Galician is being used in educational institutions (269 centres were consulted – both private and public), they found that for ages 3 to 6 years old, 75% of the educational centres declared that “only Castilian” or “mostly Castilian” were used for teaching purposes. This is illustrated in Figure 23 and includes average levels of use across the seven cities where the study was conducted.

**Figure 23**

*Language in class of the seven Galician cities. A Mesa 2015.*



Since the implementation of the 2010 decree on plurilinguism, as detailed in A.2, the level of Galician speakers has dropped significantly, particularly amongst the youngest generations. This also means that the ‘authority’ and ‘legitimate’ status of Spanish is reinforced while that of Galician is weakened.

During our fieldwork, many people commented that they found it harder for them to write and read in Galician than it was in Spanish, even when they were ‘traditional’ Galician speakers themselves. This is due to the predominance of Spanish in Galician society. In response to this, Semente has created spaces where Galician is the main language as a counterbalance to the hegemony of Spanish.

They employ many strategies to offset such hegemony, creating spaces both inside and outside the classroom. These include: (1) Sementinhas, a toddlers group which consists of weekly activities for families with children aged 0-2 who are bringing up their children in Galician or thinking about doing so; (2) For those who have already been through Semente pre-school education (which is up to the age of 6) up until 2019 there was as yet no follow on to educational stage. The first Semente primary school opened its doors in September 2019. For the first cohorts of Semente pre-schoolers this option was not yet available so parents at Semente would often collectively identify what they knew to be a more pro-Galician public primary school and enrol their children in these schools. The aim was to create a critical mass of Galician-speaking children and to provide continuation beyond their pre-school immersion experience. In addition, Semente parents could also speak with a common voice in making demands for more Galician to be taught in these schools; (3) Outside the classroom, parents and activists at Semente also create a wide variety of Galician-speaking spaces and activities. We have alluded to some of these activities and spaces in previous sections which include, for example, activities linked to older traditions such as O Apalpador at Christmas time, Os

Maios (a pagan tradition to celebrate nature and the spring season), the use of regueifa as a transformative tool, the Gaelic football league, trips to a variety of Galician-speaking areas where different varieties are spoken, including attending regueifa festivals in Portugal in which children from Semente perform and interact with a Portuguese audience; (4) Semente frequently invites key Galician-speaking role models to the school and other extracurricular activities which are organised. These include well-known performing artists (e.g., Sés) who, on a voluntary basis, perform for the children. Some artists have composed and dedicated songs for the Semente project, such as Sés with Semente de Vencer and Guadi Galego, with Luzia e o Morcego.

#### Figure 24

*Sementes de Música. Crowdfunding event. Semente Trasancos 2019.*

16 de marzo 18h00

**sementes de música**

auditório da Galiza, compostela

**davide salvado**  
com cristian silva  
e santi cribeiro

**caxade**  
com manu paino  
e manuel espiño

**sés**  
com manolo maseda

às 14h00 haverá  
um **jantar popular** no Pichel  
reserva o teu lugar à mesa em  
info@sementecompostela.com

**bilhetes**  
10 € antecipada  
12 € na bilheteira  
à venda em **miranda**  
(trás salomé 1)  
e no **C.S. O Pichel**

os beneficios integros  
serám para o projeto da Semente

escola de ensino galego  
**semente**



All of these initiatives feed into a narrative which is used to counteract mainstream discourses that undermine the value of speaking Galician. In the case of initiatives such as the revival of older traditions (e.g.: O Apalpador and Regueifa), it should be pointed out that such revival is not specific to Semente but is, in fact, part of broader initiatives in Galician to revive such customs. At key dates throughout the year, the entire Semente community come together for street performances to celebrate these reinvented traditions. In this public space, children from Semente live out this renewed Galician vitality.

*5.1 What specific language revitalization strategies engage people at different stages in their life cycle? (youth or family, forming new families, moving from community, moving back to community...).*

**5.1.1 How do they sustain this or not? Are there programs or approaches in place to help sustain these?**

### **1. Childhood**

The strategy is to create a fully immersive Galician-speaking environment and develop what Fishman (1991) refers to as “breathing spaces” for the language which is Spanish-free. Within the Semente spaces at schools and with minimum contact with Spanish, some linguistic intervention is expected if a Spanish-speaking child happens to change the language dynamics of the group. For instance, Semente has an imaginary figure called Pichelinho who comes from Kurdistan and arrives at Semente to learn Galician.<sup>10, 11</sup> The idea

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10 “Pichelinho está inspirado no logo da Gentilha do Pichel, e o seu nome lembra o alcume popular d@s compostelan@s: Picheleir@s.” (Semente Compostela, 2011) [Pichelinho is inspired in the logo of the Gentilha do Pichel, and its name is reminiscent of the popular nickname for people from Compostela: Picheleir@s (neutral gender form ‘@’ used in these circles)].

11 One of Semente’s leading figures has been involved in creative projects with Kurdish artists. The Kurdistan self-determination fight has a special place in the activist spaces of Santiago de Compostela.

is that Pichelinho embodies the Galician speaking symbology that Semente schools represent as the following extract from our fieldnotes illustrates:

GA: “[children] get together and speak Spanish loudly, another child joins the Spanish speaking circle too. One of them says, “vamos facer un castillo” (let’s make a castle) using the Spanish word ‘castillo’ as opposed to the standard Galician equivalent, ‘castelo’. It is unusual for her to use a Spanishism, she always used standard Galician terms, so we are surprised.”

EN: “Another child suddenly interjects with Galician. One of the teachers had told him a few minutes ago that Pichelinho was around so they seem to have become aware that their language use was not appropriate for the Semente symbolic space. (Fieldnotes - 11-10-18 Semente Primário).”

One of the teachers told the other educators that he needed a new “Pichelinho” because he was concerned about ‘language issues’ in his group, so he needed to consult with the Semente Assembly on what the new Pichelinho should look like, especially to adhere to their fluid gender premises. They want to reinvent the image of Pichelinho. He talks about a “linguistic problem” in the pre-school. [...] So, the idea of bringing a new Pichelinho around is to intervene in this linguistic problem, (Fieldnotes - Educators Assembly - 26-09-18).

If a child engages with Spanish during free play, teachers use different strategies to help restore Galician as the language of the classroom. This can include a reminder by the teacher that “Pichelinho is around” and that it needs to hear Galician as it is the language of Semente. Family members who come to collect the children after school and whose habitual language was Spanish make a conscious effort to switch to Galician within the Semente space. Teachers and core leaders at Semente encourage this strategy so as to maintain Semente as a Galician-speaking space.

### Adolescence

As yet, we do not have data on this life stage as the oldest age groups in Semente are still at Primary school levels. However, previous research on new speakers (see O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013; O'Rourke 2018) shows that late adolescence is a key moment of linguistic change for many potential neofalantes who make a conscious decision to “dar o paso” (take the step) to displacing Spanish and becoming Galician speakers. Many of the neofalante parents, activists, and leaders at Semente recalled adolescence as the moment of linguistic change in their own language trajectories, sometimes relating it to an influential teacher who became a *muda referente* (literally a reference for change), triggering in them increased awareness.

From our observations, it was clear that many parents and leaders in the Semente movement make a concerted effort to develop a linguistic consciousness amongst the children, building awareness amongst children of the precarious position that Galician is in and the need to do something about this. This can be seen in the following example:

GA: “Eu expliqueille a [nome do neno] con catro anos, aquí houbo unha guerra, unha guerra na que houbo un señor que mandou i quería que a xente falara castelán. É que foi así, non lle estou dicindo mentiras i houbo xente que morreu por defender a lingua i eso teñen que sabelo. Total, si ven mogollón de cousas aí de mortes e tal. Como non lle vas...? Entón, nós estamos aquí, porque temos que defender a nosa lingua. Claro, cando me escoitaban estas familias dicían “Estás pirada, como lle contas esas cousas xa ao teu fillo! Que sexan o que queiran” i eu vale, que sexan o que queiran [...] o meu fillo [...] é un neno feliz, pero el defende a súa lingua, que está ameazada, porque eu non puiden. Eu non puiden falar a miña lingua, porque a min quitáronma. A miña xeración, as que foron de sempre galegofalantes i eu ao final acabei falando castelán

de pequena, a min que me fixeron? A min quitáronme unha parte moi importante do meu, que eu recuperei, pero as miñas primas? Sabedes? Eu non sei se ti tamén na túa casa tamén che pasa, quero dicir, no teu contexto; pero eu nestas reunións con todos os tíos i a miña nai, todos maiores xa, todos falando galego. Despois a miña nai fala galego, a miña tía cando fala cun neto “Ah! a ver qué haces, eh! A ver qué haces!” en castelán. Eso é tristísimo, a min me rompe o corazón” (Mother, Gentalha do Pichel, June 2018).

EN: “I explained to [name of the child] being four years old, that here, there was a war, a war in which someone ruled and wanted people to speak Castilian. It was like this, I am not telling lies and people died defending the language and they need to know this. Anyway, they see loads of things with death and stuff. How would you not...? So, we are here because we have to defend our language. Of course, when some families heard me, they said: “Are you mad, why do you tell these things to your son? Let him be!” And I was like ok, sure let him be [...] my son [...] is a happy child, but he defends his language, which is threatened because I couldn’t. I could not speak my language, because it was taken away from me. My generation, those who were always Galician speakers, and I ended up speaking Castilian as a child, what did they do to me? A very important part of mine was taken away from me, which I recovered, but my cousins? You know? I don’t know if you have the same in your home, I mean, in your context; but me, in these gatherings with all the uncles and my mother, all elders, all speaking Galician. Then my mother speaks Galician, and my auntie when she speaks to a grandchild: “Ah, what are you doing huh! What are you doing!” in Castilian. This is very sad; it breaks my heart.”

So, in a way, the strategy of raising awareness about how Galician came to be in the situation it is today and the need to fight for it to survive goes beyond a simple description of linguistic struggles between a dominant and an oppressed language. It also contains geopolitical and historical narratives about extermination and hostility from the side of those in power within what is seen as a Hispanicising project. Children from Semente act as catalysts to undo the wrongdoings of Spanish history and change the linguistic and cultural order for the future survival of Galician on their own terms.

### **Parenthood**

Many of the couples we interviewed during the project made a conscious decision to start speaking Galician upon joining the Semente project. Prior to enrolling children at Semente, parents are invited to an informal interview or/discussion with Semente leaders to discuss family language policies and levels of commitment to speaking Galician with their children. During this interview parents are asked to commit to speaking Galician to their child and supporting them on their language journey. Pre-enrolment interviews were introduced a number of years previously in Semente because it was found that a small number of children (mainly boys) from Spanish-speaking homes were having a significant effect on the language dynamics of the classroom and ‘diluting’ the Galician-speaking space which teachers and Semente leaders were trying to create. Interviews were subsequently used as a strategy to ascertain early on the level of parental commitment and buy-in to the project and the linguistic values of Semente. As Semente provides an alternative educational model, they found that some parents were enrolling children as they were attracted to such a model but were less interested in the linguistic component of the project. In consultation with the other immersion programmes in other minoritized language contexts (e.g., Bressolas in Catalonia North with around 40 years of experience in language immersion and the Ikastola



movement in the Basque country), Semente leaders came to the conclusion that measures needed to be taken to ensure that Semente was a space that delivers on language maintenance and/or immersion. Though controversial at the time, the family interviews prompted many families to reconsider their own level of engagement with the project and, in some cases, to fully transition to Galician both in the intimacy of their own homes and within the spaces created by members of Semente.

