

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LANGUAGE
USE AND IDENTITY AMONGST GALICIAN
YOUNG ADULTS.**

**By
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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to the memory of a special uncle, Colin Trimbee.

ABSTRACT

The following is a sociolinguistic study carried out in 2009 in a region with a particular linguistic background, Galicia, in northern Spain. The study examines the relationship between language and identity amongst Galician students and recent graduates aged 18 to 25 years, looking specifically at the way in which the identity one desires to portray affects one's linguistic choices, and inversely how one's linguistic choices affect the identity displayed to others. A questionnaire was circulated amongst participants requiring responses on the topic of language use and the opinions held associated with the use of language in order to examine this issue in depth. A distinction was drawn between those reading Arts subjects and those studying Sciences in order that any differences between the uses of language and opinions held by these groups should come to light. The results show several statistically significant differences in linguistic usage and views on the topic between these two groups.

PREFACE

The following thesis is a sociolinguistic study carried out in 2009 in Galicia in northern Spain. This is a region with a particular sociolinguistic context which stems from the area's sociolinguistic, political and economic history. The focus of this thesis is language use in various social contexts. More specifically, this thesis examines the relationship between language and identity amongst Galicians, and how the social situation in which one finds oneself can affect one's linguistic choices with particular reference to the phenomenon of language disloyalty which is in itself an expression of identity. This thesis aims to examine linguistic choices as a method of communication of identity and to study the extent to which the desired identity to be portrayed in a particular social situations can affect the linguistic choices a speaker makes.

For the purposes of this thesis, and for reasons explained more fully in the body of this work, participants were all students and recent graduates aged 18 to 25 years. They were divided into two sample groups: those who study Arts degrees and those who study Science degrees in order to study if there is any difference in the sociolinguistic choices for the communication of identity made by these two groups respectively, and if the degree to which language disloyalty is displayed can be considered significant when contrasting speakers belonging to these two groups.

Of course, the complicated social, political, economic and historical context of Galicia means that the distinction made between Arts students and graduates and Science students and graduates is only one of a large number of possible variables that affect language use and identity in young people in Galicia. Two very significant factors that

are not examined in this thesis are social class and whether participants come from urban or rural backgrounds. These factors will almost certainly play a large part in the sociolinguistic choices of speakers, but due to time and space limitations, it was impossible to study all factors which may affect the language choices and the degree of language disloyalty displayed by Galician speakers.

The hypothesis of this study is:

There is a difference in the ways in which language is used and viewed by Arts students and recent graduates and Science students and recent graduates, and in particular as an expression of identity.

Although at first glance this may seem to be a naïve ‘if not this then this’ hypothesis, it is my opinion that this is not the case. This thesis aims to investigate whether there is a relationship between the subject studied by participants and their use of language as an expression of identity. In order to test the hypothesis, a questionnaire was completed by participants from both the Arts group and the Science group, which required them to give responses on their use of language in given situations and the views they hold regarding language use and identity. These results were then analysed using a series of independent t-tests as a planned comparison.

Following the research in this thesis it is impossible to identify the cause event and the effect when considering an individual’s linguistic and identity values and their choice of subject to study. For example, at this stage definitive conclusions can not be drawn as to whether those who already place a high value on the cultural and symbolic meaning of

the use of Galician in order to portray a Galician identity choose Arts subjects *because of* their sociolinguistic views, or whether their sociolinguistic views are shaped after entering university. This is an issue that could be studied in later research as space limitations meant it was impossible to study this in the current thesis.

SECTION ONE: THE TWO FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE

1.1 The first function of language

The American psychologist Steven Pinker describes language as being ‘so tightly woven into human experience that it is scarcely possible to imagine human life without it’.¹ Language is a system of communication used by humans everywhere, and is undoubtedly one of the main noticeable and provable differences between humans and the rest of the animal kingdom. The *Collins Concise Dictionary* states this within its entry for the term *language* itself, defining it as ‘a distinguishing characteristic of man, as compared with other animals’.² This system of interpersonal communication allows humans to communicate messages to others in a way that no other species is able to do. This use of language for the communication of the content of messages to others is often thought of by laymen as its only function. Many linguists would argue that although the fundamental function of language is indeed that of the communication of content, that this is not, however, language’s *only* function. Jean Aitchison explains that a difference should be seen in why language developed and what language is used for now.³ In response to the first question she argues that language now has so many functions we cannot be sure of its original function, but suggests one main function of language is to convey information, whether this information is true or not, or is designed to be used to command, persuade or express feelings. She goes on to explain that language is particularly useful for the promotion and maintenance of social contacts. I would argue that this shows language’s second main function: the communication of identity.

¹ Pinker, S. *The Language Instinct* (London: Penguin, 1994) p17.

² Sinclair, J.M. (Ed.) *The Collins Concise Dictionary* (Glasgow: Harper Collins, 2001) p830.

³ Aitchison, J. *The Seeds of Speech: Language Origin and Evolution*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) p17

1.2 The second function of language

Fasold states the second use of language is that of defining the social situation.⁴ According to Fasold, as well as to communicate content, language is used to make a statement about one's own identity, about oneself in relation to the listener, and to define the situation in which language itself is being used. On the other hand, in his 1946 publication *Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View*, the Danish linguist Otto Jespersen gives a second function of language as being its use to make a social connection with other humans.⁵ His argument here is based on the idea that even when one has very little content to communicate, one will still often use language simply to make a social connection with another human being. These arguments are not contradictory. In fact, this is exactly the point that Peter Trudgill makes at the outset of his *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*. Since people will often define themselves and their own identity by means of their relationship to others and their own inclusion in or exclusion from a group, communicating when one has no clear message to express, such as in the case of small talk, is a way of establishing a connection between oneself and another, and also simultaneously of defining one's identity in relation to that other person.⁶ As he goes on to explain, a seemingly inconsequential statement from one person to another both establishes a connection between the two strangers, and defines the nature of the relationship between the two by allowing the speaker to communicate his identity both as an individual and in relation to the second person, for example, as a local, as someone friendly, and as belonging to the same social stratum as his interlocutor, or of

⁴ Fasold, R. *The Sociolinguistics of Society Vol.1* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984) p ix.

⁵ Jespersen, O. *Mankind, Nation and Individual (From a Linguistic Point of View)* (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1946) pp9-10.

⁶ Trudgill, P. *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974) p2.

course, as the opposite of all of these things. This is important as each person is then able to decode these messages regarding identity in order to understand how to behave towards one another.⁷ Put simply, this means that every statement one makes communicates at least two things at once. For example, even the simplest statement allows a connection to be made between the two individuals involved, and communicates both the surface message to the listener and information about the speaker's identity in the ways described above. The information communicated about the speaker's identity informs the interlocutor on how to behave towards the speaker, based on a decoding of the exact information regarding the identity that has been displayed.

In *The Seeds of Speech*, Aitchison mainly gives examples where language is used to communicate 'a minimum of information, but a maximum of supportive chat,' such as small talk, or in ritual greetings,⁸ where the focus of the communication is to convey the identity of the speaker in relation to the interlocutor rather than a specific message, such as by showing the speaker to be someone who is aware of the social rituals of the society in which he speaks, and willing to adhere to them. For example, when a British speaker asks 'How are you?' she is often not particularly interested in the response, and will be expecting the standard 'fine', yet social convention states that this question should be asked upon meeting an acquaintance in the street. The main meaning of this message is not literally to find out the health of the interlocutor, this question has a minimal information-seeking function, but rather to show friendly solidarity between the two acquaintances, following social norms. However, examples could also come

⁷ Trudgill *Sociolinguistics* p2.

⁸ Aitchison, *The Seeds of Speech* pp21-22.

where both major functions of language take place at once. For example, if a teacher commands a pupil in his class to sit down, the language he has used has told the child both that it is necessary to sit down, and highlights the teacher's position of power over the child in the classroom.

The idea of language as a method of displaying one's identity can be seen in works by a range of linguists, including that of Thornborrow, who claims that 'one of the most fundamental ways we have of establishing our identity, and of shaping other people's views of who we are, is through our use of language'.⁹ This function is indisputable and unavoidable. Whether one likes it or not, every time one uses language to communicate, membership of one or more identity groups is shown, be that as part of a group of speakers of a certain language or a certain linguistic variety, a certain social class, age group, educational background and indeed many more. One cannot communicate using language without disclosing at least some of this information about one's identity. This second use of language - that of being a means of outward portrayal of identity is the one which will form the basis of this thesis, a sociolinguistic study specifically looking at the use of language to express identity.

⁹ Thornborrow, J. *Language and Identity* in Thomas, L. et al. *Language Society and Power. An Introduction* 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 2004) p158.

SECTION TWO: LANGUAGE FOR COMMUNICATION OF IDENTITY

2.1 Language and identity

As Thornborrow explains, one's identity is not always fixed. Instead it is 'something which we are constantly building and negotiating all our lives'.¹⁰ Since, as mentioned above, language is one of the most basic ways people can establish their own identity and shape others' views of them; it is natural that people will use language as a tool to do just that, although often this is unconscious. Chambers tells us that people unconsciously express their identity through their dress, manners, possessions and speech. He goes on to explain that speech is much less manipulable and much harder to control consciously, and is therefore much more revealing of our identity.¹¹ People are aware of this, both consciously and unconsciously, and will therefore adapt the way they speak as far as possible to portray a certain version of their identity. The language a speaker uses is decoded by others, which allows them to read the identity of the speaker. As this decoding depends on the specific language as used by speakers, linguistic manipulations and adaptations can be employed to purposely alter the decoding of linguistic signals, and in turn the exact identity a speaker displays. In this way a speaker is able to highlight certain elements of his identity, mask others, and to some extent even invent certain characteristics in order to influence others' decoding of the identity he displays through his use of language.

¹⁰ Thornborrow p158.

¹¹ Chambers, J.K. *Sociolinguistic Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995) p7.

2.1.1 Language and group identity

As seen above, one's identity is always multi-faceted. Of course, every human being has a personal identity, being that which is related specifically to oneself as an individual, but at the same time one has a series of group identities. One belongs simultaneously to various social groupings, including familial groups, gender groups, age groups, occupational groups, groups relating to one's geographical origin, social class and educational background, to one's cultural background and of course, to one's linguistic community. Membership of these various groups is not mutually exclusive, meaning one can and does belong to several groups at a time. This could be visually portrayed by an extremely complicated diagram of concentric circles and Venn Diagrams within which one's own individual identity fits in the smallest segment. This is then surrounded by any number of circles, some overlapping and some fully encompassed within larger circles, each relating to a different identity group to which one belongs. In this way it can be seen, as Jespersen implies within the title of his aforementioned book, that one's individual identity is a subset of the more general group identities.

As can be seen above, our identity is often defined by using a contrast or comparison with others, and the placement (or non-placement) of ourselves within certain social groups, however large or small. Thornborrow states that 'social groups and communities use language as a means of identifying their members', a concept which of course works both ways,¹² leading to the creation of both in- and out-groups by the use of language, thus including members and excluding outsiders. Individuals can also place

¹² Thornborrow p158.

themselves within or outside these social groups and communities using language as a marker of membership, partial membership or non-membership. This takes place because the linguistic choices an individual makes shape others' views regarding their identity and their inclusion in various social groups. Of course this also works in the opposite direction, meaning the identity individuals wish to portray to others will affect the linguistic choices they make and therefore others' decoding of their identity signals.

2.1.2 Social Identity Theory

The use of language to manipulate personal identity through group identity one portrays is, in fact, a display of an occurrence known within linguistics as *Social Identity Theory*. This is described by Meyerhoff as the way in which individuals can strategically use language as a potent symbol of identity when testing or maintaining intergroup boundaries.¹³ This can take place as either *divergence*, when one highlights the differences between the identity group one belongs to and that of one's interlocutor, or as *convergence*, when in order to help form or nurture a social bond with the interlocutor, and to show solidarity and amiability towards that person, one may use language to play down the differences between oneself and the other person. A speaker is able to choose from the various linguistic choices available to him, knowing that these choices will be read by the listener as identity markers. The choices made can either create and or reinforce the bond between the two (convergence), or can work to increase the social distance between them (divergence). It is important to emphasise at this stage that this process almost always happens on a fully unconscious level.

¹³ Meyerhoff, M. *Introducing Sociolinguistics* (Oxford: Routledge, 2006) p70-71.

2.1.3 Speech community and identity

Probably the largest social group to which one belongs is that of one's speech community. There is a common sentiment in the Anglophone world that the USA and the UK have more in common culturally than the UK does with other European countries, simply because of the fact that the vast majority of the inhabitants of these two countries share a language. The same sentiment of a shared culture because of a shared language is true of Spain and Hispanophone Latin America. Fasold talks of the 'unifying and separatist functions' of language, which he explains as 'the feeling of members of a nationality that they are united and identified with others who speak the same language, and contrast with and are separated from those who do not'.¹⁴ This places a sociolinguistic description on this feeling of cultural identification with those who share our language, and contrast with those who do not, regardless of geographical and true cultural proximity.