### **Social Spaces**

Semente and the social centre to which it is linked (the Gentalha do Pichel) are spaces of language activism and as such a Galician-only policy is in place, with the unspoken expectation that Galician is spoken at all times within what, as discussed in an earlier section, are seen as “spaces of resistance”. Although Spanish is not officially banned, Galician is the social norm and speaking Spanish is likely to be frowned upon. Hence, to belong to this community and to fit in, the language that is required is Galician or, at least, an effort to use it.

### **Reintegrationism**

Reintegrationism (as explained in section A.1.4) is in itself a strategy that attempts to provide a radically different discourse around the Galician language to mainstream narratives which often depict Galician as local, rural, backward, and insular. Aligning Galician with Portuguese, reintegrationism shifts these narratives and positions Galician as global, international, and cosmopolitan.

#### **5.1.2 What are some key moments for interventions in the developmental process (linguistic, communicative, social) have been understudied?**

1. There is a need for more resources to cater for children who do not have Galician at home, and who need more support in transitioning to Galician at school. This could involve having more staff on the ground to be able to intervene in this process to encourage the use of Galician.

2. The leaders of Semente and teachers were acutely aware that in maintaining and building this project, a good deal of voluntary and hard-work of their part as well as buy-in from parents was required. A lot of invisible work takes place which is difficult to sustain in the longer term.

3. Administrators are required to coordinate the pedagogy across all branches of Semente. These are needed to make technical decisions which would relieve the largely voluntary assembly-based decision-making process. This is also necessary to separate out roles whereby conflicts of interest can arise when individuals are required to take on multiple facets, e.g., as a parent, co-ordinator, decision-maker, etc.

4. More insights are required into the implementation of the pre-enrolment interviews and the recruitment of new staff, and the decision-making processes involved.

### ***5.2 What strategies include people with non-scholastic linguistic and cultural competencies and authority?***

Semente Compostela has one regular activity in this regard that we find relevant. At least once a month, Semente invites a local artist to perform at the schools. The children are required to prepare the 'stage' for the artists, from setting up the space to preparing decoration for the performance, thinking about what the performer might need, etc. The performer gives a talk about their journey in becoming a musician, singer, or artist, how they compose songs and music, why they do it, and the importance it has for them. Such activities

show Semente children that Galician is part of these people's lives, in this case, people with a prestigious status or who are often looked up to. In doing this, Semente tries to break down stereotypes about Galician as a low prestige language and of little worth. The people who are invited tend to be charismatic figures and are likely to have a long-term influence on them.

In terms of language authority, Semente provides a sociolinguistic guide for parents which explains in simple terms how parents can help their children in the maintenance and/or acquisition of Galician.

### ***5.3 What strategies include engagement with traditional culture or lifeways, such as music, dance, textiles, sports, foodways...?***

Semente runs a specific programme called 'Cativarte'. Cativarte consists of two words, 'cativo/a' (child) and 'arte' (art). As part of this programme, children are encouraged to express their creative selves in different areas, including designing and reimagining spaces, decoration, ecofeminism, and art and nature. During the programme, children get to interact with different types of music, dance, textiles, sports and foodways. Food and good eating are a very much part of Semente's ethos. During Carnival celebrations, typical Galician food associated with these events is prepared within the schools, such as 'filloas' (Galician-style pancakes) or 'orellas' (literally, 'ears', sweet dessert made from flour and olive oil); children get to experiment with seasonal products in the preparation of organic meals, such as the eggs which children collect in Semente's backyard from their own hens, or other fruit or vegetables which children plant in Semente's garden patch.

**Figure 26**

*Cativarte. Semente Compostela 2018-2019*



#### ***5.4 What strategies include multigenerational activities and/or transmission?***

There are a wide range of strategies used to facilitate multigenerational transmission and a lot could be said about this. Because of limitations of space, for the purpose of this report, it could be said that in general terms, the strategies used have mainly to do with taking part in the construction of Galician collective identity. These include, for example, traditional festivities (‘entroido’, ‘Os Maios’, ‘Solsticios’, etc.), and getting involved in street protests and demonstrations during the Galician Language Day and the national celebrations around the 25th of July (Día da Patria or Matria, Dia Nacional da Galiza). During these events, the whole family participates in the collective understanding of Galicianness and its revindication. This includes toddlers, babies and children who are brought along and wave political banners with their parents. It is worth mentioning two events which hold high esteem within the community. The first of these is the 25th of April celebration which is only

celebrated within Semente circles and the reintegrationist movement. This event commemorates the Carnation Revolution in Portugal, which overthrew the dictatorship, and eventually led to Portugal's transition to democracy via pacific protests. On this day, Semente children learn about this tradition through games and creative drawing activities. The second event of note is that of 'Sam Joam' marking the summer solstice which is celebrated all over Galicia. Semente children learn the Sam Joam ritual of collecting herbs to help rid themselves of the negative experiences they had over the past year. They also participate in the ritual of jumping over a bonfire to cleanse their spirit of any negativity and go into the summer season with renewed energies.

### Figure 27

Ervas de Sam Joam. Semente Compostela 2011.



The Apalpador tradition, which we discussed earlier on, can also be seen as a way of channelling intergenerational transmission. The video 'E há de vir O Apalpador' shows how different generations come together to negotiate different points of view and narratives around tradition and how symbols of the past are at the same time invoked as the key to the

new generations in passing on this legacy. In one of the sections of the video, Gentalha activists cite Castelao saying: “True tradition does not emanate from the past, neither is it in the present, or foreseeable in the future, it is not a slave of time. Tradition is the eternal soul of Galiza, which resides in the popular instinct and the granitic guts of our soil [Galicia’s]. Tradition is not history. Tradition is eternity.”<sup>12</sup> In a subsequent section of the video, there is a discussion around the way in which: “During winter’s solstice, each night of December 24th, the Apalpador rouses from his sleep to come back and visit the little houses of the children who, inhabiting tradition, build up eternity.”

All of the cultural activities organised by Gentalha do Pichel are designed precisely to create ways of engaging different generations in the neighbourhood and bring them all together.

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<sup>12</sup> Castelao is a key figure in Galicia’s intellectual history. He is a cultural symbol of Galician national identity and his writings are a foundational pillar of Galician nationalist movements.

## **D. Support and Infrastructure**

### **1. How is the language regarded as a commodity and/or a source of income?**

As highlighted in earlier sections, changes in language policy since the 1980s can be seen as a way of raising the status of Galician and awarding it symbolic and economic value on certain linguistic markets. Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution recognises Galician and the other languages of Spain as a “cultural treasure.” The Constitution protects the rights of Galician speakers within the Autonomous Community of Galicia granting them the right to use it and speak it. The Constitution, however, also stipulates that Spanish is the language of Spain and in that context, Galicians as Spanish citizens have ‘the duty’ (el deber) to know and use it. Similar to other minoritized language contexts where there have been language policy interventions, policy changes and legislation have to some extent changed the rules of social mobility on Galicia’s language market. In theory, knowledge of Galician is set out as a criterion for employment within the Galician administration, and measures have been put in place to provide civil servants with language training. Access to public sector employment in Galicia thus requires competence in Galician. In other sectors, including the private sector, however, this criterion is not considered. Despite the legislative provisions, regional delegations to the national Government tend to make limited use of Galician in their dealings with the public with bilingual forms sometimes being the only acknowledgment of the existence of another language besides Spanish.

#### ***1.1. To what extent is competence in the language linked to any kind of employment?***

As outlined above, in theory, competence in Galician is required for public sector employment, in particular, employment in government administration, education, and the

Galician media. Many language activists and parents at Semente are public sector employees, particularly linked to education so their career pathways are closely linked to the use of Galician in institutional and professional contexts. A number of parents work in the cultural sector as musicians, artists, actors and theatre-makers. Their work is also closely related to Galician. In Galicia, many professional and amateur drama companies stage their theatre productions in Galician and professional actors can obtain subsidies from the Xunta<sup>13</sup>. Most of them have links with the Centro Dramático Galego<sup>14</sup>, an official Performing Arts Center established in 1984. Since the 1980s, the cooperative Escola Dramática Galega has played an important coordinating role.

Other parents at Semente work in the private sector or run their own businesses where Galician is not officially required. In many cases, these parents have made a conscious decision to adopt Galician language practices and to make Galician an integral part of their business through Galician-language signage and the use of the language with customers. These include, for example, an organic vegetable shop, a Celtic-themed souvenir shop, and a graphic-design business that functions as a cooperative and where the use of Galician is embedded in the running of the business. On its webpage, the social objectives are set out as follows:

GA: “A defensa da lingua e cultura do país, dos valores da igualdade, do tecido asociativo galego, da emancipación da muller e da dinamización cultural da Galiza com óptica reintegracionista” (Sacauntos, 2016)

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13 <https://www.xunta.gal/portada>

14 <http://centrodramatico.xunta.gal/cdg/>



EN: “Defence of the language and culture of the country, of values of equality, of Galician associative network, the emancipation of women and promotion of Galician cultural through the reintegrationist lens.”

Many of the parents and activists we spoke to, highlighted that not only was Galician not a requirement for most jobs but that in some contexts the use of Galician was frowned upon. One mother who worked as a physiotherapist and who uses Galician both in her personal and professional life spoke of incidents where she had been asked to stop speaking Galician and asked to switch to Spanish with her patients. Many parents and activists reported that outside of the public sector, sending one’s CV in Galician for a job post could be looked upon with suspicion and for potential employers could, they claimed, be seen as marked behaviour and ideologically loaded.

While theoretically, competence in Galician is required for public sector employment, the perception is that in practice, this does not guarantee actual use of the language as part of the job. Competence in Galician tends to be seen as something that is easily demonstrated by the majority of younger people who have gone through the education system or who have taken the official Celga<sup>15</sup> (Certificado en lingua galega) examinations.

As well as proven competence in Galician required in public sector employment, the recruiting of teachers to Semente demands a) explicit expression of commitment to the use of language and the language revitalization project more broadly; b) proven ability to speak the language with a high quality of oral expression.

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15 <http://www.lingua.gal/o-galego/aprendelo/celga>

### ***1.2. In what ways does it contribute to an international image?***

As highlighted above, Semente sees Galician as part of the wider Portuguese-speaking world. By framing Galician in this way, rather than seeing it as minoritized language, it takes on the status of an international language spoken by millions of speakers worldwide. As one parent and language activist put it “temos a sorte de ter unha lingua que é internacional, de poder falala con douscentos cincuenta millóns de habitantes” (we are lucky to have a language that is international and to be able to speak it with two-hundred and fifty million inhabitants). Galego international is seen to allow Galician speakers to tap into the vast range of resources which exist in Portuguese (including books, films etc.), thus positioning Galician as an international language which opens many doors and opportunities.

### ***1.3. How does the language relate to markets (e.g., art, artisanal goods, music)?***

Semente and its members engage in the production of art, artisanal goods, and music. These products are often presented by members of Semente and sold at local festivals and fairs. All of these products are linked to the values which Semente seeks to promote, including the revival of the Galician language and culture, feminism and environmentalism. T-shirts and sweatshirts with messages of social change are amongst the products sold. Artwork is produced by members and displayed on Semente webpages. Here we also find other examples of artisanal toys, key rings, board games in Galician such as “Árvores na Galiza” (Trees in Galicia), card games, CDs with Galician songs for children, books (some of which are written by family members or activists in Semente).

***1.4. What role does tourism play in support of language revitalization or use? Is it seen as crucial to tourism?***

Galicia is a popular tourist destination, particularly Santiago de Compostela, attracting people from other parts of Spain and from other parts of the world to undertake the famous Camiño de Santiago (the Santiago Way). In 2017, there were more than 2.6 million visitors to the city. In an interview with the Secretario xeral de Política Lingüística, Valentín García Gómez outlined the role of the Galician language as a tourist attraction:

GA: “...que a nosa lingua é unha lingua que desperta moitísimos afectos, que a lingua tamén é algo misterioso e masivo e espiritual como o Camiño de Santiago, que a lingua desde Finisterre, que temos algunhas das paisaxes, algúns, ou algunhas das compoñentes humanas afectivamente máis atraíntes para que cada vez medre o número de visitantes que se achegan a Galicia ano a ano. Que a lingua galega forme parte dese pequeno botín que podemos poñer a disposición dos que nos visitan”

EN: “... that our language is a language that creates a lot of affection, that our language also is something mysterious and immense and spiritual like the Santiago Way, the language from Finisterre, that we have some of the landscapes, some of the most attractive human characteristics which result in an increase in the number of visitors to Galician year on year. That the Galician language forms part of that little treasure which we can make available to those who visit us.”

The social norm of language use in Galicia often tends to be that Spanish is the default language used with outsiders and visitors to the area, including tourists. This is seen as complying with etiquette of politeness and an open and accommodating attitude. However, in Bourdieusian (1991) terms, such linguistic accommodation could also be seen as a recognition of the historically stigmatized status of Galician alongside Spanish. We observed

that, even amongst some of the language activists in Semente, Spanish was the language used with visitors from other parts of Spain or beyond. This is despite the high levels of inter-comprehension between the two languages which means that bilingual conversations are possible. Alongside Spanish, English is often the language used with tourists from other parts of the world. In official Galician tourist offices, all information is available bilingually in Galician and Spanish and often multilingually in other languages including English, French, German, Italian, etc. Tourist representatives often wear badges with different flags signaling the languages that they can offer to tourists. In many of the souvenir shops in Santiago de Compostela, while it is not uncommon to hear shop attendants speaking Galician amongst themselves, the language in which they tend to address the customer in Spanish. In such shops, it is also common to find tokenistic use of Galician on t-shirts, ornaments, postcards, and other memorabilia. There are a number of well-known companies in Galicia which specialize in the sale of such t-shirts and have shops in Santiago and other parts of Galicia. The use of Galician in such cases usually consists of a play on words or a message with *retranca* (a word used to describe Galician humour consisting of a mix of sarcasm and irony), often reflecting stereotypes associated with Galicia, such as Galician indecision, rainy weather, *meigas* (Galician witches), rural life and great food and wine. This tokenistic use of Galician is used to add a local flavour and as a marker of authentic Galicianess. While potentially raising awareness of linguistic diversity within Galicia, it is unclear to what extent it contributes to the revitalisation of the language or increased use, though see Coupland (2016) for a discussion of how semiotic resources can lead to sociolinguistic change.

At Semente, t-shirts and other products are not sold with the tourist market in mind but instead are sold on local markets for fundraising purposes.<sup>16</sup>

***1.5 How is language part of the educational economy (production of teachers, hiring of teachers, support of school infrastructure, academics about the language...)? When and how did this occur? To what degree of the economy (part or whole)?***

In accordance with the Galician Statute of Autonomy<sup>17</sup>, the promotion and teaching of Galician lies with the Xunta, the Galician government. It has "full powers" to regulate and administer the education system. The Lei de Normalización lingüística 3/1983 establishes the official status of Galician at all levels of education, recognizes the right of children to receive their initial education in their own mother tongue and requires the regional Government to promote the use of Galician in that domain. Galician became a compulsory part of all non-university education, and by the end of school pupils must have achieved equal competence in Galician and Spanish. University teaching staff and students are entitled to use the official language of their choice. The teaching of Galician became a compulsory element of adult education and teacher training. Measures are laid down to promote knowledge of Galician among the teaching profession. Various secondary provisions regulate the number of hours for which Galician is to be taught, the use of Galician as the language of instruction in certain subjects (Galician language, literature and history, social science, etc.), the place of Galician in educational administration and in the initial and in-service training of teachers, etc.

In Galicia, as far as teacher training is concerned, all students are required to take Galician courses in colleges of education, who are also able to take a special diploma in

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<sup>16</sup> See <https://Sementevigo.gal/material/> for some examples of these products

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.xunta.gal/estatuto/titulo-preliminar>

Galician. In-service training programmes are also organized by the regional Government and the universities. By the end of the 1980s, about one quarter of teachers had attended beginners' courses in Galician and about two thirds had taken advanced level courses. Younger teachers show greater written mastery of Galician than older teachers as a result of language policies since the 1980s which made Galician a compulsory part of the school curriculum. To work as a teacher in Galicia, candidates are required to have a certification in Galician which can be obtained by taking the official Celga (Certificado en lingua galega) exams or by having passed national examinations taken as part of the school curriculum.

***1.6 In what ways is language an incentive for business, manufacturing, and commerce (advertising, hiring, government incentives...)?***

There are subventions for newspapers which write, partly, in Galician although this pre-requisite is not always fulfilled. There are also subventions for private companies and non-profit organisations to promote the use of Galician. Institutional advertising is mostly done in Galician. The commercials broadcast by the Galician Government-run media is exclusively in Galician on the radio and partly in Galician on television. The advertising broadcast by national State-owned channels and private channels is entirely in Spanish, like all other commercial advertising, with the possible exception of advertisements for local products or merchants and bank adverts.

The local government frequently runs campaigns to promote the use of Galician in business. Examples of this include a 2012 campaign "O galego, chave para os teus negocios no mundo" (Galicia, key to your business in the world). The objective of this campaign was to raise awareness amongst the business world in Galicia of the competitive advantage associated with Galician with other Lusophone countries. In 2014, the Lei Valentín Paz-

Andrade was passed to promote the use of Portuguese and to build links with the Lusophone world.

## **2. What are public ways of recognizing or valorizing the language?**

As highlighted in previous sections, since 1983, in accordance with the Law on Linguistic Normalization in Galicia, Galician holds official status in public spaces and for public signage. As such, road signs, place names and other signage always appears in Galician with traffic signs bilingually in Spanish and Galician. This public visibility of the language in the linguistic landscape undoubtedly valorises the language and gives it a place within Galicia's public space. In Semente, the Galician language is also a highly visible part of the linguistic landscape through signage of different forms in Galician, flashcards, posters, and books.

The number of books published in Galician overall has increased from just 300 in the 1980s to over a thousand. Books comprise mainly of school textbooks, children's books, poetry, stories, and novels. The publishing sector is heavily dependent on the school system since up until the 1980s adult readers were not very familiar with Galician in its written form. This has however changed in more recent years. The Xunta subsidises the publication of books and of educational aids and materials in Galician.

Semente draws on these resources and uses them in classroom practice. Children are exposed to different varieties of Galician including Standard Galician, Reintegrationist Galician, and Portuguese. Only a small number of full-length feature films in Galician have been made since the 1980s, all of which have been financed by the regional Government, but their commercial distribution has been very limited. The Xunta offers grants for other audio-visual productions (videos, short films, etc.). The only films that are dubbed or subtitled in Galician are those transmitted by TVG. Given the smaller number of audio-visual resources

in Galician, parents, and teachers at Semente tend to draw extensively on resources in Portuguese where a vast amount of material can be found including films, children's cartoons, and books.

Apart from the school-based activities organized by teachers at Semente, there are many extra-curricular activities including traditional dance, music, theatre and regueifa classes. These often take place at the Gentalha do Pichel. Semente also organizes activities in other parts of the city, for example, the Regueifa and Harry Potter activity was organized in a local public library. Other outdoor activities such as the Ruada d'O Apalpador or the Ruada das Generalinhas which takes place during Entroido (Carnival) also give visibility to Semente and to the language. Having stands at different festivals and fairs is another way of getting people to know the project and promote the language while at the same time providing a source of funding. All activities are carried out with the purpose of raising the profile of the language and giving it greater visibility. In other branches of Semente, an annual music festival (Festival Músicas) is organised which attracts a large crowd as well as other activities such as the Romaría Pequeninha. Other ways of promoting the language are through Semente members' participation and organization of different educational events and conferences.

***2.1 Are there festivals or events that support language use? For example, music festivals or poetry contests where the language is required?***

Parents, children, and language activists linked to Semente can tap into a vibrant Galician music scene. In Galicia, many singers and groups sing through the medium of Galician, mainly performing traditional music but also pop, rock and rap and numerous recordings have been made. There are also numerous cultural events including theatre festivals for adults and for children, an international romaria, a poetry festival and Celtic festivals.



For parents and children at Semente, the annual Festigal (literally Galician Festival) is a key event in their calendars. Festigal is a music festival which started in 2002 in Santiago de Compostela and takes place on 24 and 25 July as part of Galicia's National Day celebrations. It is organised by different associations including Galiza Nova and Fundación Galiza Sempre and as part of this, there are concerts with cultural activities, games and sport as well as book launches, debates and workshops. The festival has a special interest in raising the profile of new groups of musicians which give visibility to Galician culture and identity. At the event different interest groups can also display their products. Semente always attends this festival and uses it as an opportunity to raise awareness about the project and to raise funds through the sale of products such as t-shirts, books, CDs, etc.

Many members of the Semente also attend the Festival da Poesía no Condado, an event organized by the Sociedade Deportiva e Cultural do Condado which promotes the transmission and development of Galician culture. The aim of the event is to use poetry and other art forms to revindicate social and cultural change. Participants are mainly Galician but also come from other Lusophone countries as well as the Basque Country and Catalonia. Reintegrationist Galician is used throughout the festival. Semente frequently has a stand at the event. Semente has also participated in the annual Correlingua, an event which simulates others which take place in the Basque Country, Ireland, Wales and other minoritized contexts. It consists of a runathon for the language which invites people of all ages to join in.

As highlighted above, Semente has close ties with the social centre, A Gentalha do Pichel which in turn organizes different cultural activities and events including traditional music and dance classes, as well as theatre, yoga, photography, and language classes. Members of the Semente community also attend the Festa do Dezasete, an alternative festival

which celebrates the national Día das Letras Galegas and which takes place on the 12th of May as opposed the official date of the 17th.