2.2 Language as a cultural stronghold

In the same vein, in Mark Abley's *Spoken Here*, the Manx politician and language activist Phil Gawne describes language as a 'peg to hang the culture on'.¹⁵ Gawne is making the point that without language as a stronghold, cultural identity differences are not easily upheld. Here Gawne is stressing the importance of the relationship between language and culture, and therefore cultural identity, and although he is speaking about Manx, the concept could be applied to any language. Following Gawne's line of argument, in order to remain a separate cultural group it is much easier if the group has access to a separate language, and as Fasold explains, people often feel that cultural

¹⁴ Fasold p3.

¹⁵ Abley, M. *Spoken Here* (London: William Heinemann, 2003) p118.

groups are largely defined by the use of separate languages. This idea is also seen in Alvar's *Español en dos mundos*, in which he discusses the idea that one of the most fundamentally defining characteristics of a societal group is a shared language. Linked to this is the idea that if one cannot speak the language of the group then one cannot truly be part of the group. Alvar, like Gawne, also argues that the loss of a separate linguistic identity is accompanied by a loss of culture. The former cites the case of when a politically less powerful speech community group that has been 'inserted' into a more politically dominant linguistic group renounces its separate linguistic variety in favour of the more dominant one, that is to say it becomes linguistically assimilated into the dominant group, that this represents a loss of culture. The minority group can then be culturally assimilated too. The suggestion of this is that this cultural assimilation is less likely to happen whilst a separate linguistic variety is maintained.¹⁶ For Fishman, assimilation of language is a 'white death' (with genocide as a 'black death') for minority language cultural identities, as without a separate language a minority culture's differentiation and separateness is far more precarious.¹⁷ Nettle and Romaine explain this phenomenon by describing language diversity of a 'benchmark of cultural diversity', stating that when a language dies it takes with it a way of life.¹⁸ In the same vein, Crystal describes situations where linguistic differences can be increased between two varieties where linguistic and therefore cultural assimilation is possible and unwanted, as communities strive to retain and maximise their separate cultural identities.¹⁹

¹⁶ Alvar, M. *Español en dos mundos* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 2002) p138.

¹⁷ Fishman, J.A. *The Soft Smile and the Iron Fist* in Ó Néill, D. (Ed.) *Rebuilding the Celtic Languages: Reversing Language Shift in the Celtic Countries* (Ceredigion, Wales: Y Lolfa Cyf., 2005) p10.

¹⁸ Nettle, D. and Romaine, S. *Vanishing Voices* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p7.

¹⁹ Crystal, D. *Language Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) p9.

2.2.1 Language loyalty

In terms of linguistic choices, individual speakers are, of course, able to choose to speak a certain language in order to uphold the cultural differences this language represents and to guard against any loss of cultural differentiation or identity that may come about as a result of the loss of language. This is what is known as *language loyalty*, a process which often takes place without the speaker's conscious knowledge. Language loyalty when a minority language culture is in danger of assimilation into a more dominant language culture is not always seen, however, since speakers are not always aware that a language-shifting process is taking place until it is irreversible. Furthermore, a speaker may be unaware of the power he possesses as an individual to use this language as a cultural stronghold, given that linguistic choices of this type are not usually made at an individual level, but rather at a societal level. Individuals and linguistic groups may also actually consciously or unconsciously choose to go along with the language shift in order to lose their identity as a separate culture in favour of a different culture. This is often the case when speakers perceive linguistic and cultural assimilation to be desirable or necessary for themselves or for their speech community or cultural group in general. An example of this situation would be the members of the Romani race living in Germany who dropped their language, Romani, in favour of German to avoid persecution as gypsies.²⁰ Even this situation, however, shows language to be a fundamental tool which can be used as a means of manipulating the identity that one displays to others. In extreme cases such as the one above, speakers will go as far as the complete abandonment of their first language in order to lose their identity as part of a societal group that may be in serious physical danger. They can then be at least

²⁰ Schmid, M.S. *Identity and First Language Attrition: A Historical Approach in Estudios de Sociolingüística* Vol.5(I), p55.

outwardly assimilated, and in many cases inwardly too, into a different cultural group. Their separate identity is no longer visible to others, and often not even to themselves, and the danger they were in subsides. The fact this process can happen with or without a speaker's conscious knowledge shows the depth at which language and identity are linked within the human psyche.

2.2.2 Language and cultural assimilation

The concept of the necessity of a separate language for the maintenance of a separate cultural identity was the one upon which Franco based his policies regarding the use of regional languages in Spain. The continued use of Catalan, Basque and Galician, in particular their usage in prestigious situations was seen as a threat to the unity of Spain as one cohesive state. In the battle for 'cultural homogenization' all three were banned in local administration, education, commerce, the media and all cultural activities.²¹ The use of these languages was seen as so fundamental for the continuation of cultural and political regionalism, which undermined the unity of the Spanish state, that in order to stamp this out and to promote a singular Spanish cultural identity the use of these regional languages was prohibited.²² This too highlights the great link between language and culture, the importance of any language for culture and cultural identity of those who speak it.

²¹ Barton, S. *A History of Spain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) p232.

²² Ross, C. *Contemporary Spain* (London: Arnold, 1997).

2.2.3 Language planning

Fishman states that the banning of languages in this way is ‘no longer in fashion’. He gives three possibilities for political regimes regarding minority languages: ‘prohibitive policies’ such as the ones mentioned above; ‘permissive policies’ which neither prohibit nor support any language; and ‘supportive policies’, which as the name suggests, state themselves to be supportive of minority languages and their cultures. (Whether or not some regimes actually *are* supportive is, as Fishman states, debatable.)²³ In regions where the political regime is supportive of minority languages any loss of language is seen as undesirable, following the belief in the importance of all cultures, and in the reasoning that any loss of language also equates to a loss of culture. It is with this rationale that many governments in regions where threatened minority languages exist will often introduce language planning measures to try to strengthen these languages. The motivation behind language planning is the reasoning that if a threatened minority language is given a more secure future, the culture inextricably linked to this language is also more secure. In some regions, language planning measures have been so successful that previously dead or virtually dead languages have, to some extent, been revived. This is the case with Manx, where language planning in the search for a ‘symbiotic public language to secure [Man’s] distinct identity’²⁴ has led to some 1,689 people claiming to be able to speak, read or write the language in the 2001 census shows, whilst in 1961 the figure stood at just 165.²⁵

²³ Fishman in Ó Néill p10.

²⁴ Belchem, J. in Stowell, B. *The Case of Manx Gaelic* in Ó Néill, D. (Ed.) *Rebuilding the Celtic Languages: Reversing Language Shift in the Celtic Countries* p415.

²⁵ Stowell, B. *The Case of Manx Gaelic* in Ó Néill, D. (Ed.) *Rebuilding the Celtic Languages: Reversing Language Shift in the Celtic Countries* p416.

2.3 Symbolic value of language vs. economic value of language

The choices of individuals to speak or learn the minority language associated with their culture, and the importance placed upon these languages by the political powers who form language plans show that many people *do* understand the role that language plays in the formation and maintenance of cultural identity, particularly in places or sectors of the community where more than one language is spoken. The fact that individuals and governments are willing to invest time and money in the support of languages which may not be amongst the most socially or economically viable or useful, such as minority or previously minorized languages, proves that culture and language are often considered to have a large symbolic value. O'Rourke states that speakers will weigh up the differences between the symbolic cultural value of the minority language and the economic value of the dominant language.²⁶ Again, this process can happen both consciously or unconsciously. Speakers will use their conclusions to decide if they should learn or maintain their knowledge and usage in the minority language, and which language they should speak in any given situation. The option chosen, both at an individual level and a societal level, shows the perceived value of the minority culture related to the minority language in question, and individuals' choices in this situation show each speaker's own opinion of this issue. Bilingual speakers (referring here not to those who have minimal skills in one of the languages, but rather to those who are able to function within society with few difficulties in either language - the dominant or the minorized) are then faced with a choice between two languages. The decision they make allows and to some extent invites others to decode this linguistic choice and make assumptions about the speaker and their identity. In many situations where this choice is

²⁶ O'Rourke, B. *The Value of Galician and Irish on Today's Language Market* in Bugarín López, M.X. et al, *Actas da VIII Conferencia Internacional de Linguas Minoritarias*, Santiago de Compostela, 22-24 November 2001 (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2002) p583.

available, most speakers are well aware of the identity they will display by the linguistic choices they make and the unspoken messages regarding their identity that these choices will connote to their interlocutors.

It has been shown then, that the loss of a particular language is often seen as both accompanied by and the eventual cause for the loss of a separate cultural identity and the separate cultural practices of speakers of that language. This concept is clearly based on the assumption that cultural identity is defined by language. Within this line of argument, the theory goes that if the language is lost, the cultural identity is also lost, meaning the group is then able to be assimilated into a different cultural group, and also that the boundaries of cultural groups are marked by linguistic boundaries. That is to say that if one does not speak the language in question one cannot have a truly share the cultural identity defined by that language.

2.4 Language choice in bilingual communities of non-bilingual speakers

In societally bilingual communities made up of mainly non-bilingual speakers, most inhabitants can speak only one or another variety, such as in cases of colonialism where the colonisers speak one tongue and the vast majority of the colonised people another. The use of a certain language here is not a choice, as one is capable of speaking in only one variety or the other, but nevertheless displays aspects of an individual's identity by placing them within one or the other speech community within the society. As discussed above, speakers can still manipulate language to vary the identity they display, but this has to take place within just one language. Within bilingual communities where most individuals *are* bilingual, language selection is just that: a choice. This choice may be

heavily orientated by societal and political norms and regulations, but still the speaker is able to choose to acquiesce to or reject such rules in the knowledge of the consequences that linguistic choices bring. Speakers can therefore choose to employ one or the other language in a bid to portray the identity they desire to portray. This means they can use language to influence the identity they show to others on more than one level: at a language level and at a word-level.

2.5 Language disloyalty

Salvador describes a related situation which adds another element into the theory behind the manipulation of language use for the expression of identity. As mentioned above, *Language loyalty* usually refers to the maintenance of a bilingual individual's mother tongue in situations of societal bilingualism even when this is the minorized language, and when the socially easiest and most economically viable choice would be to adopt the dominant language. Salvador then goes on to discuss what he terms *language disloyalty*, describing this as the inclination to 'renegar a su propia lengua maternal, única que posee, inventándose un supuesto desarraigo de otra lengua que nunca, por lo demás, ha poseído'.²⁷ He then cites three examples from a Spanish point of view to illustrate his point and to highlight the difference between language loyalty and language *disloyalty*: the first of these is a Basque politician who, when asked by a journalist from the newspaper *El País* which language he thinks in, Basque or Castilian, answers 'desgraciadamente en castellano',²⁸ secondly he describes a Catalan writer and politician who, in an article, laments his inability to write in Catalan and the stigma placed on him for having learnt Castilian at home as a child, and thirdly he tells of an

²⁷ Salvador, G. *Lengua española y lenguas de España* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1987) p38.

²⁸ Salvador p38.

old friend of his, a Castilian-speaking Galician, who is ‘gifted with words’, yet whilst public speaking, has various times been known to make out as if he is searching for words whilst he translates from his ‘native’ Galician, and to beg the public’s pardon for his scanty knowledge of Castilian.²⁹ All three of these are examples of the Social Identity Theory in practice: the first two in that the speakers appear to want to be able to linguistically converge with their respective Catalan- and Basque-speaking audiences for political and social reasons, but practical difficulties mean they are unable to, and the third in that the speaker chooses to highlight the differences between himself and his non-Galician audience by assuming the identity of a first-language Galician speaker, (since it is presumed that the writer would be unable to get away with this technique in front of a Galician-speaking audience, who would soon notice his lack of knowledge in the language). These three examples show once again the importance of language in identity. All are from areas in Spain where regional languages are spoken, but their lack of ability with these languages is a cause of disgrace and shame for them. They are unable to feel fully Basque, fully Catalan, or fully Galician because they lack the linguistic knowledge in the languages that would allow them to do so. The third example is particularly telling. The speaker is consciously using language to display his identity to others, but instead of portraying his true identity, or a slightly modified version of this, he is covering his shame at his level of Galician by creating an alternative identity for himself and stating that he is in fact a Galician native speaker. This shows the deep-rooted sentiment that language is of fundamental importance in one’s identity. In fact, the language one uses and the way one speaks is so tightly woven into one’s identity that speakers will sometimes both consciously and unconsciously

²⁹ Salvador pp37-39.

drastically change the way in which they speak in order to manipulate the identity that they display to the world.