***2.2 Are there prizes, publishing, recordings...Are these on a local, national, or international level?***

There are many literary prizes in Galicia (see <https://www.aelg.gal/premios-literarios>) ranging from children's literature, poetry, essays, narratives, essays, translations, and comics. These include Premios Martín Códax da Música, organized by the Asociación Músicos ao Vivo and Premios Mestre Mateo, prizes for Galician audio-visual projects. Of note is the Día das Letras Galegas, a national holiday in Galicia which takes place on 17th May and celebrates the Galician language and literature. It was inaugurated by the Real Academia Galega in 1963 to commemorate the centenary of Cantares gallegos, the first work written in the Galician language by the 19th century poet Rosalia de Castro. The 2020 Día das Letras Galegas will be dedicated to Ricardo Carvalho Calero, philologist, historian, and writer, amongst other things and who is considered the key figure in the reintegrationist movement. Reintegrationists have complained for many years that the work of Carvalho Calero has never been recognized because of his reintegrationist stance with many activists accusing the Real Academia Galega of censoring his work.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The following is a journalistic piece with this debate: <https://www.sermosgaliza.gal/articulo/cultura/cada-ano-rag-renega-dele-carvalho-mais-reconhecido/20180717173836070732.html>

### **3. What infrastructure supports the creation of new materials for language learning and/or literacy?**

There are different types of language materials developed in Galicia. Institutionally, the 79/2010 decree sets out regulations in Article 13 in relation to the “elaboration and publication of curricular materials.” Among other areas, Article 13 touches upon the language(s) in which the materials should be written, the promotion of linguistic and terminological materials in Galician, and an assessment of whether materials are apt for use in the public school system. Two of the main publishing houses which produce materials for the Galician schooling system have traditionally been Xerais and Galaxia. Outside of the institutional arena, there are other initiatives such as the Asociación Socio-Pedagógica Galega (Galician Socio-Pedagogical Association) which claims to be a pedagogical renaissance movement in Galicia. This association explores different teaching methods, provides materials at all levels (pre-school, primary, and secondary) and hosts teacher trainings, with more than a thousand teachers taking part annually, and symposia and conferences fostering Galician culture. A Mesa Galega pola Normalización Lingüística (a grassroots association that monitors whether the Language Normalisation Act is being adhered to and which promotes the use of Galician in all aspects of Galician society) also develops educational material for children between 0 and 6. There are also private sector initiatives from different publishing houses such as Kalandraka, Urco, Baía all of which promote the publication of materials in Galician, as well as online platforms such as Alí. Semente draws on all of the material that is available from Galician publishing houses. It also produces its own material and has strong ties with a printing house that functions as a cooperative, Sacauntos. This ‘graphic design cooperative’, as discussed in Section D.1.1, is run by one of Semente’s founding members. In general terms, it is the task of Semente’s Language Commission to come up with guidelines and directives for potential gaps in material which Semente may

need to source or produce. In the past couple of years, Semente has published or collaborated in the publication of different resources which go beyond the classroom. The book *Zeca Afonso para crianças*, is one such example. This book was edited in collaboration with the Associação José Afonso – Galiza. Zeca Afonso is a key figure in Portuguese folk music and highly celebrated in Galicia’s counter-cultural movements due to his iconic role in resistance movements against the Portuguese dictatorship of Oliveira Salazar. His emblematic song “Grândola, Vila Morena” is regularly played at some of Santiago de Compostela’s highly political and underground clubs and is highly regarded within the Semente circles. The initiative to edit this book took inspiration from a similar initiative in the Mozambican context where children from a local school had developed materials with the lyrics of Zeca Afonso. The idea for the initiative, builds on the ‘urgent need’, Semente claimed, to create and make available cultural resources for children in Galician, in a context in which Galician references were being rapidly replaced by Spanish ones. According to one parent who was involved in the creation of the book, the initiative, which created versions of the book for both children and adults, was a way for children to access the universal legacy of Zeca. According to Semente:

GA: “Com este projeto as Escolas de Ensino Galego Semente queremos propiciar um primeiro contacto das crianças com as letras, música e a voz do próprio José Afonso com a esperança de, umha vez feita esta primeira apresentação, as crianças e as crescidas poderem chegar-se à sua obra e emocionarem-se ao transitar por este trilho de palavras e música onde versos muitas vezes cantados adquirem o seu verdadeiro peso ao serem percebidas e interpretadas com a chave que vai dando o passar do tempo: a madureza. Conhecer e cantar o Zeca só pode fazer melhores as pessoas e com elas o mundo em que vivemos.” (Semente Compostela 2018)

EN: “With this project, the Escolas de Ensino Galego Semente aims to facilitate the first contact for children with the lyrics, music, and voice of José Afonso; hoping that, once introduced, children and grown-ups alike will get to find out more about his legacy – emoting while exploring his words and musical paths, where lines acquire its true meaning as they are listened to and interpreted with the key that opens the passing of time: maturity. Knowing and singing Zeca can only make people better and with them the world we live in.”

There are also materials which were created individually by families and activists and promoted by one of the families such as “Baralho de Árvores na Galiza” which is a deck of cards with the autochthonous and allochthonous trees present in Galicia today; as well as the book “Entruidos e Mascaradas na Galiza,” which explores the richness of carnival traditions across Galicia.

#### **4. What are the specific local, national, or international policies that have directly affected the community or program in positive ways? How have these been exploited?**

At the pre-school level, Semente functions as full immersion Galician space. The pre-schools are registered as ‘leisure centres’ (centros de lecer) or ‘playrooms’ (ludotecas) as opposed to pre-schools per se. As highlighted earlier, this allows them to overcome official legislation which states that, in pre-school, children are required to acquire knowledge of the other official language of Galicia, namely, Spanish. Within the Spanish State, pre-school education is not obligatory, and therefore establishing the school as a ‘centro de lecer’ was a way of implementing a full linguistic immersion project but without the need to justify the absence of Spanish-language instruction. Many of the children who go to Semente in the 0 to 6 age group are ‘mother tongue Galician speakers’ and come from homes where Galician is the main language (often from households where both parents are neofalantes).

The setting up of Semente Primário, was somewhat more complicated as primary school education is obligatory in the Spanish State, and all children are required to follow the State curricula (though the Galician Government has full competency in education policy, the Galician curricula needs to align itself with other State policies). After much deliberation, Semente chose to register the primary school as an international American school. This pathway allowed them, again, to put in place a Galician language immersion programme. Such a model would not have been possible under the conventional Spanish legal system. According to one of founders at Semente, because Primário is ‘unha escola internacional americana’ (an international American school), it does not have to fulfil the Decreto do Plurilingüismo, where in Galician primary and secondary schools the language of different subjects is supposed to be given equal weighting across the three curricular languages: Galician, Spanish and English; with stipulations that certain subjects be given in Spanish (e.g. STEM) and others in Galician (those regarded less prestigious). In following this route, Semente saw themselves as having greater freedom in terms of teaching methods and pedagogy and in terms of their linguistic choices in class. In the international American school system, English is a requirement. However, the core group at Semente see this less problematic in that English is not seen to be competing with Galician in the same way that Spanish is. English does not form part of Galician’s children lived experiences in the same way that Spanish does given the hegemony of Spanish.

In 2014, the Galician parliament approved unanimously a pro-Portuguese law to support the teaching of Portuguese in Galician schools and the fostering of international relations with the Lusophone world. This law, the Lei Paz Andrade, was promoted by the ‘reintegrationist’ movement who ran a petition which collected signatures from different sectors of the Galician population in favour of the campaign and which were subsequently taken to parliament for consideration. Though the reintegrationist movement and Semente included,

welcome the approval of the law, according to some of its members, the law has not been implemented in any tangible way. According to one of Semente's founding members, very little Portuguese teaching is offered in public schools despite the 'utility of the language', which confirms, in his opinion, the Galician and Spanish governments' real lack of support for linguistic diversity and the willingness to perpetuate the hegemony of Spanish. The vast majority of Semente members believe that the teaching of Portuguese should be encouraged, although they have reservations as to how it would be taught as a language different from Galician which goes against the reintegrationist stance they advocate for. Many believe that if Portuguese were part of the Galician curriculum, the reintegrationist perspective would gain more support as, they believe, Galicians would come to realise the benefits of teaching Galician via Portuguese.

***4.1 What are the specific local, national, or international policies that have directly affected the community or program in negative ways? How have these been fought against or dealt with?***

As mentioned earlier, the 79/2010 decree on 'plurilingüismo' established a trilingual model (Spanish, Galician, and English), where certain material must be given in certain languages e.g., science in Spanish (maths, technology, physics, chemistry). In the recent report (2016) on the European Regional and Minority Languages of Spain, European experts are critical of the 2010 decree as it goes against what the Galician and Spanish governments have signed up for and are required to fulfil as signatories of the European Charter. It also makes a cautionary note around the effect that Galicia's trilingual education model can have on the vitality of Galician.

One of the founding members of Semente, explained the effect of the decree on the language dynamics of that classroom: (1) according to the law, around 30% of teaching hours

has to be in English but teaching staff are not trained to do so and can, in reality, choose the language they wish to teach, leading to fewer contact hours of Galician; (2) the teaching of STEM subjects through the medium of Spanish is likely to have a negative impact on Galician which had historically lacked prestige and is seen as of little worth.

GA: “pola lei do plurilingüismo ten que haber 33% de horas en inglés, outro tanto en castelán e outro tanto en galego. O que pasa é que se o profesorado non está preparado para dar as clases en inglés, pode escoller o idioma e o resultado é que ao final o que se consegue é unha diminución da porcentaxe do galego, que é o que pretendía o goberno. Na educación secundaria obrigatoria (ESO), que son 4 anos, hai materias que obrigatoriamente teñen que ser en castelán, outras en galego e outras nas que se pode escoller a lingua. As materias de ciencias, por lei, deben de ser dadas en castelán [...] escolléronse as materias de ciencias para ser dadas en castelán por unha cuestión de prestixio.” (Activist, Compostela, May 2018).

EN: “Due to the plurilingualism law, there must be 33% of hours in English, in Castilian and Galician. The thing is that if teaching staff are not prepared to teach in English, they can choose the language and the result is that, in the end, the percentage of Galician is reduced, which is what the government wanted. In obligatory secondary education (ESO), which is 4 years, there are modules that are mandatorily in Castilian, others in Galician, and others in which the language can be chosen. Science subjects, by law, must be taught in Castilian [...] science subjects taught in Castilian are a matter of prestige.”

One parent explains that for him it was the fall of the bipartisanship and the coming to power of Feijóo (the new leader of the centre-right Popular Party) and the subsequent Decree 79/2010 and its negative foreseen consequences, that led him to the conclusion that the



‘public schooling route’ was a dead-end for the language. Although socio-political changes and the subsequent passing on the 2010 Decree was seen as a blow to the vitality of the Galician-speaking community, in particular amongst parents invested in the transmission and revival of the language, such changes triggered collective action amongst an active minority in Galicia (O’Rourke, 2014) to explore alternatives to the perceived failure of top-down institutional policies:

GA:

Alex: Perdoa, de onde cres que saíu, de onde naceu o activismo que deu cabida a Semente?

Parent: De onde nace?

Alex: Socialmente cres que...

Parent: A nosa motivación, en concreto a miña en particular, eu creo que foi a caída do bipartito e a chegada de Feijóo. A min foi eso, digamos, porque doume conta que a través da vía pública estando sempre practicamente o PP no poder [...] e apretando un pouquiño os medios, que pode xerar correntes de opinión que incluso filtran muita xente de esquerdas i tal. Se aínda por enriba o bipartito fora marabilloso, sabes? pero houbo avances que son innegables de aspectos, sobre todo eses que hai para abaixo, despois deso no meu entorno, o meu irmán, por exemplo, que vive en Vigo e ten dous fillos tal e que, xa non é que os nenos non manteñan o galego fóra [...] nin sequera o manteñen cos pais [...] é grave, sabes de? I entonces eu digo hai que buscar outras vías i como xa hai outras vías probadas i testadas noutros sitios como é en Euskadi, Catalunya Nord i tal que funcionaron... (Parent, Gentalha do Pichel, May 2018).

EN:

Alex: Sorry, where do you think it came from, where was the activism born that facilitated Semente?

Parent: Where was it born?

Alex: Socially, do you think that...

Parent: Our motivation, mine in particular, I think it was the fall of the bipartisanship and the arrival of Feijóo. It was that for me, let's say, because I realised that through the public route, with the PP virtually always in power [...] and putting a bit of pressure on the media, it can create currents of opinion that even filter people on the left. If the bipartisanship had been great, you know? There were undeniable advances, specially from the bottom, but then in my entourage, my brother, for example, who lives in Vigo and has two children and that, it's not only that they children do not keep Galician outside [...] they don't even keep it with their parents [...] it is serious, you know? And so, I say other routes must be pursued and because those routes have already been tested in other places, such as Euskadi, Catalunya Nord and they worked...

Another language activist and parent added to the points made above, saying that it was clear to everyone at Semente that the government was not interested in advancing the Galician language, despite its optimistic language policy narratives and the 'harmonious bilingualism'. On the other hand, she expresses her frustration at the lack of any language immersion route available for Galician children when even in places like Valencia, where the PP has also traditionally ruled, the option to be educated in Catalan is available:

GA: “...o goberno galego, o goberno do PP, o Partido Popular? no le interesa nada. Agora co discurso de convivencia lingüística i non sei que, te pode explicar máis [name of another activist], calquera te pode explicar máis ca min de que non, no le interesa, o sea, a cuestión lingüística es evidente, as políticas lingüísticas deste país, quero dicir, en lugares como Valencia, lugares estatais como Valencia que ten un Partido Popular tal, ti tes a opción de ser educado o teu fillo en catalán. Nós aquí es que es una tristeza, o sea, nós non temos opción a nada. [...] o ensino está coma no século dezanove. É dicir, temos unha escola do século dezanove.” (Parent, Gentalha do Pichel, May 2018).

EN: “The Galician government, the PP government, the Partido Popular? They are not interested in anything. Now with the linguistic harmony discourse and all that, [name of another activist] can explain more to you, anyone can, it [PP] is not interested, I mean, the language question is evident, the language policies of this country, I mean, in places like Valencia, State places like Valencia where they have a Partido Popular too, you have the option to be educated, your child, in Catalan. We, here, it is just sad, I mean, we have no option at all [...] teaching is like from the nineteenth century. That is, we have a nineteenth-century school.”

One of the founding members of Semente also refers to this idea of ‘Bilingüismo Harmónico’ or ‘convivencia lingüística’ alluded to by other language activists and parents at Semente as a concept that they believe was made up by Fraga (the well-known leader of the Galician branch of the centre-right Popular Party) which they say has no scientific grounds:

GA: “Iso foi un conceito que inventou Fraga e que non ten ningún sustento científico e non existe, non hai ningunha sociedade no mundo en que convivan dúas linguas de maneira harmónica. Calquera persoa que ten nocións de sociolingüística sabe que iso

é unha trapallada, que non ten ningún sustento”. (Semente founder, Gentalha do Pichel, May 2018)

EN: “That was a concept made up by Fraga and that it has no scientific grounds, it does not exist, there is no society in the world in which two languages cohabit in a harmonious way. Any person with sociolinguistic notions knows that it is bullshit, that it [the argument] does not hold itself.”

Furthermore, she points to this harmonious narrative as a way of ‘soothing the reality’ to appease people at the same time as the language disappears. She compares the situation with the Basque Country and Catalonia where, she believes, stronger and more evidence-based statistical data is available in relation to language use and vitality:

GA: “É unha maneira de suavizar a realidade e de deixarnos tranquilos, mentres vemos como morre e desaparece a lingua, porque realmente ninguén ten noción. Ninguén sabe que a lingua está desaparecendo i basta con ver as estatísticas, que son pouquísimas. Aquí non hai estatísticas en serio, non se fan como se fan en Cataluña, por exemplo ou País Vasco; pero as poucas que hai son inequívocas. Están ditando a desaparición da lingua i a pesar das estatísticas a xente ten a noción de “que va! fálase moito máis agora que antes...” (Semente founder, Gentalha do Pichel, May 2018)

EN: “It is a way of soothing the reality and keep us calm, while we see the death and disappearance of our language because really no one has a clue. No one knows that the language is disappearing and it’s enough seeing the statistics, which are very few. Here we don’t have serious statistics, like the ones done in Catalonia, for example, or the Basque Country’ but the very few we have are unequivocal. They [statistics] are dictating the disappearance of the language and despite this, people think that “no way! It is spoken much more now than before...”

She refers to this as what has been known in the Galician context as ‘sociolingüística terapéutica’ (therapeutic sociolinguistics) which was said to consist of disguising the results of sociolinguistic studies to avoid social unrest as admitting to a decline in language use would prevent or demotivate people from using the language:

GA: “E durante moitos anos ata se aplicaba un concepto que lle chamaban sociolingüística terapéutica que consistía en mentir, en maquillar os resultados para non crear alarma social; porque consideraban que dar uns datos moi negativos sobre o futuro da lingua podería desmotivar á xente para usala, entón preferían dar datos, pois máis positivos, porque pensaban que iso ía facer que a xente se animase máis, que estivese máis contenta e que falase máis galego. A xente non ten ningunha noción.”  
(Semente founder, Gentalha do Pichel, May 2018)

EN: “For many years, even the concept of ‘sociolinguistic therapy’ was used. It consisted of lying, disguising the results to avoid social alarm because it was considered that providing negative data about the future of the language would demotivate people from using it, so they prefer to provide data, well more positive, because they thought this would make people be more motivated, happier and speak more Galician. People have no clue.”

For her, it comes down to a matter of identity and the insistence of people wanting to remain Spanish. It is, in her words, impossible to dissociate ‘national identity from ‘linguistic identity in the Galician case:

GA: “Ao final eu creo que é un problema de identidade. A xente quere ser española, e pois dirá en España fálase español e xa está. O galego? Está ben, pero bueno ao final trátase de ter...É imposible desvincular a identidade nacional da identidade lingüística. Non sei. Home! Se fôsemos Suíza ou un estado un pouco avanzado

democraticamente igual si, pero en España imposible. É que non hai saída, é imposible, non se pode, non hai maneira de sobrevivir.” (Semente founder, Gentalha do Pichel, May 2018)

EN: “In the end, I believe that this is a matter of identity. People want to be Spanish, and so they’ll say in Spain, Spanish is spoken, that’s it. Galician? It’s ok, but in the end, it’s about having...It’s impossible to dissociate national identity from linguistic identity. I don’t know. I mean, if we were Switzerland or a State a bit more democratically advanced perhaps, but in Spain it is impossible. There is no way out, it’s impossible, you can’t, there is no way to survive.”

All in all, she eventually comments that the only positive language policy initiatives undertaken over the past few years, even during the bipartisanship PSdG and BNG, were superficial as no truly transformative policy, she argues, was implemented with the intention of radically changing language dynamics in favour of Galician. For her, the fact remains that Galicia continues to be dominated by Spanish rule, suggesting that within the Spanish legal system, there are restrictions in terms of the actual leeway any revitalisation movement would have to affect real change, as she puts it ‘as long as Galicia wants to be Spain, there is no way out’:

GA: “As iniciativas positivas que houbo durante o bipartito foron superficiais (...) Non hai ningunha medida que poda realmente transformar os usos, porque realmente para transformar os usos hai que mudar realmente de raíz o que queres para o país; ou sexa, a maneira como queres construírte i mentres Galiza queira ser España, non hai saída. Non hai saída é que non hai saída legal, quero dicir é que legalmente está perfectamente limitado a capacidade que ten.” (Semente founder, Gentalha do Pichel, May 2018)

EN: “The positive initiatives during the bipartisanship were superficial [...] There is no measure that could really transform our practices [linguistic], because really to transform our practices [linguistic], what we want for the country must radically be changed, I mean, the way you want to build yourself and while Galicia wants to be Spain, there is no way out. There is no way out, there is no way out legally, I mean, its capacity [Galicia’s] is perfectly limited in legal terms.”

***4.2 Have there been positive outcomes that were unexpected (such as solidarity or focus on internal growth)?***

Our fieldwork observations tell us that this collective defence of Galician has had a positive effect and has brought about solidarity amongst people for a common goal. One of the language activists in Semente, for instance, explains how such adversity triggers survival instincts, bringing people together in defence of the language:

GA: “É que o instinto de supervivencia, tal cual. Eu creo que hai un rolo aí de xente moi concienciada en cuestión de lingua e dice ou esto ou es que nunha cidade galego nos quedamos sin nada, o sea, agárrome a isto que é unha oportunidade de ser a miña filla que manteña o idioma. É o único que me podó aferrar, aínda que haxa cuestión que discrepe. Hai ese perfil, non sei se, pero bueno, hai eso de aferrarnos á única posibilidade que temos, porque non hai [outra].” (Parent, Gentalha do Pichel, May 2018).

EN: “It is a survival instinct, that’s it. I think that it is a matter of very conscientious people regarding the language, and they say it’s either this or in a city, Galician, we’ll have nothing, I mean, I hold onto this as an opportunity for my daughter to keep the language. It is the only thing I can hold onto, even if there are things I disagree with. There is that profile, I don’t know if, I mean, there is that holding onto the only possibility we have, because there isn’t [another]”.

Another language activist alludes to the emotional and affective side of the movement, and the hope that the work at Semente will have tangible outcomes on society more broadly. As pointed out earlier in the report, the social movement that arose from the Prestige in the catastrophe in Galicia created ties of solidarity amongst activists or potential activists which went beyond that particular protest, and now, as he says “those people are the ones who are defending the language today as well”:

GA: “...tede en conta o aspecto emocional, ideas, comportamentos e emocións, é o que nos leva pa diante. A xente móvese por emocións, por afectos e sobre todo pola esperanza de que o traballo que facemos ten consecuencias. Eu vivino na cadea humana da marea negra, hai moito tempo, cando vin que 40.000 rapaces e rapazas, profesores e profesoras xuntaban as súas mans entre Laxe e Muxía, e os que vivimos iso, vivimos algo moi impresionante. Esa xente somos os que hoxe estamos defendendo a lingua tamén.” (Activist, Compostela, May 2018).