2.6 Section conclusion

In conclusion, therefore, it can be seen that language and identity are so inextricably linked that it is often difficult to think of one without the other. It has been seen that at least on a theoretical level, language can be seen as a useful tool to manipulate the identity displayed by speakers, and according to the same argument, the desire or the need to display a certain version of one's identity can be seen to influence the linguistic choices that individual speakers make. The theory is somewhat circular, with the communication of identity and the linguistic choices made being both a cause and an effect of one another. It stands to reason that this theory will be proved true in a real-life context. In order to examine the extent to which the linguistic choices made and the identity speakers choose to display can be seen to both cause and affect one another in a real-life situation, it is necessary to look at how examples of this can be seen within a concrete group of speakers from a certain speech community and cultural group. As mentioned above, it is the purpose of this essay to investigate the way and the extent to which the communication of identity plays a role within speakers' use of language, and how the use of language affects the communication of one's identity within one specific linguistic and cultural group.

SECTION THREE: THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT OF GALICIA

3.1 The particular importance of language and identity in Galicia

The specific region in which research will be conducted within this thesis will be Galicia, an autonomous community in Spain. This is an area with ‘evident social and natural bilingualism’,³⁰ and is populated by around three million people.³¹ According to Thornborrow’s above-cited comment, one’s use of language is fundamental in the expression and manipulation of one’s identity.³² Since all humans, regardless of the tongue they speak, use language as a tool to influence one’s interlocutor’s decoding of the identity signals displayed, it would follow that this practice would also take place amongst speakers in Galicia. In fact, the psychologists from the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Álvarez Torres, Fernández Fernández and Rodríguez Casal, have studied this phenomenon and have concluded that language is of particular importance in the creation and portrayal of a Galician identity. They explain this by stating that the historical circumstances that Galician has found itself in over the past eight hundred years have left its speakers with a degree of linguistic emotional baggage, which doubtless affects the linguistic choices speakers make and the identity they choose to display to others.³³ It is for this reason that Galicia and Galician-speakers

³⁰ Reguero Tenreiro, M. *A lingua galega no ensino obrigatorio* in Suárez, M.L. and Seone, I (Coords) *Letras galegas en Deusto – Dez anos de estudos galegos 1991-2001* (Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler, 2001) p16.

³¹ Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Estimaciones de la población actual de España calculadas a partir del censo 2001. Resultados por comunidades autónomas* <http://www.ine.es/jaxiBD/tabla.do> accessed 13/01/2009 at 15.31.

³² Thornborrow p158.

³³ Álvarez Torres, A, Fernández Fernández, C. and Rodríguez Casal, M. *Identidade social e lingua* in Álvarez Blanco, R, Fernández Rei, F. and Santamaría, A. (Eds.) *A Lingua Galega: Historia e Actualidade Vol.I Actas do I Congreso Internacional ‘A Lingua Galega’ Santiago de Compostela, 16-20 September 1996* (Santiago de Compostela, Consello da Cultura Galega, 2004) p166.

could be considered a particularly interesting case-study when examining the issue of language use and identity.

In order to understand the sociolinguistic context in which Galician currently exists, which as seen above, significantly affects language use and identity, it is necessary first to examine the history and current situation of the language. This will form the second part of the current work.

3.2 Brief history of Galician

3.2.1 Latin Roots and the Epoch of Splendour

The Galician language developed from Latin, which was brought to Galicia, then known as Gallaecia, between 29 and 19 BC.³⁴ The Galicians were slowly Latinised over time, with long periods of societal bilingualism.³⁵ The method by which this happened across the Roman Empire is described by Silva-Valdivia as the first part of a double linguistic process: first a process of attrition, leading to the eventual extinction of the languages already spoken in the conquered territories in favour of Latin, which was then followed by the fragmentation of this imposed tongue into what have now evolved into the Romance Languages.³⁶ The language that emerged from Latin in Galicia is known as Galician-Portuguese, and was different enough from Latin to be considered a

³⁴ Monteagudo, H. And Santamarina, A. *Galician and Castilian in Contact: Historical, Social and Linguistic Aspects* in Posnar, R. and Green, J. (Eds.) *Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 71: Trends in Romance Linguistics and Philology, Vol. V: Bilingualism and Linguistic Conflict in Romance* (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1993) p119.

³⁵ Campos, J.J. and Terceiro, M.V. *A lingua galega: unha loita pola supervivencia* in *Política Gallega* no.0, July-August 1990, p41.

³⁶ Silva-Valdivia, B. *Bacharelato – Lingua galega e literature: a sociolingüística* (Vigo: Galaxia, 2000) p14.

separate language as early as the 9th century.³⁷ Galician-Portuguese was the habitual language in the region during much of the High Middle Ages. Freixeiro Mato calls this period Galician's 'epoch of splendour', due to Galician-Portuguese's strong literary importance at the time.³⁸ The first texts we have in Galician-Portuguese date from around the 12th century, at which point, Campos and Terceiro state that the language can be seen to be fully normalised.³⁹ Also around this time, however, the language began to split into two main branches, Galician and Portuguese. This rupture, alongside the newfound dominance of Castile over all other peninsular kingdoms ended Galician-Portuguese's 'reign' as the written language of medieval Iberian lyric poetry.⁴⁰ During this period, Galician was used for all purposes, including high social functions.⁴¹

3.2.2 The Dark Ages of Galician

Between the 14th and the 16th centuries, however, Castilian-speaking nobles and clergy began to replace the Galician-speakers already fulfilling those roles, meaning the dominant social classes in Galicia spoke and wrote only in Castilian, with the exception of some courtly poetry. Galician became minoritised by Castilian, and as is often the case according to Beswick, the minoritised language forewent many social functions to the dominant one.⁴² The arrival of Castilian as a socially and economically dominant language within Galicia and the minoritisation of Galician led to the establishment of a stable diglossic situation, with Galician as the lower of the two languages, being spoken

³⁷ Xunta de Galicia *Galego: Galicia's Own Language* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1993) p18.

³⁸ Freixeiro Mato, X.R. *Lingua, nación e identidade* (Ames, Galicia: Edicións Laiovento, 2006) pp22-28.

³⁹ Campos and Terceiro p41.

⁴⁰ Beswick, J. *Attitudinal and Behavioural Observations Regarding Lexical Code-Switching in Santiago de Compostela* in *Galician Review* No.2 (1998) p16.

⁴¹ Freixeiro Mato 2006 p28.

⁴² Beswick, J. *Regional Nationalism in Spain: Language Use and Ethnic Identity in Galicia* (Clevedon, Multilingual Matters, 2007) p16.

only by the lower classes.⁴³ By this point, the use of Galician had already started to connote certain aspects of a speaker's identity. The linguistic situation at this time in Galicia was one of diglossia without individual bilingualism, the two languages were mutually comprehensible, and the differences between the two were so slight that Galician was often considered as merely a stigmatised variety of Castilian, not as a separate language.⁴⁴ This, alongside the fact that no standardised written form of the language existed gave rise to the idea that Galician was lacking in prestige and worth, and Galician speakers became the butt of many Spanish jokes for their 'bumpkin' image.⁴⁵ Galician was spoken only by the lower echelons of society, which in fact constituted the vast majority of the population, during a four hundred year period known as the 'dark ages' of the language.⁴⁶ As Beswick explains, knowledge of Castilian was a prerequisite for any person aiming for upward social mobility, and any remaining Galician-speaking nobles and wealthy urban dwellers learnt Castilian out of social necessity and a desire to speak what was perceived to be a noble and courtly tongue.⁴⁷ This process clearly reflects the sociolinguistic theory discussed above: aware of the role language plays in the establishment and communication of identity, speakers aiming to portray the image of being wealthy, noble and upwardly socially mobile, would manipulate their use of language to suit. Such speakers would use Castilian, and not Galician, which connoted a lack of sophistication. Monteagudo and Santamarina state this process of 'degaleguization' led to the linguistic and cultural assimilation of the Galician nobility, and by the 16th century, Castilian had replaced Galician in official

⁴³ Beswick 1998 p16.

⁴⁴ Beswick 1998 p16.

⁴⁵ Beswick 2007 p62.

⁴⁶ Reguero Tenreiro p19.

⁴⁷ Beswick 2007 p61.

documents.⁴⁸ Before long, Galician stopped being used in written form, and its oral use highlighted a distinct class split, as only the upper echelons of society had access to Castilian. Galician and its speakers were excluded from social prestige.⁴⁹

This situation lasted until the time of the European Industrial Revolution. Although Galicia did not enjoy the level of socioeconomic changes this brought about elsewhere, and remained (and indeed still remains) relatively rural, Galicia did undergo a degree of agrarian and economic reform. At this time the countryside was the refuge of the Galician language, as those living in isolated rural communities had little need to shift languages to Castilian. At the beginning of the 19th century 95% of the Galician population spoke Galician habitually. Since virtually the whole rural community spoke Galician, the wish to portray the identity connoted by the use of Castilian was largely redundant, and rural speakers did not feel the need to shift languages for identity purposes. Later on, however, an economic crisis in the agricultural and fishing industries led to a significant rural exodus. Rural Galician speakers then found themselves living in increasingly Castilianised cities, and any migrants aspiring to better themselves soon switched to Castilian.⁵⁰

3.2.3 The Rexurdimento

The 19th century, however, brought with it self-confidence from political victory over the French in the *Guerra de la Independencia Española* (or the Peninsular War), and rebelliousness from the Western European movement of Romanticism. Thus began a

⁴⁸ Monteagudo and Santamarina p121.

⁴⁹ Monteagudo and Santamarina pp121-122.

⁵⁰ Beswick 2007 pp61-66.

period of literary renaissance for the Galician language: the *Rexurdimento*.⁵¹ Four hundred years of existence as a purely oral language in tiny isolated rural communities, alongside centuries of interference from Castilian via the ruling classes had led to a significant degree of dialectal fragmentation within Galician.⁵²

The publication of writers in Galician started to increase the language's prestige, although Galician had no standard written form. By the late 19th century the first grammars and dictionaries in Galician had started to be published, but for the most part these made heavy use of Castilian as a model of both comparison and contrast, ignoring Galician's closest linguistic evolutionary sibling, Portuguese.⁵³ The first fully Galician-language newspaper went to press in 1876.⁵⁴

Despite the degree of literary recovery that had taken place during the latter part of the 19th century, oral usage of Galician continued to decline.⁵⁵ Galician continued to be spoken in rural communities, but urban dwellers tended to speak more Castilian in the desire for social mobility. The rural exodus of the early 19th century did not stop, and as the urban population grew, the level of spoken usage of Galician fell. The situation was exacerbated by the rural deprivation that encouraged mass emigration from Galicia to Latin America.⁵⁶ Since Galician was at its strongest in rural communities, the high levels of migration and immigration that considerably affected the size of the rural population had a significant impact on the level of habitual Galician use. During the

⁵¹ Campos and Terceiro p42.

⁵² Monteagudo and Santamarina p122.

⁵³ Freixeiro Mato 2006 p57.

⁵⁴ *Exposicións e actividades: Da imprenta. Dos impresores e encadernadores. Do libro e da prensa.* <http://www.museodopobo.es/expo-sala-prensa.php> accessed 04/01/2009 at 15.16.

⁵⁵ Xunta de Galicia *Galego: Galicia's Own Language* p22.

⁵⁶ Barton p173.

same period, at an official level, the improvement in the status of Galician seemed to be gaining momentum, with the creation of the Real Academia Galega (RAG) in 1905, and the publication of late 19th and early 20th century literature, newspapers and periodicals in Galician. Nevertheless, the *degaleguization* of the newly urban population and the emerging middle classes continued, leading to a massive language shift from Galician to Castilian around the turn of the 20th century.⁵⁷ In June 1936 Galician and Castilian were named official languages in Galicia in the *Estatuto Galego*, although the outbreak of the Civil War the following month and the subsequent establishment of Franco's fascist regime in 1939 meant this did not come into effect.⁵⁸

3.2.4 The Longa Noite de Pedra

In a bid to unite all regions of Spain and all regional cultures into just one 'Spanish' culture, Franco's regime centralised Spain's political power. This 'rigorous cultural homogenization' prohibited all traditional manifestations of regional culture, including dance, music and regional languages in the public domain, meaning the Galician *Rexurdimento* was repressed.⁵⁹ Continuing urban migration due to growing industrialisation, alongside the prohibition of the public use of Galician caused further language shifting towards Castilian, and also led to increased lexical and syntactic interference from Castilian in Galician. Nationalist propaganda depicting the use of Galician as unpatriotic and barbarian exacerbated the problem. The Galician usage dropped even further as Galicians were ashamed to speak their language in public for fear of portraying their identity according to the stereotypical image of the rustic and

⁵⁷ Monteagudo and Santamarina pp125-126.

⁵⁸ Freixeiro Mato 2006 p83.