EN: “...take into account emotional aspects, ideas, behaviours and emotions, it is what keeps us going forward. People act because of emotions, affection, and, above all, the hope that all the work we do will have consequences. I lived this during the human chain of the black tide, a long time ago, when I saw that 40,000 boys and girls, teachers, hold their hands together in Laxe and Muxía, and those of us who lived this, we lived something very impressive. Those people are today the ones defending the language too.”

For another parent and activist, the only way to counteract the hegemony of Spanish is to have monolingual education in Galician, uniting around the Semente cause, with this the only way to truly attain the ‘harmonious bilingualism’ that some people talk about, in his view:



GA: “Para min é unha necesidade de:, de conseguir un ensino monolingüe en galego. Eu creo que é imprescindible que teñamos un ensino monolingüe na Galiza porque non hai maneira, non hai outra maneira de competir contra todos os medios de comunicación que temos en castelán, desde a radio, a televisión, aos DVDs que teñen acceso e:, todo. Creo que é a única maneira neste momento para conseguir realmente o bilingüismo harmónico do que algunhas persoas falan, non? Eu creo que o monolingüismo na escola é a única maneira de conseguir o bilingüismo harmónico [do que falan].” (Artist, Facultade de Educación USC, October 2018)

EN: “For me, it was a need to have monolingual teaching in Galician. I think it is indispensable that we have monolingual teaching in Galicia because there is no way, there is no other way to compete against all the media in Castilian, from radio to television, to DVDs we have access to um:, everything. I think that the only way, at this point, to really have that harmonious bilingualism some people talk about, right? I think that monolingualism at school is the only way to get that harmonious bilingualism.”

Because the language situation in Galicia is seen to be precarious, people with a high level of linguistic awareness are likely to support Semente because they see it as the only way forward for the future survival of the language. As a result, the question of whether or not they are using normative or reintegrationist Galician becomes secondary as the broader issue of the survival of the language is at stake. There are also families at Semente who subscribe to the values proposed by Semente above and beyond the question of language and who see Semente and its values as an alternative way forward for the future of their children, for their own well-being, sense of self-worth, development as independent thinkers and a just and

equitable society. These are things that they believe cannot be guaranteed through the public school system.

## **E. Responses to New Media, Domains, and Speakers**

### **1. How important are new technologies in communication in the minority language?**

*1.1 How are they used? By whom? When or where? 1.2 Who develops them? How are they accessed? 1.3 How are they supported (training, updates, advertising)?*

Technologies are crucial to the way Semente projects a modern and urban image of Galician to withstand the negative associations that Galician still endures today. Semente has a Youtube channel (Semente Compostela) which gathers visual materials both produced by Semente and also other associations in collaboration with them; Facebook profiles for the main schools (Semente Compostela; Semente Lugo; Semente Trasancos; Semente Corunha; Semente Vigo; Semente Pontevedra; Semente Amaía); as well as Twitter accounts (Semente Compostela; Semente Vigo; Semente Trasancos; Semente Lugo; Semente Corunha; and websites for all the main schools (Semente Compostela; Semente Vigo; Semente Trasancos; Semente Lugo). Some of the Semente schools have a monthly blog where they talk about all the remarkable activities undertaken during the period at hand, e.g.: in Semente Compostela and Lugo, the blog is called “O dia a dia na Semente,” Semente Trasancos has a “Blogue das Sementinhas”; some also provided pedagogical materials used in Sementes, such as the Lugo one. These media platforms are utilised to promote their projects, reaching out to as many people as possible, informing about activities, carrying out crowdfunding campaigns, showcasing both their successes and challenges, etc. At the same time, Galician gets more and more exposure on the web, thanks to the wide variety of activities that different branches of Semente organises and, more specifically, the reintegrationist variety of Galician which is not as widely known as the official variety.

As mentioned earlier, the cooperative Sacauntos helps with all the graphic design used by Semente. There is also a successful tech company based in the area of Santiago de

Compostela, Dinahosting, that is closely linked to Semente, and which provides ‘robotics’ classes and training for educators. These courses introduce children to basic programming. In their robotics classes, children were given small computing devices and small mobile robots in the shape of a vehicle, and they learned how to tell the robot to move around and how to avoid certain objects following a taped path. The children were always very excited about the idea of a robotics class. They showed themselves to be very keen in participating, listening to the instructor, and learning how technical skills. Through these classes, an explicit link was made between Galician and twenty-first century technology.

All of the images and designs which appear on different web pages and platforms are approved by Semente’s general assembly. This also requires input from other sub-committees including a group that oversees gender issues. Special attention is paid to avoid gender stereotypes e.g.: boys playing football, girls in pink dresses, and dancing. As such, technology is not only used to give visibility to the Galician language and give it greater presence, but it is also used to vindicate a transformative approach to how Semente tells and sells its own visual narrative to the world.

#### ***1.4 How much of the language resources are allocated to developing and supporting new technologies?***

We are not aware of any specific plan to integrate language resources in developing and supporting new technologies as such, other than the time and involvement staff put into producing online content for the websites, in the form of a monthly blog, website content, social media content, visual media for videos, graphic design content for marketing, etc. We do not have data regarding how much budget might be allocated or how much might actually be spent generating this content, but it would be possible to enquire about it.

### 1.5 What are the consequences of new technologies?

Perhaps, the most impactful consequences of new technologies in recent months have been the possibility of running crowdfunding campaigns to push forward with ambitious projects, such as the creation of a Primary School in the area of Trasancos. As we can see below, Semente Trasancos initially asked for a minimum of 35,000 Euros to be able to cover basic expenses to start up the school but managed to get over the ‘optimum’ funding, from 859 supporters. This was only possible through a huge marketing campaign with artists, public figures, writers, etc sending YouTube videos supporting the campaign, asking people for help, providing products to Semente Trasancos for free which were in turn used as a reward for putting money into the project. This was deemed to be the most successful crowdfunding campaign in these circles.

**Figure 28**

*Vamos polo Primário. Crowdfunding Campaign. Semente Trasancos 2019.*



On top of the power of technology to collectively finance initiatives, technology is used as a tool to combat the perceived limitations of a minoritized language such as Galician. This shows Galician society that the language is part of dynamic, ambitious, and bold projects, and that it is, against all odds, very much alive in the twenty-first century.

## **2. How have new domains for language use been developed and/or expanded? For whom?**

The Lei de Normalización Lingüística 3/1983 expanded the domains of use for Galician including the sphere of education, public administration, place names, and the media. These were areas that were previously Spanish speaking. Changes to the legal status of the language and language revitalisation initiatives since the 1980s have brought Galician into urban spaces. The break in intergenerational transmission of Galician in the home as a result of unfavourable language policies during the Franco dictatorship and migration to Galicia's Spanish-speaking cities in the 1960s has to some degree been counteracted by increasing number of neofalantes in urban areas as a result of policy changes from the 1980s.

In terms of educational policies, many commentators regard 2007 as a significant turning point in Galicia's sociolinguistic history. As highlighted in above, during its brief four years in office, the Galician branch of the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) in coalition with the Galician Nationalist Bloc (BNG) put forward a Decree which stipulated that at least fifty percent of the primary and secondary school curriculum should be in Galician. This Decree was a reinforcement of the 1983 Law which had already stipulated such a requirement but in many urban schools, in particular, was not adhered to. The Decree also stipulated that in pre-schools, classes should be given in the home language of the children but in contexts where children's home language was Spanish, Galician should be used at least fifty percent of the time in class to increase their exposure to the language. In deciding what the

predominant language was amongst children in the classroom, sociolinguistic surveys were undertaken to collect relevant information on their sociolinguistic practices, taking into account also the broader sociolinguistic context in which the school was located. The Decree proved controversial and met with strong opposition from a small but vocal pro-Spanish-speaking sector of the population. 2009 saw the return to power of the Galician branch of the right-wing Popular Party (PP) who overturned the 2007 Decree, replacing it with the Decreto de Plurilingüismo in 2010. This Decree stipulated a trilingual model for primary and secondary education whereby one-third of subjects would be taught through the medium of Spanish, Galician, and English respectively. Subjects such as science were to be taught through the medium of Spanish while subjects seen to be less prestigious such as language, history and geography were to be taught in Galician. The requirement that a minimum of fifty percent of class time be given through the medium of Galician at preschool level was also abolished. In addition, given that the stipulated 33% of hours allocated to English does not tend to be fulfilled (because of insufficient linguistic competence amongst many teachers), the default language of instruction became Spanish. This, according to many commentators, further weakens what they see as an already precarious situation for the language.

Both Radio Galega and Televisión de Galicia (TVG) began in 1985 with the aim of improving and normalizing the use of Galician and promoting its own culture. TVG attracts a high number of viewers, but the majority tend to be of an older generation. When fewer channels were available and fewer choices, TVG had a following amongst younger age groups. In 1994, the children's programme *Xabarín Club* was popular amongst all young Galicians. The programme consisted of cartoons and video clips of Galician singers and groups. As a result of the programme, many children of that generation came to know the Galician music scene and identified Galician-speaking role models. Many of the families at

Semente were of the Xabarín Club generation and bemoaned the fact that no equivalent provision is made for the current generation.

### ***2.1 Have older domains been restored? How did this come about?***

Many of older uses of language associated with rural Galician, in particular farming, are maintained but tend to be heavily influenced by Spanish. In terms of language revival, in urban areas, certain traditions are being restored that link language and identity in Galicia such as traditional music, dance, and artisanal work. As discussed in previous sections, other traditions are being restored such as festivals like Os Maios, O Apalpador, and Samaín (Halloween). These events are also associated with Galician music traditions, singing, dancing, and other cultural activities through the medium of Galician. As highlighted earlier, Regueifa is also being recovered in Semente and is being reinvented in new ways through the lens of feminism and advocacy.

### ***2.2 What roles have the arts (old or new musical genres, traditional arts, new art forms or movements) played in creating new domains or expanding use of the language?***

These have been discussed at length in the previous sections (see B.4, B.4.1, C4, C.5, C.5.1, C.5.2, C.5.4).

## **3. What issues surrounding authenticity affect the way language revitalization efforts are designed or received? How are speakers are defined or evaluated?**

Many language revitalisation projects emerge from a nostalgia for the past and a desire to restore old ways of life and being. While the search for authenticity is often characteristic of these movements, there is also a desire to look forward and to create new



futures for the language. In the following excerpt there is a clear nostalgia for older ways of speaking Galician and a dismissal of contemporary forms:

GA: “...os nenos que se manteñen falando galego e os pais que nos mantemos falando galego xa cunhas pérdivas... De vocabulario, [de fonética,] de estruturas... Quero dicir, o galego hoxe xa é e: o sea, é ridículo, [quero dicir: en realidade] (...) Quero dicir, é unha [cousa tan descafeinada,] (...) [xa o de] nosos pais, ou dos [nosos avós] digamos que levaba séculos de deturpación, [(incomprensible) moitas cousas.] (...) Pero agora ca televisión, eu sobre todo eu creo que foi a televisión (...) [A televisión] i: digamos que o proceso este de globalización e tal, o que máis: nos machacou. Eso i o ambiente conservador i o menosprezo de cara á lingua.”