⁵⁹ Barton 2006 pp232-233.

uneducated Galician.⁶⁰ The situation of Galician had taken a large step backwards and the language entered into what is often referred to as the ‘longa noite de pedra’. Galician had existed for a long period as the lower language within a diglossic situation, with very little modern literary history. Moreover, centuries of illiteracy, stereotyping and linguistic belittling had caused many to view Galician as merely a dialect of Castilian. This, alongside considerable linguistic interference, language shifting and dialectal fragmentation had placed the health of Galician in jeopardy. The suppression to which Galician, like all regional languages and cultural practices in Spain, was subjected under Franco’s regime, was almost the straw that broke the camel’s back for the language’s continuation. This had seriously damaged the state, stability and health of an already weakened language, and it placed Galician in an extremely precarious position. Many linguists, including Beswick, have expressed views that the death of Galician as a living language was a not too distant step away, given the state of health that Galician was in by the time of Franco’s death.⁶¹

However, this worst case scenario never actually took place. Throughout the period of Franquismo many people did continue speaking Galician at home. Furthermore, use of the language by political dissidents became a manifestation of anti-Franco resistance.⁶² In 1950 the publishing house Galaxia was created and in 1965 the only Galician university of the time, the Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, opened its department of Galician language and literature. In 1971 the Instituto da Lingua Galega

⁶⁰ Roseman, S. ‘*Lenguas de solidaridad*’ en *el medio rural: El mantenimiento del gallego-vernáculo*. In Rodríguez Campos, X. (Coord.) *As Linguas e as identidades: Ensaio de etnografía e de interpretación antropolóxica* (Santiago de Compostela: University of Santiago de Compostela press, 1997) p109.

⁶¹ Beswick 1998 p16.

⁶² Fernández-Velho, P. et al. *Relatório quinze anos de normalização lingüística na Galiza* in Peeters, Y. J.D. (Ed.) *Poder, ideologia e lingua* (A Coruña: Venus Artes Gráficas, 1991) p18.

(ILG) was set up to work primarily within the areas of toponyms, philology and linguistics. All this, combined with the ‘flame of Galician’ that was kept burning largely by political exiles,⁶³ and the eventual relaxation of policies regarding the use of languages other than Castilian in Spain towards the end of Franco’s regime meant that Galician did survive this period, and that although it had been very much weakened by almost four decades of prohibition and was considered by linguists, such as Moralejo Álvarez, to be in a ‘critical state’, Galician reached the end of the dictatorship as a living language.⁶⁴

3.2.5 The Transition to Democracy

The death of Franco in 1975 and the subsequent transition to democracy marked a major turning point for Spain’s regional cultures and languages. The transition period was for Fraile, ‘the end of decades of linguistic marginalisation and repression’ and allowed them to enter into what he calls a ‘period of rehabilitation and extension of use’.⁶⁵ In 1978 the Spanish Constitution was promulgated, marking the start of a new stage in Spanish political history. The devolution of power from a fully centralised government to the creation of seventeen regional autonomous communities led to a recovery of local identities and a renaissance of Basque, Catalan and Galician languages and regional cultures.⁶⁶ Political decentralisation had paved the way for a new official mindset in which regional identity and culture was seen as important and something to protect and treasure. Given the particular significance of the link between language and identity in Galicia, and the poor state of health in which Galician entered the new

⁶³ Xunta de Galicia, *Galego: Galicia’s Own Language* p24.

⁶⁴ Moralejo Álvarez, J.J. *A lingua galega hoxe* (Vigo: Galaxia, 1977) p142.

⁶⁵ Fraile, A. *Da lingüística á política. Actualidade do conflito sobre a normativización da lingua galega* in Casares, C. (Dir.) *Grial* no.141 Jan-March 1999 p151.

⁶⁶ Barton pp254-255.

democratic era, attention soon turned to the language itself. The 1981 Galician Estatuto de Autonomía made Galician co-official with Castilian and the 1983 Lei de normalización lingüística (LNL) provided the language with methods for social and linguistic rehabilitation and modernisation.

3.2.6 The Creation of a Norm

The long period of societal bilingualism with diglossia in which Galician had existed as the lower language, in addition to the language shifting that had taken place had led to Galician's severe dialectal fragmentation. Following Rosenblat's above-cited idea that one of the most fundamentally defining and identifying characteristics of a social group is its language,⁶⁷ linguistic unification by the creation of an official variety was seen as the only way Galicia's identity could be preserved, its language promoted, and its culture kept from further fragmentation.⁶⁸ Furthermore, it was hoped that a normative variety would restore the prestige that Galicia and its language had long been lacking,⁶⁹ and would place Galician on an equal legislative footing as many other European languages. This would then raise the social status of Galician, preventing any further language shifting to Castilian, and promoting and encouraging the use of Galician outside the home by changing the identity displayed by the use of Galician.

The official norms were created by linguists from the ILG, employed by those from the RAG, with the objectives of modernising the language to restore its social status, to ensure its survival and to guarantee the possibility for any citizen to conduct their whole

⁶⁷ Rosenblat, *Á La población indígena y el mestizaje en América* (Buenos Aires, 1954) p31. In Alvar, M. *Español en dos mundos* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 2002) p134.

⁶⁸ Beswick 2007 p67.

⁶⁹ Moralejo Álvarez p19.

life in Galician.⁷⁰ The norms were made official in 1982 and were closely followed by the 1983 LNL, which provided a set of regulations and recommendations to help restore the social status of Galician and to ensure the efficacy of the new norms.⁷¹

Prior to the norms were being made official, speaking in *La Voz de Galicia*, the Xunta de Galicia's Filgueira Valverde explained that the ILG's norms were created in such a way as to preserve the way Galician was actually spoken, and to not impose a radically different and elitist form onto Galician speakers.⁷² Any seeming Castilianisms are put down by ILG to the fact that Castilian and Galician are linguistically similar.⁷³ The ILG state that the norms they created that represent the language of the majority of the Galician-speaking population, and that the norms aim to make Galician the 'linguistic vehicle for all Galicians', not just a select few.⁷⁴ The norms are a koiné, a *lingua franca* pieced together from snippets of all the varieties spoken, according to their levels of usage,⁷⁵ and have been described by Rodríguez Neira as 'un fino caldo de crianza sen denominación de orixe'.⁷⁶ The ILG norms are widely accepted by speakers and linguists alike.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Xunta de Galicia, *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega, Sector 2: Educación, familia e mocidade* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2006) p21.

⁷¹ *Lei 3/1983, do 15 de xuño de Normalización Lingüística*

<http://www.galego.org/lexislacion/xbasica/lei3-83.html> accessed 12/08/2009 00:15.

⁷² Filgueira Valverde, in *La Voz de Galicia*, 17/07/1982 in Fraile p155.

⁷³ Moralejo Álvarez p143.

⁷⁴ RAG and ILG, *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma galego* (Santiago de Compostela: Real Academia Galega, 2005) Electronic Edition, p5.

⁷⁵ Vilasó Martínez, M. Instituto da Lingua Galega. Interviewed at Praza da Universidade, 4, Santiago de Compostela, 08/03/2007.

⁷⁶ Rodríguez Neira, M. *A lingua galega nos comezos do novo milenio* in Bugarín López, M.X. et al, *Actas da VIII Conferencia Internacional de Linguas Minoritarias*, Santiago de Compostela, 22-24 November 2001 (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2002) p137.

⁷⁷ González González, M. *A lingua galega ante os desafíos do século XXI* in Xunta de Galicia, *Actas do congreso: A Cultura no século XXI realizado pola Dirección Xeral de Promoción Cultural en Santiago de Compostela, 2-5 May 2001* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2001) p74.

The official norms are not, however, the only set of norms available for Galician speakers. An alternative set of linguists the Associação Galega da Língua, (AGAL) have produced a different set of Galician norms which could be considered as the product of a reaction against those of the ILG. The AGAL consider the ILG's norms to be excessively based on Castilian, chiefly within orthography, which they feel is to the detriment of the continuing health of Galician. The AGAL protest at the ILG's supposed close alignment of Galician to Castilian, arguing that their inclusion of the 'ñ' betrays politics of 'nationalism of the coloniser',⁷⁸ and shows the ILG to be 'more Spanish than they had suspected'.⁷⁹ The connotation, therefore, would be that the ILG based Galician on Castilian norms, or perhaps that they have tried to impose Castilian norms onto the Galician language, but naturally, the ILG are not in agreement with this idea.

The AGAL's norms are based far more heavily on Portuguese as a model than are those of the ILG, and they aim to strengthen the link between Galician and Portuguese, given their opinion the two are actually still varieties of the same language, Galego-Português.⁸⁰ At the same time they aim to distance Galician from Castilian in order to, as Freixeiro Mato states, guard against the risk that Galician is reduced to a mere dialect of Castilian.⁸¹ Because of this, the style of Galician advocated by the AGAL is often termed *reintegracionista*, since the AGAL and their followers believe in the reintegration of Galician into Portuguese. The close alignment of Galician to Portuguese places Galician under the protective wings of the large and strong Lusophone language

⁷⁸ Banhos Campo, A. in *Colóquio*, following conference discussions based on Peeters p54.

⁷⁹ Garcia Santiago, J. in *Colóquio*, following conference discussions based on Peeters p54.

⁸⁰ Castro Lopes, M. *Manual de iníciação à língua galega* (Ferrol: Fundação Artábria, 1998) p17.

⁸¹ Freixeiro Mato, X.R. *Reflexións a respeito da situación da lingua galega* in Fundación Enclave, *Xornadas de Coordinación de Política Lingüística* (Galicia: Fundación Enclave, 2003) p21.

family.⁸² This means that the survival of Galician is ensured by default, since the survival of Portuguese is considered a safe bet at this time. Use of the AGAL's norms, although not always political, is often read by the rest of the Galician-speaking population as a highly politically motivated choice and an expression of Galician nationalism and separatism from the rest of Spain. Those who choose to employ this set of norms do so in the knowledge, and indeed sometimes *because of* the identity of themselves that they will connote to their reader.

3.3 The Current Sociolinguistic Situation of Galician

3.3.1 The effectiveness of the language planning measures

The effectiveness of the language planning measures put into place has been somewhat debatable. Information from the 2001 census shows a rise to 99.16% from 96.96% in 1991 in the Galician population who consider themselves capable of understanding Galician.⁸³ However, it must be taken into account that the two languages have a very high level of mutual comprehensibility, and that despite rises in the figures of people who *can* speak Galician, figures of those who actually *do* are falling. Between 1991 and 2001, figures of those who never speak Galician rose, and more than doubled in some age brackets.⁸⁴ Similarly, figures relating to the initial language of those born in Galicia show a drop from 62.4% in Galician in 1992 to 34.05% in 2003, and a rise from 25.6% for Castilian to 42.6% for the same period.⁸⁵ The figures do not seem to bode well for a language that is receiving such a level of support from language planning measures.

⁸² Fernández Rei, F. *¿Existe ou non unha lingua galega moderna? O ILG e o debate sobre a norma do galego* in *A Trabe de Ouro* no.42 April-June 2000 p207.

⁸³ Xunta de Galicia *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega* p10.

⁸⁴ Xunta de Galicia p10.

⁸⁵ Portas Ferro, X. *Sobre o provir da lingua galega* in *Cedofeita* no.8 October 2004 pp31-32.

That is not to say the measures have been wholly ineffective. They have had some success. For example, they have encouraged an increase in the use of Galician in official domains, such as politics, where according to Rodríguez Campos, Galician is now dominant.⁸⁶ Furthermore, the start of broadcasting in 1985 of the Galician television channel,⁸⁷ TVG (Televisión de Galicia), and the Radio Station RG (Radiotelevisión de Galicia), have, according to the Consello da Cultura Galega proved to be advantageous to the social value of Galician.⁸⁸ Elsewhere in society, however, the measures are not fully enforced. Data from 2001 shows that on average only 31.4% of schools were fulfilling the regulations regarding the levels of usage of Galician compared to Castilian.⁸⁹ Rodríguez Campos goes as far as to say that despite progress in leaps and bounds in terms of laws and regulations and within Administration, at this time Galician remains marginalised in normal life.⁹⁰

3.3.2 The current diglossic situation

Monteagudo and Santamarina state that the recent language planning measures have altered the diglossia seen in Galicia and propose the following diagram:⁹¹

⁸⁶ Rodríguez Campos, X. *A Lingua e a identidade no campesiñado galego* in Gondar Portasanay, M. (Coord) *O Feito diferencial galego na Antropoloxía, Vol I* (Santiago de Compostela: A Editorial da Historia, 1999) p110.

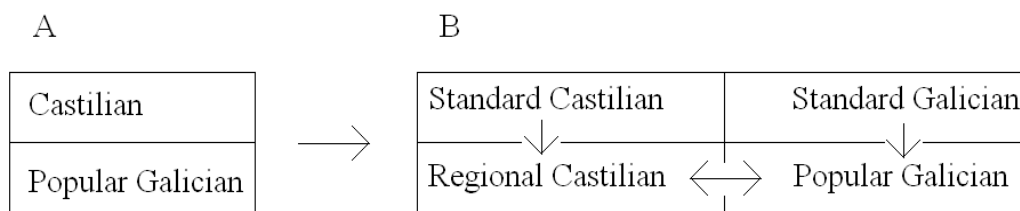
⁸⁷ *Historia TVG* <http://www.crtvg.es/CRTVG/his.asp?Tipo=CIA> accessed 11/09/2009 13:35.

⁸⁸ Consello da Cultura Galega, *Sobre a situación da lingua* (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 1990) p6.

⁸⁹ Constenla Berguiero, G. *A situación do galego: do colonialismo á mundialización. Unha lectura política* in Bringas López, A. and Martín Lucas, B. (Eds.) *Nacionalismo e globalización: Lingua, cultura e identidade* (Vigo: Universidade de Vigo, 2003) p60.

⁹⁰ Rodríguez Campos 1999 p110.

⁹¹ Diagram reproduced from: Monteagudo and Santamarina p145.



(A) shows the traditional diglossic situation which they state remained stable for centuries, and which has recently given way to the situation shown in (B), where the standard forms of both Castilian and Galician are jostling for position in formal purposes, with both competing for usage.⁹² Alongside this can be placed Green's view of the existence of a degree of secondary diglossia in the current sociolinguistic context of Galicia. He states that the normative variety of Galician has introduced an extra diglossic level: that of Standard Galician, which is a high and largely urban form, in comparison with the 'patchwork' of low, rural varieties spoken by the majority of the population.⁹³ Beswick takes this one step further by giving findings suggesting a trend of a possible future reversal in the diglossic situation, where Castilian becomes the low language and Galician the high.⁹⁴ This is not the current situation, however, and Rodríguez Neira's findings show the traditional diglossic situation of old remains in place in many contexts, with Galician reserved on the whole for informal situations.⁹⁵

In terms of linguistic choices, the 91.04% of Galicians, who in the 2001 census declared themselves capable of expressing themselves in Galician are faced with a clear set of

⁹² Monteagudo and Santamarina p145.

⁹³ Green, J. *Language Status and Political Aspirations: The Case of Northern Spain* in Parry, M. Davies W. and Temple, R. *The Changing Voices of Europe: Social and Political Changes and Their Linguistic Repercussions, Past, Present and Future* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994) p165.

⁹⁴ Beswick 1998 p25.

⁹⁵ Rodríguez Neira, M. *Panorama da situación sociolingüística do galego nos universitarios*. In Álvarez Blanco et al. *A Lingua Galega: Historia e Actualidade. Vol. V. Actas do I Congreso Internacional, 16-20 de setembro de 1996*. (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2004) p394.

options:⁹⁶ not only can they modify their linguistic choices within one language, their bilingualism means they can be provided with a second set of linguistic choices from their additional language. They are also faced with a third choice: that of which language they opt to employ at any given time. This ‘Castilian or Galician?’ choice could be seen as encompassing the two others, meaning that whenever a bilingual Galician-Castilian speaker uses language to communicate, the linguistic choices are read by his interlocutor as an expression of firstly the identity group relating to which language he employs, and secondly, within this language choice, an expression of the specific identity connoted by his individual use of varieties of that language. This is a set of linguistic-identity choices within a set of linguistic-identity choices. This dual-choice situation that has been created by the introduction of the Galician norms has been described by Fernández Rei as an example of *macrodiglossia*,⁹⁷ to use Trumper’s term, or *double overlapping diglossia*, to use Fasold’s.⁹⁸ Standard Castilian (or at least the standard regional variety spoken in Galicia⁹⁹) remains the higher language in the diglossic situation amongst most of the population, whilst the low language, Galician, can be split into two levels: high Galician (Normative Galician) and low Galician (Popular Galician).¹⁰⁰ Obviously there are two varieties of what could be called ‘Normative Galician’, relating to the two versions of the linguistic norms. Some speakers are aware of the standard forms for both languages *and* the popular forms for both languages, and so are able to make any of the linguistic-identity choices available

⁹⁶ Xunta de Galicia, *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega* p10.

⁹⁷ Trumper, J. *Ricostruzione nell’Italia settentrionale: Sistemi consonantici. Considerazioni sociolinguistiche nella diacronia* in Raffaele Simona and Ugo Vignuzzi, *Problema della ricostruzione in linguística. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi - Pavia 1-2 Ottobre 1975* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1977) pp263-265.

⁹⁸ Fasold p45.

⁹⁹ Monteagudo and Santamaria p145.

¹⁰⁰ Fernández Rei, F. *As linguas románicas minorizadas e o seu futuro na era da globalización* in Bringas López, A. and Martín Lucas, B. (Eds.) *Nacionalismo e globalización: Lingua, cultura e identidade* (Vigo: Universidade de Vigo, 2003) p41.

to them. This is the case amongst many speakers schooled since the 1983 LNL. Other speakers do not speak Galician at home so their choices are restricted to Normative Galician or Normative or Popular Castilian, (or indeed mixtures of any of the above, since speakers may choose – consciously or unconsciously - to include syntax, lexemes or phonemes from any variety available to them, irrespective of the variety they are mainly communicating in). For others the inverse is true, and they are able to choose from Normative Castilian and also Normative or Popular Galician. For many older speakers, particularly including those who were schooled during the most oppressive periods of Franquismo, their choices are restricted options from just Standard Castilian or Popular Galician, although the linguistic choices available to each individual speaker will differ according to a set of factors, such as reading habits, their first or main language and level of schooling.

3.3.3 The fear of making ‘mistakes’ in the newly-normalised Galician

The introduction of the norm has undoubtedly complicated language choices for speakers. According to Beswick’s research, first-language Galician speakers who have not been schooled in the new normative variety, that is to say those educated during and before Franco’s regime, are often inclined to use Castilian in all situations except the very informal, for fear of making ‘mistakes’ in Galician by producing forms that are not correct according to the norms. Having been educated in Castilian they are sure of normative Castilian forms, so to avoid risking errors in Galician they will abandon the language altogether in situations with any degree of formality above the very informal.¹⁰¹ This illustrates the point that speakers are aware, either consciously or

¹⁰¹ Beswick 1998 p18.

unconsciously, of the identity that they invite their interlocutors to decode, based on their use of language. In order to avoid any possibility of appearing ignorant or uneducated, which they believe may happen if they speak in their own regional variety of Galician and not the new normative variety to those who may judge them for doing so, they will make a conscious choice to switch languages altogether and will communicate using Castilian. Others still choose Castilian over Galician, regardless of their capabilities in the latter due to the continuation of negative attitudes towards the use of Galician, feeling that Castilian is ‘more acceptable universally and indicative of social advancement’, despite the 1983 LNL and the language planning measures that had been put into place.¹⁰²

3.3.4 A linguistic Catch-22

In the same vein, Roseman describes the way Galician speakers may feel uncomfortable if someone they know begins to speak the normalised variety of Galician rather than their authentic, natural variety.¹⁰³ As she explains, this is an example of the Social Identity Theory in practice; speakers who grew up speaking a regional and therefore non-normative variety of Galician who, having learnt the ILG’s normative variety, begin to use this with people they knew before they spoke in this way, display a different version of their identity to their interlocutor by doing so. The interlocutor may well view this as an example of linguistic divergence, which leads to sentiments of discomfort, as if the speaker has gained aspects of a new identity alongside this new variety of Galician, or wishes to suppress certain aspects of their identity that their natural variety of Galician may display. It seems as though speakers educated before the

¹⁰² Beswick 2007 p231.

¹⁰³ Roseman p106.

transition to democracy are in somewhat of a catch-22: ignorance or lack of use of the official norms may connote an identity of being unintelligent, or a ‘country bumpkin’, whilst use of the normative variety can suggest a false air of superiority and separateness from regional Galician, whether this is actually the case or not. Furthermore, use of the AGAL’s norms may suggest within the speaker a certain political inclination, implying a conscious rejection of the official norms in favour of a style which many people see as a demonstration of highly politicised opinions in support of Galician nationalism and separatism, or even of Lusism.

3.3.5 Attitudes towards Galician by young speakers

The language planning measures introduced since the 1980s have not even managed significantly to alter the identity decoded by younger speakers in Galicia when they hear a Galician accent. The RAG’s 2003 study entitled *O Galego Segundo A Mocidade* involved participants who were aged between 14 and 20. These participants were not alive during Franquismo, and were born in the same year or after the introduction of the LNL. Even by these participants, a Galician accent was decoded as a signal that a speaker was less attractive, less intelligent, less innovative, less interested in progressing, less educated, less self-confident and less capable of leadership than the same voices when speaking with a Castilian accent. The Galician accents were, however, judged more generous and more proud than the Castilian accents.¹⁰⁴ The participants were also asked to match a series of portrait photographs and a list of professions to the voices they heard, which generated the following results: ‘os rostros máis atractivos e interesantes, xunto coas profesións cun maior prestixio, asóciáanse ó

¹⁰⁴ González González, M. (Dir.) *O Galego Segundo A Mocidade* (A Coruña: RAG, 2003) pp35-36.

acento castelán. Sen embargo, cando os participantes falan variedades con acento galego, sucede o fenómeno oposto'.¹⁰⁵ Even Galicians born since the introduction of the language planning measures, and in what Álvarez Torres et al describe as a 'contexto histórico social e cultural que comeza a valorar a lingua propia e empregala como elemento identificativo e distintivo' link a Galician accent, even when speaking Castilian, to characteristics that have long been associated with the use of Galician. The identity signals of the speaker are decoded accordingly, and are taken to suggest a less sophisticated, less educated and less upwardly socially mobile identity than the same voices with a Castilian accent.

3.4 Section conclusion

It is unsurprising that in a speech community in which, as explained above, the link between language and identity is at such a state of heightened importance given the specific sociolinguistic context of the region that speakers would be consciously aware of the identity connotations they display by their use of language and would manipulate their language use to deliberately affect their placement within certain social groups. Speakers of other languages however, although as human beings are unconsciously acutely aware of this phenomenon, may not outwardly and consciously pay so much attention to the way they and others around them use language to communicate.

Given that, as seen above, speakers within areas where there are two or more differing linguistic varieties employed are often more acutely aware of the identity implications of any linguistic choice made, it can be taken as read that bilingual Galician-Castilian

¹⁰⁵ González González 2003 p69.

speakers would not buck this trend, especially given the very specific linguistic context of Galicia, and the particular importance of the language-identity link seen and felt by all there. Individual speakers are able to vary the linguistic variety they use in order to manipulate the identity they display. Consciously or unconsciously, all speakers make these choices according to the rules of the Speech Accommodation Theory, and are able to control the levels of convergence or divergence that they show to their interlocutor through the linguistic choices they make. Thanks to Galicia's specific linguistic context, speakers there are more overtly aware of the choices available to them and the identity these choices connote. Unlike in various other places and amongst other speech communities, in Galicia the set of linguistic choices available to speakers and the secondary functions of language are not merely sociolinguistic theory that speakers are aware of at an unconscious level; in Galicia language and the linguistic choices continue to form a very important part of a life at a conscious level for both individuals, faced with charged linguistic choices, all with various identity connotations every time they speak, and for society itself which is struggling to keep hold of its linguistic and cultural difference.

SECTION FOUR: SELECTED LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 Section introduction

Having looked carefully at the theory of language use as an expression of identity, and at the particular sociolinguistic context of Galicia, it is necessary to look more specifically at recent studies that have been carried out in the field that may be relevant to this thesis. Five such studies will be reviewed below in order to give a brief overview of the work previously carried out in this topic and to provide a contextual background against which to place the current study.