EN: “...children who maintained Galician and parents who kept us speaking Galician already with losses ... To vocabulary, [phonetics], structures... What I mean is that Galician nowadays is already ridiculous [I mean, in reality] (...) I mean, it is a [something so watered down] many things] (...) But now with television, I think that above all it was the television (...) [The television] and it is the process of globalization and all of that, which destroyed us. That as well as the conservative environment and undermining of the language.”

Many neofalantes are in search of authenticity and for the language from “somewhere” in Woolard’s (2005) terms and their point of reference tends to be the traditional native speaker. As one of the language activists put it:

GA: “...os seseos de Mazaricos, cousas preciosas, exclusivas que non o vas a poder imitar, que eu traballo desplazándome moito e falo con moita xente maior, escoito cousas que merecen moito a pena, que non escoitas aquí.”

EN: "...seseos [dialectal feature] from Mazaricos, are beautiful, they are exclusive, and you can't imitate them, I work and have to move around a lot, and I speak Galician with a lot of older people, I hear a lot of things [ways of speaking] that are really worth listening to, and which you don't hear here. "

Another language activist highlighted that while she was a student of Galician Philology, paleofalantes were awarded greater prestige:

GA: "E en Filoloxía aquí em: dise o sea, hai moita diferenzaci# si, diferenciación entre as persoas que son neofalantes e que non, sabes? A ver, [as persoas] (...) Po's as neofalantes son menos consideradas ó final (...) Incluso e: hai e: m: son como que saben menos ou: que saben: A ver, basicamente é como se foses, se fo# se er# se es paleofalante es cinturón negro." (language activist)

EN: "Here in Philology, they say that there are a lot of differences between people who are neofalantes and who are not, you know? So, [people] (...) well neofalantes are considered less in the end (...) There is even a sense that they know less or: they know: Well, basically it is as if you are a paleofalante you are the black belt."

Many of the parents and activists we spoke to were nostalgic about the past and expressed a desire to recover words that had been lost in their own generation, words that an older generation used and which they were now rediscovering through their own children:

GA: "...eu notei por exemplo cousas moi bonitas como palabras que eu xa non herdei en galego como, pois abre a billa, que para min é grifo xa, son da miña avoa, entón a miña avoa escoitar abre a billa, [...] Eu xa son palabras que non, palabras que eu xa non. Si, súper bonito, como transxeneracional, non? No meu caso foi como unha

viaxe así, de repente era a máis pequena e a máis maior se atopan na linguaxe”

(parent)

EN: “...I noticed for example some really nice things like words I did not inherit in Galician like words like turn on billa (Galician word for tap), which for me is grifo (the standard Spanish word for tap) now, these were from my grandmother and therefore my grandmother I would hear abre a billa. These are words, words which I don’t [hear]. Yes, really pretty, transgenerational, right? In my own case it was like a journey, all of a sudden it was the youngest and the oldest who were meeting through language.”

There is a desire amongst many parents and language activists at Semente to speak a “better” form of Galician, free from Spanish-sounding words, advocating for what they refer to as a more “correct” form of language. Some talk about the role that Semente plays in this and how their children are instrumental in helping them achieve these goals.

### ***3.1 Who are the actors in authentication? Have these changed over the years?***

In Semente the main source of ‘inauthentication’ is the influence of Spanish-sounding words. A key objective is to purify Galician from what is perceived as the contaminating influences of Spanish. This leads language activists at Semente on the one hand, to look to reintegrationism and on the other, to normative Galician which is freer from the influence of Spanish.

At Semente there is a Language Commission (Comissom Lingüística) which decides the vocabulary that is taught to children and this information is then passed on to families who are encouraged to use these words. Parents, to varying degrees, incorporate new

vocabulary and words with some preferring to retain their own dialectal forms linked to family or to the area in which they were brought up:

GA: “...é verdade que algunhas familias nas casas [...] non utilizamos a norma reintegracionista, hai palabras que vamos incorporando ao vocabulario e hai outras que tamén que pasa que non. Hai outras que non integro, porque teño moi metida a outra palabra.” (Iria, Conversa Pais Grupo Piscina-1)

EN: “... it is true that some families in their homes [...] we don’t use the reintegratonist norm, there are words which we include in the vocabulary and there are others which we don’t. There are others which I do not integrate because I have internalised another word.”

### ***3.2 Where and how do these issues get resolved, or not?***

While within Semente the linguistic models come from within the core activist group of the Language Commission and teachers, at a national level, key reference points are the Galician language channel (TVG), newspapers, social networks, politicians, and artists. On TVG, standard Galician tends to be used in the news and television series but there are also programmes and presenters where heteroglossic forms are used which include Spanish-sounding words. These programmes are often criticized by language activists and parents at Semente for their use of “bad” Galician. Galician television is also criticised for the lack of programmes that would appeal to a younger age group, showing what they believe reflects a broader lack of interest on the part of the government in normalizing the language:

GA: “Os nenos pois son de outra xeneración queren ver outras cousas, todo o mundo ve outras cousas e eles tamén as queren ver. I a tele galega non [cumple esa función.]”  
(parent)

EN: “The children are from another generation and want to see other things, everyone sees other things and they also want to, and the Galician television does not [fulfil that function].”

In response to the perceived lack of children’s programmes on national television and quality of language, as already discussed in previous sections, many parents encourage their children to watch Portuguese programmes and films instead.

#### **4. How does the community determine new speakers?**

There are different understandings in the community and the Galician context more broadly, about who is or who is not a neofalante. Some language activists and parents, for example, include people who were brought up speaking the language at home where Galician was spoken between parents and grandparents but where children were brought up speaking Spanish. They talk about neofalantes in terms of “language recovery” in adulthood:

GA: “...a ver, neofalantes muitos, aínda que fosen criados en familias, non? no que se falaba galego porque os avós falaban galego, pero aos fillos xa os educaban en castelán, entón muita desta xente ata que non foi maior non recuperou o galego.”

(Parent)

EN: “...well, new speakers, there are many, even though they were brought up in families in which Galician was spoken because the grandparents spoke Galicia, but with their children they already were bringing them up in Spanish, so lots of those people up until they are grown up do not recover Galician.”

For others, being a neofalante was linked to a conscious (and political) decision to make the language part of their personal and professional lives:

GA: "...todo o que fago é en galego. E, todas as miñas relacións son en galego, xa sexan profesionais, xa sexan de lecer, e:, si, son neofalante, entón, o galego é unha cousa consciente. Entón, todo é político, non?" (parent)

EN: "...everything I do is in Galician. And, all my relationships are in Galician, whether they be professional, or during my free time, and yes, I am a new speaker, therefore, Galicia is something that is conscious. So, everything is politics, you know?"

In opposition to neofalante, parents, activists and teachers used the terms "galegofalante de sempre" (always a Galician speaker or lifelong speakers), "galego falante tradicional" (traditional Galician speaker), "paleofalante" or simply "galegofalante" (Galician speaker).

As one language activist put it:

GA: "Si, si, ao que me refería co tema dos conceptos é que aquí falouse de neofalantes e galegofalantes." (Language activist, Gentalha do Pichel)

EN: "Yes, yes, what I was referring to in relation to concepts is that here we talk about new speakers and Galician speakers."

Some people identified themselves as "galegofalantes de sempre" (always Galician speakers) linking this to a Galician-speaking upbringing by their parents and also linked to the fact that they continued to maintain Galician as the language of use:

GA: "Eu son galegofalante de sempre, porque os meus pais educáronnos en galego a min e aos meus irmáns e mantiven a lingua." (Parent)

EN: “I am a Galician speaker from always because my parents brought me and my siblings up in Galician and they maintained the language.”

GA: “...as que foron de sempre galegofalantes.” (Activist)

EN: “...those who were always Galician speakers.”

GA: “...outra persoa que foi galegofalante toda a vida.” (Teacher)

EN: “...another person who was a life-long speaker of Galician.”

Many of the neofalantes we spoke to explicitly downgraded their own way of speaking Galician, distinguishing themselves and others from “os de toda a vida” (life-long speakers), describing the latter as having a “richer” language in terms of lexical vocabulary, both phonetically and grammatically. However, they also spoke about their tendency to use lots of “castelanismos” (Castilian-sounding words) or “españolismos” (Spanish-sounding words). As such, many neofalantes could be regarded as purist in their approach to language and tended to be very critical of language mixing and influences from Spanish:

GA: “Hai unha diferenza entre o galego dos neofalantes e os de toda a vida, estes últimos teñen un galego máis rico a nivel léxico, fonético e gramatical, pero está cheo de españolismos.” (Parent)

EN: “There is a difference between the Galician used by new speakers and life-long speakers, the latter have a richer Galicia in terms of lexicon, phonetics and grammatically speaking, but their Galicia is full of Spanishisms.”

GA: “...a miña parella, aínda que é galegofalante de toda a vida, e., ten moitísimos castelanismos.” (Parent)

EN: "...my partner, even though he is a life-long speaker, has longed for Spanishisms."

Such purism was justified by their own frustration for not being knowledgeable enough about their own language.

All of these labels are, of course, closely linked to language ownership, legitimacy and linguistic authority (see Woolard, 1998, 2016 for a discussion). There is sometimes a reluctance to make claims about being simply a "galegofalante". When we asked different language activists and parents at Semente, for example, if they were life-long speakers of Galician, they often passed up such claims to ownership, instead, underscoring their family connection to the language:

GA:

Bernie: "E ti es galegofalante de todo a vida?"

Language activist: "Non (...) A miña familia é galegofalante."

EN:

Bernie: "And are you a life-long speaker of Galician?"

Language activist: "No (...) My family is Galician-speaking."

Similarly, one of the teachers at Semente who self-defined as a neofalante, was reluctant to speak on one of the other teacher's behalf in categorising her as a galegofalante:

GA: "...eu son neofalante, [nome da profesora] é galegofalante, pero que o confirme ela." (Teacher)

EN: "...I am a new speaker, [name of teacher] is Galician speaking, but she should be the one to confirm that herself."



Along with the labels *galegofalante*, *falante tradicional*, *falante de toda a vida*, the term *paefalante* was also used and juxtaposed with *neofalante*. While the authority of the *paefalante* was recognised, there was also some questioning of this authority in relation to *neofalantes*. In the following excerpt, this particular language activist describes *paleofalantes* as the “black belt” when it comes to speaking Galician but criticises the fact that the use of Spanish-sounding words was looked upon favourably by *paleofalantes* alluding here to the criticisms often levied on *neofalantes* about the quality of their speech:

GA: “...se es paleofalante es cinturón negro. E algunhas cousas de dicir e: en galego se as dicías con: castelanismos eras mellor porque eras paleofalante (...) eses castelanismos estabas mellor visto, porque eran os castelanismos que utilizaban os paleofalantes.” (Language Activist)

EN: “...if you are a paleo-speaker, you are a blackbelt. And some things to say and: in Galician if you say them with Spanishisms you are better because you are a paleo-speaker [...] those Spanishisms were viewed better because they were Spanishisms that paleo-speakers used.”

Those who define themselves as *neofalante* tend to take on a more activist role and position themselves as such. Linguistic proximity between Galician and Castilian allows for bilingual conversations in which Galician speakers do not need to switch to Spanish to accommodate to their interlocutor. However, such interactions can sometimes create tensions and require an activist positioning vis-à-vis the interlocutor. *Neofalantes* sometimes criticised some *paleofalantes* whose non-activist stance led them to accommodate to their Spanish-speaking interlocutor. As one activist put it: “hai paleofalantes tamén que hai que fidelizar”.

GA: “Non é só a proximidade lingüística e por isto que volvo á cuestión dos paleofalantes e neofalantes, de falar con neofalantes como activistas está moi ben,

pero hai tamén que pensar que hai paleofalantes tamén que hai que fidelizar.”

(Activist)

EN: “It is not only linguistic proximity and because of that I come back to the question of paleo-speakers and new speakers, speaking about new speakers as activists is very good, but we should remember that there are also paleo-speakers who need to be made loyal.”

There is a sense amongst neofalantes that their paleofalante counterparts are not militant enough and rather than resisting the hegemony of Spanish by only speaking Galician, or being loyal to the cause, as highlighted by the activist above, that they accommodate to existing social norms around what is considered appropriate linguistic behaviour in certain contexts:

GA: “Eu coñezo xente que é paleofalante e ten e:, comprometida co galego, en todas as, e que ás veces en, en:, non sabe moi ben porque, pois para falar coa súa caseira, fálalle en castellano, ou para falar no banco, fala en castellano.” (Parent)

EN: “I know people who are paleo-speakers and who have made a commitment to Galician, and who sometimes: they do not know very well why, so to speak with their landlady, they speak in Castilian or to speak at the bank, they speak Castilian.”

#### ***4.1 How are new speakers integrated into the speech community and into larger social contexts?***

As highlighted above, criticisms of neofalantes way of speaking and their ideological position are not infrequent: “falan mal” (they speak badly); “soan de forma artificial” (they sound artificial); “son nacionalistas” (they are nationalists); “queren chamar a atención” (they are looking for attention); “o galego que falan non é o real” (their Galicia is not real

Galician); that it is not “o galego que se fala nas aldeas” (the Galician spoken in the village) (which is considered the “real” Galician); “falan o galego da TVG” (they speak Galician like on the television). Such criticism sometimes comes from paleofalantes, but also Spanish speaking “neofalantes potenciais” (potential new speakers) as well as other neofalantes. Decisions on the part of neofalantes to displace Spanish, a language which they were brought up speaking and which has been their habitual language until their early adult life are often questioned. Switching to Galician is seen as out of place, radical, a form of attention-seeking “ir de guay” (trying to be cool). Younger paleofalantes position themselves as authentic speakers and because they have gone through the education system, also possess linguistic capital which a previous generation lacked. As such they often position themselves as “real” speakers and reject any criticisms or correcting of their ways of speaking and use of Spanishisms. They see the latter as “their way of speaking Galician”, considering corrections as “demasiado intelectuais” (too intellectual).

On a linguistic level neofalantismo is characterised by certain structural errors, notably the incorrect positioning of pronouns. A number of parents who were themselves brought up speaking Galician in the home reported the misuse of pronouns by their partners and children. As one father put it:

GA: “Non, mira, a única cuestión é que, eu non sei se chamarme paleofalante ata certo punto quen é neofalante, que é Maria, e Maria ten a cousa por exemplo do:, da:, do pronome, non? Problema típico do:, e eso deica certo punto percibiuno... Maria é de [nome do lugar], e entón e:, a nosa filla ten vicios digamos, vicios, erros de neofalante sendo paleofalante, e unhas situacións que curiosamente se:, se dan no seu caso.” (Parent)

EN: “No, look, the only question is that I do not know if I should call myself a paleo-speaker, the person who is a new speaker is Maria, she does something, for example, with pronouns, really? This is a typical problem of... and to a certain extent it was noticeable... Maria is from [name of place] and so our daughter has bad habits, we can say, bad habits, errors typical of new speakers even though she is a paleo-speaker and in some situations curiously this happens.”

In Semente we find a variety of speaker types ranging from what can be referred to as paleofalantes who have always spoken Galician to established neofalantes who had shifted to Galician in early adolescence or at university. It also includes recent neofalantes who began speaking Galician in parenthood and those who began speaking Galician as a result of their involvement in Semente. In Semente, neofalantismo (new speakerism) is seen as a driver for language revitalization. We should remember that many of the people in Semente (family members, teachers, activists) are themselves neofalantes. Different people we spoke to during our fieldwork mention neofalantismo as something which is the product of ideological commitment and engagement with the processes of language revitalisation in contemporary Galicia. On a linguistic level, neofalantes are often criticized by other speakers (but also by themselves) for lacking authenticity.

***4.2 What are the kinds of value and authority that new forms of language have? What debates surround these themes (and related issues of speakers, language proficiency in different registers, etc.)?***

It is clear from discussions and observations that neofalantes are characterised or self-define as have lower linguistic quality. One of the teachers at Semente had switched to Galician almost 10 years previously and she expressed continued insecurities about her way

of speaking, relating this to the continued influence of Spanish in the ways she speaks Galician.

GA:

Teacher 1: A min nótaseme que son neofalante: os pronomes, as estruturas, todo aí. A min cóstame un mundo

Teacher 2: eu aí os pronomes os teño máis colocados

Teacher 1: ti si, pero eu <puff!>

Teacher 2: porque eu, claro, a min a influencia do español quédame moi aló

Teacher 1: claro! Moi aló, pero a miña é de arraigo

EN:

Teacher 1: People can tell that I am a new speaker: the pronouns, structures and everything. It is really challenging for me.

Teacher 2: I use the pronouns in the right place

Teacher 1: you do yes, but me, no!

Teacher 2: because I am influenced by Spanish, and it is very present in the way I speak

Teacher 1: Yes, but mine is from the roots

One of the language activists we spoke to, on the other hand, can be considered an exception to the rule as she positions herself as having a mastery of Galician structures and phonetics despite being a neofalante. She relates this to the fact that she had a linguistic model at home

growing up. She reports “passing” (Piller, 1999) as a paleofalante in different contexts. She insists several times during the discussion that her phonetics is authentic and positions herself as a “real” Galician speaker. She distinguishes herself from other neofalantes who often have difficulties using the seven vowel sounds in Galician and uses this as a maker of her identity.

GA: “...non era a típica que: falaba: que tiña cinco vogais... Nada. Eu distinguía perfectamente, poñía os pronomes, o sea, basicamente eu creo que a diferenza de outras persoas eu si que tiña o modelo lingüístico. Eu tiña o modelo da miña casa (...) a xente pensaba que non era neofalante (...) son filóloga e: señora que fala con sete vogais.” (Language activist)

EN: “...it was not typical that: who spoke and had the five vowel sounds...nothing. I could distinguish perfectly, I put the pronouns, basically, I think that the difference with other people is that I have a linguistic model. I had a linguistic model at home (...) people thought that I was not a new speaker (...) I am a philologist and a woman who speaks with seven vowel sounds.”

In our classroom observations, we got the impression that some children showed an awareness of what they understood Galician to be and what it was not, that is to say, they are able to identify Spanish-isms and “correct” these as the following discussion we had with teachers and parents about children’s linguistic practices indicates:

GA:

Bernie: pero corríxen...Porque eu estaba contando que pola mañá comía copos de avena e díxome “no, copos de aveá” <risas>

Teacher 1: pero eso é como [nome do neno]

Parent 1: si, xa sei

Teacher 1: “tonto non sei que non sei canto” e vai alí e dille “non se di tonto dise parvo”

<risas>: en vez de dicir eso non se di a un compañeiro

Parent 2: ao seu compañeiro?

Parent 1: si, si

Teacher 1: (incomprensible28'28'') ti sigue dicíndolle, pero dise parvo

Parent 1: (incomprensible28'32'')

Bernie: están moi concienciados, están moi concienciados os nenos, eh!

EN:

Bernie: But they correct things...Because I was telling them that this morning I ate porridge saying copos de avena [using a Spanish-ism] and he said to me “no, copos de aveá” [Galician word for porridge]

Teacher 1: but that is like [name of child]

Parent 1: yes, I know

Teacher 1: “tonto” [Spanish word for ‘silly’] or whatever and he says, “you don’t say “tonto” (Spanish word) you say “parvo” (Galician word)

<laughs>: instead of saying that you don’t say that to a friend

Parent 2: to his friend?

Parent 1: yes, yes

Teacher 1: [...] you continue to say to him, but he says “parvo”

Some children do not differentiate between different categories of speakers and do not use terms such as neofalante, paleofalante etc. We should remember that many families, as well as some of the teachers at Semente are neofalantes and they themselves sometimes or most of the time misuse pronouns or do not use the seven vowels. As a result, some parents say that children at Semente have errors which are typical of neofalantes even though they surpass potential new speakers in terms of vocabulary, they do not have the same level of phonetics or structures:

GA: “É un entorno, con respecto ao de Esteiro, que, que gañas cualidade lingüística por algunhas partes e pérdelas por outras. En cousas como a colocación dos pronomes, na fonética tamén” (Parent)

EN: “It is an area, with respect to Esteiro, where gain linguistic quality on one level and lose it on other levels. In things like correct positioning of pronouns, phonetics also.”

GA: “[nome da nena] ten vicios digamos, vicios, erros de neofalante sendo paleofalante, e unhas situacións que curiosamente se:, se dan no seu caso.” (Parent)

EN: “[name of girl] she has bad habits let’s say, bad habits, errors typical of new speakers even though she is a paleo-speaker and there are some situations which curiously this happens.”

At Semente, children are encouraged to distinguish between Spanish-sounding words which have become naturalised in Galician and the Standard Galician norm or reintegrationist norm.



In the example below, children discuss different ways of saying the word strawberry with interventions from the teacher:

GA:

Bernie: como se chama esa froita?

Child 1: amorodo

Teacher 1: ou como se lle chama tamén?

Children: fresa, fresa

Teacher 1: morango. Amorodo ou morango

Child 1: i tamén fresa

Teacher: pero fresa non é en galego

Child 1: en castelán

Child 2: fresa é en español

Teacher 1: en galego é amorodo ou morango

Child 1: que asco que asco o castelán <aghhh> o castelán

Child 2: que asco o castelán, verdá?

Child 1: pero eu falo castelán co meu primo

Child 2: i eu falo castelán cos meus pais

Child 1: eu cos meus primos e tías. Meus primos [nomes] que viven en [nome do lugar]

EN:

Bernie: what is this fruit called?

Child 1: amorodo (strawberry in standard Galician)

Teacher 1: and how else is it called?

Children: fresa, fresa (strawberry in standard Spanish)

Teacher 1: morango (strawberry reintegrationist Galician). Amorodo or morango

Child 1: and also, fresa (strawberry in Spanish)

Teacher: but fresa is not Galician

Child 1: in Spanish

Child 2: fresa is Spanish

Teacher 1: In Galician it is amorodo or morango

Child 1: yuck Spanish <aghhh> Spanish

Child 2: yucky Spanish, right?

Child 1: but I speak Spanish with my cousin

Child 2: and I speak Spanish with my parents

Child 1:] I speak it with my cousins and aunts. My cousins [names] who live in [name of place]

These and other such examples we found during our fieldwork highlight ongoing tensions around the continued influence of Spanish in the way in which Galician is spoken and attempts taken by different social actors to resolve these.

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