4.1.1 Study One: J. Beswick, *Attitudinal and Behavioural Observations Regarding Lexical Code-Switching in Santiago de Compostela, 1998.*

In 1998 Beswick studied the attitudes and behaviour regarding the use of language of a small group of people living in and around Santiago de Compostela.¹⁰⁶ Beswick's participants came from a range of ages and educational backgrounds, and although with just ten participants her sample size was very small, the findings she came up with are quite interesting, and reveal much about the sociolinguistic situation in Santiago at the time. Beswick found that despite fifteen years having passed since the 1983 promulgation of the Lei de Normalización Lingüística and the associated language planning measures that had been brought into reality since that point, the majority of speakers' attitudes regarding the use of Galician in this 1998 study did not reflect the fact that these measures had been successful. On the contrary, many people still stuck to the belief that it was better to employ the 'correct' language, appropriate for the situation, showing that the traditional Castilian-Galician diglossic state with Galician as

¹⁰⁶ Beswick 1998 pp14-35.

the lower of the two languages remained firmly in place. The only exception to this was found in her youngest participant, a schoolgirl, who stated that because she spoke mainly Galician at school and Castilian at home, a situation of diglossia still existed, only that for her Galician was the language reserved for more formal situations, and Castilian was the one she spoke naturally at home and with her friends. That is to say for some speakers the traditional diglossic state had been turned on its head since the introduction of Galician into the education system. Older native speakers of Galician expressed feelings of reluctance to speak Galician in anything other than the most informal of situations, due to a fear of making ‘errors’ in Galician, since, having been schooled only in Castilian they were sure of the Castilian norms. The creation of the Galician norms, however, meant there was now a ‘correct’ version of their mother tongue, meaning that if the traditional variety of Galician they spoke differed from the normative variety this was viewed as a linguistic error. This is a manifestation of the observer’s paradox since the presence of the researcher or of the recording equipment influenced the formality of the situation in which these speakers found themselves, meaning they were no longer in the most informal situation of speaking to family members inside the home. In the view that it is better to speak ‘correct’ Castilian rather than ‘incorrect’ Galician, they chose to speak in Castilian in situations with any degree of formality above very informal. To this Beswick applies Green’s view that this is an example of the creation of diglossia within diglossia, a phenomenon which other linguists have labelled *macrodiglossia* and *double overlapping diglossia*, that is to say that there is now a low Galician (traditional Galician), and a high Galician (standard Galician), both of which are placed below Castilian, in a macrodiglossic state.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Green in Parry *et al* p165.

Beswick also reported a significant amount of codeswitching to have taken place within the interviews she carried out and the conversations she tape recorded, for which she gives four main reasons: firstly, the putting into practice of the speech accommodation theory, causing speakers either to converge or diverge from the speech of their interlocutor, secondly, a lack of knowledge of certain morphemes in the matrix language, necessitating the embedding of morphemes from the other variety (to use terms from Myers-Scotton¹⁰⁸), thirdly, the fact that speakers may be unaware that certain forms are not actually part of the matrix language, meaning they are codeswitching inadvertently (to which can be added the possibility that the form *is* part of the variety of Galician being employed, but *not* of normative Galician, in which case codeswitching is not strictly taking place at all), and fourthly, the intentional use of codeswitching to ‘make jokes funnier’ or to reflect the speech of a person being discussed.

Beswick reports a ‘ubiquitous predominance of Castilian’ amongst what she terms the Post-Franco Era (PFE) age-group, by which she means those already of school age when the educational reforms which introduced Galician to the classroom took place. This differs only when speaking to a small child, when the PFE speakers involved are reported to have switched into Galician, later stating they did so in order to teach the child ‘a lingua dos seus pais’, suggesting that although these speakers do not generally speak Galician as a rule, that they still value the knowledge of Galician, and see the transmission of the language to children as very culturally valuable and important.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Myers-Scotton, C. *Comparing Codeswitching and Borrowing* in Eastman, C. (Ed.) *Codeswitching* (Multilingual Matters: Clevedon, 1992) pp19-39.

¹⁰⁹ Beswick 1998 p19.

On the whole, Beswick's findings seem to suggest a cultural attachment to Galician, and positive attitudes towards the language. What is meant by this is that speakers tend to value Galician as a cultural differentiator or stronghold, despite its perceived lesser economic value in the contemporary sociolinguistic context, although because of this economic value they may not choose to use Galician in certain situations. Speakers from the PFE and older, however, appeared to have retained the ideas of the traditional diglossic situation, despite fifteen years of language planning measures.

4.1.2 Study Two: Rodríguez Neira, M. *Panorama da situación sociolingüística do galego nos universitarios, 1996.*

A 2004 study by Modesto Rodríguez Neira exploring the respective usages of Galician and Castilian by university students and graduates yielded similar results to those of Beswick, despite the six years that passed between the two studies.¹¹⁰ Rodríguez Neira asked participants to describe their customary use of language in various situations. 39.1% of students reported that they used Galician habitually, and their responses for the other listed situations give an average reported usage of 34.75%. These ranged from 58.9% with their maternal grandparents, 45.1% with their mothers, and 42.4% with workmates to just 23.1% with specialist doctors and 7.5% when reading. Overall, Rodríguez Neira's results show a strong tendency towards the use of Castilian in formal situations, with Galician reserved for informal contexts. Linguistic prestige is retained for Castilian, showing, as in Beswick's findings, that the traditional diglossic situation remains in place.

¹¹⁰ Rodríguez Neira 2004 pp389-402.

4.1.3 Study Three: Álvarez Torres, Fernández Fernández and Rodríguez Casal, *Identidade social e lingua*

In 1996, the psychologists Álvarez Torres, Fernández Fernández and Rodríguez Casal looked at the relationship between attitudes to Galician and Galician social identity amongst students from the University of Santiago de Compostela.¹¹¹ 300 participants with a mean age of 21.9 years were asked to rate various phrases such as ‘non me sinto galego’, and ‘estou orgulloso de ser galego’ on a Likert scale.¹¹² Rather unsurprisingly, the researchers’ findings showed a strong correlation between the participants’ attitudes to the use of Galician and a Galician social identity, and found that the stronger the students’ Galician social identity, the more favourable their attitudes were towards the Galician language.

4.1.4 Study Four: Iglesias Álvarez and Ramallo, *Relocalización, identidades e linguas periféricas: O caso galego, 2003.*

Looking at a similar issue but from a linguistic rather than psychological point of view, Iglesias Álvarez and Ramallo studied the relationship between language and identity amongst students.¹¹³ Drawing a comparison between those students who come from urban areas and those from rural areas, Iglesias and Ramallo noted various differences in the relationship between language and identity amongst these two groups. On the whole, students from urban backgrounds are reported to have stated that although language is a useful part of one’s identity that it is not a necessary or essential part, and

¹¹¹ Álvarez Torres, A, Fernández Fernández, C. and Rodríguez Casal, M. *Identidade social e lingua* in Álvarez Blanco, R, Fernández Rei, F. and Santamaría, A. (Eds.) *A Lingua Galega: Historia e Actualidade Vol.I Actas do I Congreso Internacional ‘A Lingua Galega’ Santiago de Compostela, 16-20 September 1996* (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2004) pp165-171.

¹¹² A Likert Scale is a type of psychometric scale often used in questionnaires. Participants are asked to specify their level of agreement to a statement. See Mogey, N. *Evaluation Cookbook*, http://www.icbl.hw.ac.uk/itdi/cookbook/info_likert_scale/ accessed 12/06/2010 at 09.53.

¹¹³ Iglesias Álvarez, A. and Ramallo, F. *Relocalización, identidades e linguas periféricas: O caso galego* in Bringas López, A. and Martín Lucas, B. (Eds.) *Nacionalismo e globalización: Lingua, cultura e identidade* (Vigo: Universidade de Vigo, 2003) pp117-132.

that being a Galician speaker does not affect how Galician or Spanish one feels. Rural students, on the other hand, said that language is fundamental in the creation and expression of one's identity, stating that there is a great difference between Galician speakers (nós) and Castilian speakers (eles).

Furthermore, amongst some participants, a difference is seen between 'galegofalantes de sempre', or 'paleofalantes', that is to say those who as young children learnt Galician as their mother tongue, and 'neofalantes', or those who started life as Castilian speakers but then took Galician as their main language later on. Put simply, the majority of paleofalantes come from rural areas and speak traditional varieties of Galician, whilst the neofalantes are often urban and speak a largely normative (yet sometimes phonologically and phonetically Castilianised) Galician, having shifted languages from their original Castilian for extra-linguistic reasons. Iglesias and Ramallo report that these neofalantes are not accepted by many paleofalantes, who believe the uptake of Galician by Castilian speakers represents the commoditisation of the language, using it for political and ideological reasons, and diluting the local identity value that being a Galician speaker once held. In fact, the researchers noted this to such an extent that they state some paleofalantes go as far as demonstrating a clear intolerance towards neofalantes. This is certainly a significant phenomenon and shows the way in which the decoding of one's linguistic choices depends not only on the individual, but also on the interlocutor. The connotations of the same choice, the decision to speak in Galician, are read differently according to the linguistic background of the interlocutor in relation to the background of the speaker, highlighting the complexity of the issue of language use and identity.

4.1.5 Study Five: O'Rourke, B. *The Value of Galician and Irish on Today's Language Market, 2001.*

Also using the idea of the value of a language, using theory by Haugen and Gumperz regarding the concept of the Language Market and a language's value within this, all languages and varieties can be given a value within the Language Market. This value is based on a language's perceived symbolic and cultural value and its more economic value as a national and international language. Through weighing up a particular language's (or variety's) value in these four areas, a language can be given a specific value, which speakers are consciously or unconsciously aware of when making decisions regarding which variety to use in a given social context. Individuals may focus more strongly on the importance of a language's cultural value, or on its economic value, meaning that a language's position within the Language Market is in constant flux depending on the principles, ideals and attitudes of the speaker and the situation in which the language is to be used.

In 2001 O'Rourke studied the respective values of Galician and Irish within the Language Market, an issue touched upon in Iglesias and Ramallo's work.¹¹⁴ O'Rourke too looked at students, and his sampling universe had a range of ages from 18 to 22 years. His findings display a positive attitude amongst the participants towards both languages respectively, and found that in both cases the minority language was generally valued as a marker of identity and as a means of retaining part of one's culture. The minority language was viewed as a precious commodity, with a high culturally symbolic and local value, compared to the higher international and national value of the dominant language (Castilian in the case of Galician, and English in that of

¹¹⁴ O'Rourke pp581-586.

Irish). The majority of minority language speakers appeared willing to compensate any lack of material value of their language in comparison with the dominant language by its symbolic value in what O'Rourke calls a process of 'weighing up of values'. In both cases monolingualism in the minority language was generally motivated by a strong symbolic attachment to the language, and many bilingual speakers lamented their lack of knowledge of the minority language due to its symbolic and cultural value. That said, although the majority of speakers were positive in their desire to transmit the minority language to their children (78.6% in the case of Galician, and 64% in the case of Irish), only a minority in either case expressed a desire for their children to be monolingual or bilingual but significantly stronger in the minority language (13.4% for Galician and 15% for Irish), suggesting that despite their beliefs in the symbolic value of the minority language, speakers still recognise the material value and importance of the dominant language and are unwilling to fully reject this material value for the symbolic value of the minority language.

4.2 Section conclusion

Therefore it can be seen that various studies have already been carried out within the subject-area of identity and language in Galicia. This is unsurprising, given the particularity of the sociolinguistic context of this area, as explained more fully above. My own study will make use of the information seen above in these studies, although since it does not aim to directly reproduce any previously-conducted study, it will differ slightly from those included within the literature review.

SECTION FIVE: AIMS AND HYPOTHESIS OF THIS SOCIO-LINGUISTIC

STUDY

5.1 The focus of this study

It is the object of this thesis to explore the ways in which the link between language and identity manifests itself within the population of Galician speakers. Particular attention will be paid to the existence and use of language loyalty and disloyalty. Due to time and space limitations it would be impossible to study this topic in any great depth at all levels of society and amongst a wide range of social groupings. For this reason it is necessary to focus the many possible variables on a much smaller scale in order to carry out an in-depth study. It has been decided, therefore, that the focus of this essay will involve a group of speakers of one specific age-group and educational background.

5.2 Participants

This study will look in depth at the difference in language use and identity between two specific groups. These will be Arts students and recent graduates and Science students and recent graduates. This thesis will examine whether Arts students place more emphasis on importance of language use and being identified as Galician given its high symbolic and cultural value than do Science students, and whether Science students place more emphasis on the identity portrayed and the economic and national value of Castilian than do Arts students.

5.3 Main hypothesis

As stated above, this study aims to look closely at the differences between language use and identity by two sample groups: Arts students and recent graduates and Science students and recent graduates in order to investigate the extent to which language is used differently for reasons of the communication of identity by these two groups.

This thesis will examine the evidence in order to test the following hypothesis:

There is a difference in the ways in which language is used and viewed by Arts students and recent graduates and Science students and recent graduates, and in particular as an expression of identity.

5.4 Null hypothesis

The null hypothesis of this thesis will therefore state that there is no difference in the language use of these two groups or their respective attitudes towards language.

SECTION SIX: METHODOLOGY

6.1 Sample group

6.1.1 Educational background and age range

The sample group chosen for this study was students and recent graduates aged 18 to 30 years. Choosing this group worked well in two respects: practically, it was deemed that it would be easier to come into contact with large groups of potential participants in situations such as on campus and in university towns, in addition to the possibility of finding potential participants using my own and friends' social circles, and it narrowed down the sampling universe in terms of educational background and age-range. This age-range also coincided with those who have reached school age since the introduction of the aforementioned 1983 LNL. This was relevant since it not only provided a convenient cut-off date regarding the age of participants, but it meant that for the entire duration of the educational lives of every member of the sample group, the use of Galician has been legal and promoted in all areas of society. Moreover, as has been seen within the specific literature review, various studies on similar issues to the one researched here have already been conducted, with several of these studies already having been based on this age-range and educational-background of participants, meaning that it would be possible to draw contrasts and comparisons with this and the earlier studies in the interpretation and discussion of the results of this study. Students from Filoloxía Galega were discounted from my results, however, since it is likely that these students will be hyperaware of sociolinguistic issues such as those studied in this thesis, which would have also adversely affected my results.

Narrowing down the sampling universe in such a way means that the results of this study can be considered representative of only a small part of the population: this specific age-group and educational background, meaning conclusions relating to the Galician population at large are impossible using the data collected here, although this has still proved to be a sufficiently large sampling universe to produce some interesting results. Defining the sampling universe to such an extent may appear to have been likely to hamper the production of any useful results, but research into sociolinguistic methodology such as that by Milroy and Gordon suggests that a definition of this type is acceptable and necessary for a study of this kind.¹¹⁵ The work of Milroy and Gordon has been stated by Dr. David Britain, writing for the Centre for Languages, Linguistics and Areas Studies at the University of Southampton to provide ‘useful introductions to fieldwork methodology for sociolinguistic variation’, so has been used as a major source of information and guidance to the methodology used in this thesis.¹¹⁶

6.1.2 Number of participants

In terms of the number of participants I intended to have within my sample group, an anticipated minimum figure of 100 was set. As Labov explains, linguistic usage is more homogenous than many phenomena studied in other surveys, so within sociolinguistics the sample size can be smaller than would be expected for other types of research.¹¹⁷ Sankoff states that for sociolinguistic surveys, 150 participants is usually the upper limit for the production of useful analytical returns, without causing oneself too many date-

¹¹⁵ Milroy, L. and Gordon, M. *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003) p28.

¹¹⁶ Britain, D. *Sociolinguistic Variation* (Southampton, no date) Available at: <http://www.llas.ac.uk/resources/gpg/1054#ref9> accessed 27/06/2010 18:30

¹¹⁷ Labov, W. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (Washington DC, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966) pp400-401 .

handling difficulties,¹¹⁸ and indeed studies by respected sociolinguists often use figures much lower than this: Labov's study *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* used 88 participants, and Trudgill's *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich* used 60.¹¹⁹ A figure of 100 was set as it falls below Sankoff's advised maximum number of participants, yet higher than the numbers used by Labov and Trudgill respectively, allowing for any problems which may have arisen (such as results which could not be used for various reasons, for example that they were illegible, or not from my set sampling universe), meaning these could be removed from the responses I used to generate my results, without leaving myself with too few responses to provide acceptable and accurate results.

6.2 Separation of the participants into sample groups

Like O'Rourke and Iglesias and Ramallo, I intended to separate the participants within my sampling group into two differing sample groups. Since all my participants were living in Galicia, unlike O'Rourke, I did not have to separate them into groups according to the minority language they have access to. Furthermore, in order to not replicate the study by Iglesias and Ramallo, and for reasons of time and space limitations, a distinction was not to be drawn between students from rural backgrounds and students from urban backgrounds. Instead, the two groupings I used were based on the subjects the students were reading. I decided to draw up two simple subject groups: arts, humanities and law (henceforth 'Arts'), and Sciences, which is comprised of traditional sciences, maths and engineering. The categorisation of the subjects in this

¹¹⁸ Sankoff, G. *A Quantitative Paradigm for the Study of Communicative Competence* in Sankoff, G. (Ed.) *The Social Life of Language* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980) p51.

¹¹⁹ Trudgill, P. *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974) p27.

way followed their traditional categorisation within the majority of universities. In terms of the size and categorization of my sample groups, I aimed to collect around half my responses from those studying Sciences and around half from those studying Arts. The separation of participants into two groups was designed to allow me to draw contrasts and comparisons between the responses given from those in the scientific category to those in the humanities category, which would then enable me to pass a judgement on whether language is used differently and to assess the language-identity values of participants from these two groups.

6.3 Research methods

6.3.1 Generation of data

The method of the generation of primary information used in this thesis to test the hypothesis was the use of questionnaires. This was the case for two reasons: firstly as I was the only investigator, which would have made methods such as interviews too time-consuming at the quantities needed to carry out a sociolinguistic study of this type, and secondly as I intended to analyse the results generated statistically, which necessitated a research method that could easily translate responses into numerical data for statistical analysis.

6.3.2 Statistical analysis

The statistical method of analysis was the use of several independent t-tests in a planned comparison, using PASW (formerly SPSS) Version 17. In their book *Statistics Without Maths for Psychology*, Dancey and Reidy describe t-tests as method of ‘assessing whether there is a statistically significant difference between the means of the two

conditions'.¹²⁰ As participants in this study are part of only one of the two sample groups, that is to say they are either Arts students or graduates or they are Science students or graduates, an independent t-test was the most appropriate test to choose in this case. Unless otherwise specified, the significance level (alpha level) used in this work is $\alpha = 0.05$. Although, as Dancey and Reidy explain, this is a fairly arbitrary cut-off point, it follows the level that has 'traditionally been seen as an acceptable probability of your findings being due to sampling error'.¹²¹ The t-test measures the differences in the average scores of the two groups and provides, amongst other outputs, a *p value*. This represents the probability of generating such a response if the null hypothesis is true. A low p value indicates a sufficiently large difference between groups as to be considered significant, and suggests the researcher rejects the null hypothesis, concluding that the two groups are significantly different.¹²² For a t-test result to be considered to show a significant difference between groups, so rejecting the null hypothesis, this p value must fall below the alpha level. As this thesis uses an alpha level of $\alpha = 0.05$ (which can also be described as the 5% level), significant p values would therefore be lower than 0.05. Such a result would show if the difference in the means of the two groups can be considered statistically significant at the 5% level, or not. If it is significant, this means the hypothesis can be considered true at the alpha level being used. If the difference is not shown to be significant it means the null hypothesis cannot be rejected (one cannot prove a null hypothesis to be true, as the

¹²⁰ Dancey, C.P. and Reidy, J. *Statistics Without Maths for Psychology: Using SPSS for Windows, third edition* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2004) p211.

¹²¹ Dancey, C.P. and Reidy, J. *Statistics Without Maths for Psychology: Using SPSS for Windows, third edition* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2004) p136.

¹²² *Independent Samples, SPSS Guide*

<http://academic.reed.edu/psychology/RDDAwebsite/spssguide/ttests.html#indep> accessed 04/08/2009 18:19.

absence of evidence against a null hypothesis does not prove it to be true by default, it merely shows a lack of evidence in favour of the main hypothesis).

Since the participants had already been divided into the two sample groups *a priori*, a planned comparison was used in this study. This means that several independent t-tests were carried out to find the differences between the mean scores in each case, comparing the two groups which have been set beforehand. As Kwon notes, the use of planned comparisons can be beneficial to studies such as this one, as ‘in addition to increasing power against Type II errors (i.e. not rejecting the null hypothesis when it is false), planned comparisons tend to make the researcher plan the research more thoughtfully’, when compared with *post hoc* tests, which look for patterns and groups not stated *a priori*.¹²³ Whilst the use of multiple t-tests often requires results to be adjusted, this is not the case in this study. The use of multiple t-tests can sometimes increase the probability of making Type I errors (i.e. rejecting the null hypothesis when the null hypothesis is true), although this is not the case when only one hypothesis is being tested. Since this study aimed to carry out several independent t-tests, all of which used different responses and aimed to test the same hypothesis, there was no increase in error probability, despite the use of multiple t-tests.

¹²³ Kwon, M. *The Use of Planned Comparisons in Analysis of Variance Research*, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwest Educational Research Association (New Orleans, LA, January 1996) p5.
http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/custom/portlets/recordDetails/detailmini.jsp?_nfpb=true&_ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=ED393916&ERICExtSearch_SearchType_0=no&accno=ED393916
accessed 03/08/2009 22:50.

6.4 Pilot work and questionnaire design

6.4.1 Pilot work as a healthy check

Before it was possible to create a questionnaire with which to conduct the main body of primary research within this thesis, it was necessary to carry out a series of stages of pilot work. The first step of this was to carry out several preliminary interviews, the main purpose of which was to allow me to speak directly to speakers within or close to the main sampling group and to find out essential information that would be needed when designing the final questionnaire. As explained by Oppenheim, pilot work of this type can be extremely useful, acting as a ‘healthy check’ on the research that has been carried out to date and helping to uncover any dangerous ambiguities existing within the questions, or questions that may elicit responses that are too vague or even meaningless, and will expose any questions that are too wide, too narrow, too technical or too abstract, all of which may cause problems at a later stage.¹²⁴ Furthermore, as Payne explains, this type of pilot work is necessary to aid the design process of the questionnaire itself, allowing me to gauge how much white space to leave below free answer questions, as this often affects how fully participants are likely to answer questions, and providing me with possible responses for Likert scale and multiple choice questions.¹²⁵ This background work was essential as any choices provided on the questionnaire form are likely to affect the answers participants give, as participants are often seen to answer questions according to the choices provided for them.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Oppenheim, A.N. *Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement* (London: Heinemann Education, 1966) pp25-29.

¹²⁵ Payne, S.L. *The Art of Asking Questions* (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1951) p51.

¹²⁶ Payne p86.

6.4.2 Preliminary interviews

I created a set of questions to provide the basis for these preliminary interviews. In total eleven preliminary interviews were held, nine with members of or close to my sample groups, and two with members of university academic staff, who, as detailed above, due to age and education limits will not fall within the sampling universe for the final research stage. When forming this set of questions I made particular use of information found in Sudman and Bradburn's *Asking Questions*. Using their advice I tried to keep all of the questions as ideologically neutral as possible, to avoid participants' adapting their responses to those which may be socially desirable, and perhaps not the whole truth.¹²⁷ Furthermore, also based on their advice, I recorded interviewees' answers verbatim and then made transcriptions of the interviews, in order to provide a method of checking the accuracy of their responses.¹²⁸ These transcripts have been included within the appendices of this thesis.

The nine young speakers I interviewed formed part of my own friendship group (or were friends of friends). I decided that this would be the best way to choose people for two main reasons: firstly, as it would be easier and more practical for me to come into contact with suitable interviewees in a tight time schedule, and secondly because I wanted the participants to feel comfortable and at ease enough to provide accurate responses on what could be considered quite a personal subject. This would help to lessen the effect of the observer's paradox, and would hopefully allow me to gain more explicit responses. I am aware that these interviews will be used to create a questionnaire of a similarly personal nature, which I will then distribute on a much

¹²⁷ Sudman, S. and Bradburn, N.M. *Asking Questions: A Practical Guide to Questionnaire Design* (San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass Inc. Publishers, 1982) p32.

¹²⁸ Sudman and Bradburn p153.

larger scale, meaning clearly I will not know all of the participants personally. It must be understood, however, that the situation of an anonymous questionnaire is much less intimate than that of a face-to-face interview, and whilst interview responses will end up anonymous within the context of this thesis, at the time of recording each interview, responses were not anonymous. As mentioned above, I also interviewed two members of academic staff within this stage: one from the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, and one from my home university, Birmingham. Although these people will be discounted from my eventual sample groups, I felt it was important to interview a small number of speakers from this group at this stage as it would provide me with a wider basis on which to create my questionnaire.

Before each interview took place I explained to each respondent the exact purposes of the research in simple terms: that I was conducting a sociolinguistic study into the use of Galician by young adult speakers, that their responses would remain anonymous and would be used to help me to create a questionnaire which would form the main research method for the study. I also told them that they could remove their responses from the study at a later date if they wished and that they only had to answer if and what they wanted to. Luckily this issue did not arise within the interview stage of pilot work. Lastly, I explained that I was going to speak in Castilian, but that they were free to answer in whichever language they felt most comfortable in. I made the decision to speak in Castilian, not Galician, for a number of reasons. Firstly, as I am more comfortable speaking in Castilian, and I did not want any linguistic difficulties I may have in Galician, or that participants may perceive me to have, to affect the ways that interviewees responded to my questions. Secondly, I wanted speakers to feel able to

reply to me in whichever language they felt more comfortable in. This was particularly true since the majority of participants are friends of mine, with whom I have the custom of speaking in Castilian. As in my own personal experience, I have found that I and my friends are often uncomfortable switching languages from our customary language, I did not want the fact that I was suddenly speaking in Galician to create a feeling of discomfort between us, which may then affect their responses. It is for this reason that one respondent requested before the interview took place that we speak in English, as that is the language we habitually use with one another. Neither did I wish to place any inadvertent pressure on participants to speak in normative Galician if this is not their usual variety of Galician, which I felt may have happened if I had spoken in Galician. Of the remaining ten interviewees, seven speakers chose to speak to me in Castilian, and three in Galician. As mentioned above, full transcripts of these interviews can be seen in Appendix 1 of this thesis, alongside a thorough analysis and deconstruction of the responses given by interviewees at this stage of pilot work.

6.4.3 Pilot questionnaires

Using the information generated from the carrying out and deconstruction of the preliminary interviews, I created a questionnaire using which I would find out the main body of information for the primary research phase of this thesis. Having carried out an original phase of pilot work with the interviews, and from information by Sudman and Bradburn, I understood the importance of question wording and how this can affect the data obtained from participants.¹²⁹ It is for this reason that a second round of pilot work was carried out, during which stage the questionnaire was piloted, in order to flag up

¹²⁹ Sudman and Bradburn p1.

any potential ambiguities or other problems which may adversely affect the quality or validity of responses gained during the final round of research.

As this was a pilot questionnaire, meaning I would not need a very large number of participants, I decided again to use social circles to find participants. This was done for practical reasons, as since I was carrying out the pilot questionnaire phase from the UK and under tight time constraints, I believed it would probably be easier to find suitable participants this way, and to persuade them to take part. I originally sent out quite a speculative email asking 23 friends and acquaintances if they would be interested in helping in a sociolinguistic study, briefly explaining what I was studying and what they would need to do if they stated they were willing to help. Of these 23, 16 people replied that they would be willing to help. I then sent the questionnaires out to these 16 potential participants. I had hoped that asking friends to fill in my questionnaires, and then only actually sending the questionnaires to those who had personally responded that they were willing to take part in the study would help me generate a fairly high response rate by providing potential participants with the dual motivation of wanting to participate in a study which may interest them, and also wanting to help a friend. I received however, just five completed questionnaires, giving a response rate of just 31.25%. This figure is far lower than the average response rate for academic studies as stated by Baruch as 55.6%.¹³⁰ Of the five responses I received, technical problems meant one response could not be accessed, so I was not able to include this questionnaire in the deconstruction, lowering the valid response rate to just 25%. For this reason I repeated the request to the remaining nine potential participants who had

¹³⁰ Baruch, Y. *Response Rate in Academic Studies – A Comparative Analysis*, *Human Relations* No.52, Vol. 4, 1999, p421.

stated they were willing to complete a questionnaire for the study. I received five further responses, giving me a total response rate of 68.75%, and a rate of valid responses of 62.5%. These rates are clearly more similar to those stated by Baruch as average for academic studies, and are sufficient to highlight any potential major problems lying within the questionnaire itself. As a previous piloting stage has already been carried out, these would almost certainly lie within the wording of the questions, meaning that if the participants who returned the questionnaire do not appear to have difficulties in answering the questions, or if any problems are noted at this stage (rather than during the final questionnaire stage), then this phase will have served its purpose.

As I had taken the decision to make use of statistical analysis in this work, I created a questionnaire that would provide responses suitable for translation into numerical scores. This meant I made much heavier use of attitude and Likert scales, using the answers generated in the preliminary interviews. This also had the added advantage of minimising the amount of writing that participants were required to do, making the questionnaire seem easier to complete, so lessening the demotivating effect that a large amount of white space to be filled with free-response answers may have on participants.¹³¹ Oppenheim does, however, raise problems related to the use of closed questions of this type, including the way that closed questions force participants to choose between given options, which may introduce ideas which may not have occurred to him or her, and may also miss out answers he or she may have included, had the question been more open.¹³² He also states the need, when using attitude scales, to ask

¹³¹ Oppenheim p65.

¹³² Oppenheim p43.

the same question in more than one way to increase the accuracy of responses,¹³³ although Sudman and Bradburn state that this may prove counter-productive, adversely affecting the responses provided by members of the sampling universe, as participants are often resentful at having to answer the same question twice.¹³⁴ I tried to keep the repetition of questions to a minimum, although in some cases I felt this was necessary in order to try as much as possible to highlight any inconsistencies and contradictions between participants' attitudes and behaviour. As far as possible I tried to avoid crowding the questions, and I used a vertical format. Both of these points are provided as advice by Sudman and Bradburn as ways to generate a large amount of valid results by encouraging more participants to cooperate.¹³⁵

When carrying out the preliminary interviews I took the decision to speak in Castilian for the reasons explained above. In a written questionnaire, linguistic custom, or the perceived language-skill level of the researcher is not really an issue, which is why I produced two versions of the same questionnaire – one in Galician and one in Castilian. This allowed participants to choose to answer in the language with which they felt more comfortable.

At the top of the questionnaire I stated who I was and the purpose of the study. I also explained that any answers given would remain anonymous, in the hope of allowing participants to feel able to answer as truthfully as possible, and not to have to conform to any socially desirable responses.

¹³³ Oppenheim p120.

¹³⁴ Sudman and Bradburn p222.

¹³⁵ Sudman and Bradburn pp231-249.

I then went on to ask a handful of direct questions for the purposes of social stratification, and to check that each respondent was suitable for my study, before moving onto the main body of the questionnaire. As far as possible, answers were coded numerically and then entered into a database to aid analysis. Where a given response could be considered as connoting either a pro-Galician or a pro-Castilian standpoint, the most extreme pro-Galician option was given the higher number, and the most extreme pro-Castilian was given the lower number. For example 'I consider myself to be solely Galician' – the most pro-Galician response would be 'definitely agree', which is coded as five out of five, and the most pro-Castilian response would be 'definitely disagree', which is coded as one out of five, the lowest possible score for that section of responses. Included in Appendix 2 is a full deconstruction of each question, the numerical coding used, and the responses generated during the pilot questionnaire stage.

6.4.4 Creation of the final questionnaire

Having carried out the necessary preliminary research, a series of eleven interviews, and then produced and analysed the results of a pilot questionnaire I felt I was ready to create the final questionnaire which would be used to generate the responses that would form the main body of primary research within this thesis. I based the final questionnaire heavily on the pilot questionnaire, making some small changes from the findings I made when analysing and deconstructing it. An explanation of the changes made appears in Appendix 3. As with the pilot questionnaire, two versions of the final questionnaire were created: one in Castilian and one in Galician. The final questionnaires produced can be seen in Appendix 3.1.

6.5 Confounding variables

Confounding variables are variables which may have an unintentional effect on the dependent variable, that is to say the observed results of a study. The risk of confounding variables is that they may cause type I errors, or false positive results where the hypothesis is accepted erroneously. For this reason confounding variables must be avoided as far as possible. Having thought carefully about the most relevant confounding variables which may have adversely affected the reliability and validity of this study, I had taken the decision not to include students or graduates of Galician Philology, as I believed that their high level of insight into the topic I was researching may have affected their responses. Other confounding variables that could be found in this study include demand characteristics, whereby participants aim to please either the experimenter or conform to perceived social ideals, and boredom effects, caused by the fact that the questionnaire I produced was long, at six sides of A4 paper, which was worsened by the fact that 69 responses were generated by questionnaires circulated after two-hour lectures. I aimed to control these variables as best I could in order to keep the reliability and validity of this study as high as possible. I alerted participants to the fact that their responses would remain totally anonymous, to try and keep demand characteristics to a minimum, although with regards to boredom effects there was little I could do, as I had worked in the questionnaire design and pilot stages to produce the most concise questionnaire possible, whilst still measuring a considerable amount of material. For this reason I apologised to participants for taking up their time, and thanked them warmly, in an attempt to 'get them on my side', so to speak, and hopefully to control the effect that the boredom of completing a long questionnaire could cause. A further relevant confounding variable could be considered to be the

somewhat clumsy wording that appeared in some questions. Although I had worked hard to produce an eloquent questionnaire, and had had the draft questionnaires proof-read by a number of native speakers of both Castilian and Galician, the nature of the Likert scale opinion phrases in particular led to the use of wording that was sometimes rather unidiomatic and awkward, which may have caused participants some difficulty in understanding the phrases. I tried to keep this to an absolute minimum, however, in order to control this variable as best I could, and having had the draft questionnaires proof-read by a number of native speakers, I do not believe that the awkwardness of the phrasing of any of the questions was sufficient to cause any major comprehension difficulties.

6.6 Generation of responses

Results were collected over a four-week period in May and June 2009. Participants were selected primarily using social circles, starting with my own before moving on to the social circles of friends of mine. This meant that participants' motivation to complete the questionnaire was higher, stemming from a wish to help in my study for friendship purposes. This also led to quite a high response rate, as out of the first eighty questionnaires produced, I received 66 responses from friends or friends of friends, giving a response rate of 82.5%. This figure can be considered high, given the average response rate for academic research of 55.6%, as stated by Baruch.¹³⁶ Having exhausted this method of finding participants I attended three lectures at the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, where I circulated my questionnaire around the students, and

¹³⁶ Baruch, Y. *Response Rate in Academic Studies – A Comparative Analysis*, *Human Relations* No.52, Vol. 4, 1999, p421.

received a further 69 responses. A third method of finding participants was to place the questionnaire on the internet and then place a link to it on a social networking site, which generated 24 responses. Overall, a total of 159 responses were received. As explained earlier, students and graduates from Galician Philology were not considered valid participants for this study, given their high level of knowledge of the topic, so three participants were removed from the study.

6.7 Distribution of participants

The 156 remaining participants were all aged between 18 and 30 years. As the t-tests are parametric, a normal distribution of participants was necessary. For this reason, the first test carried out was to check these 156 participants for normal distribution, a process which generated the following graphs:

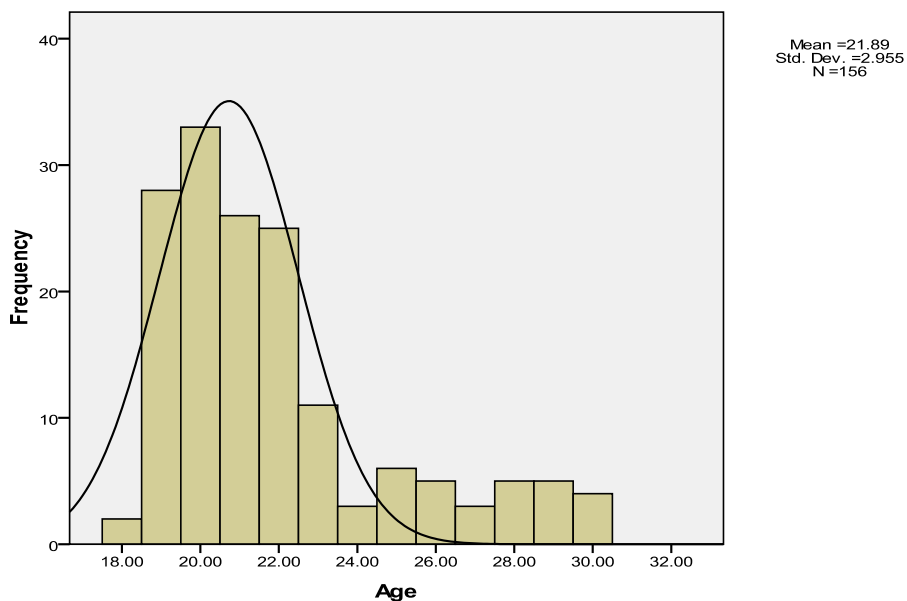


Figure 1. *Histogram showing the distribution of the original 156 participants*

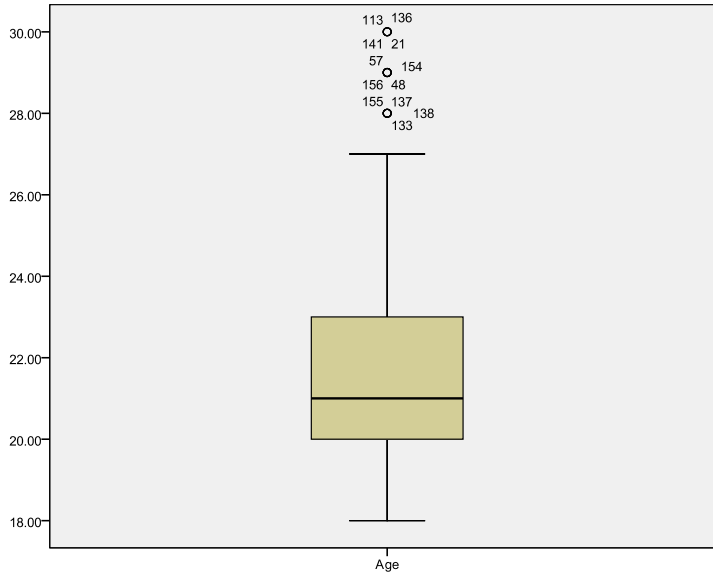


Figure 2. *Box plot showing the distribution of the original 156 participants*

It can be seen from the above two figures then, that several of the original participants can be considered to be outliers in terms of age. As the mean age of participants was 21.89 years, yet participants were aged up to 30 years, these older participants were causing the distribution to become negatively skewed. For this reason, 22 outlying participants were removed from the study in order to generate a more normal distribution. This meant that any participants aged 26 or above were removed. Once this had taken place, the remaining 134 participants were re-tested for normal distribution and the following graphs were produced:

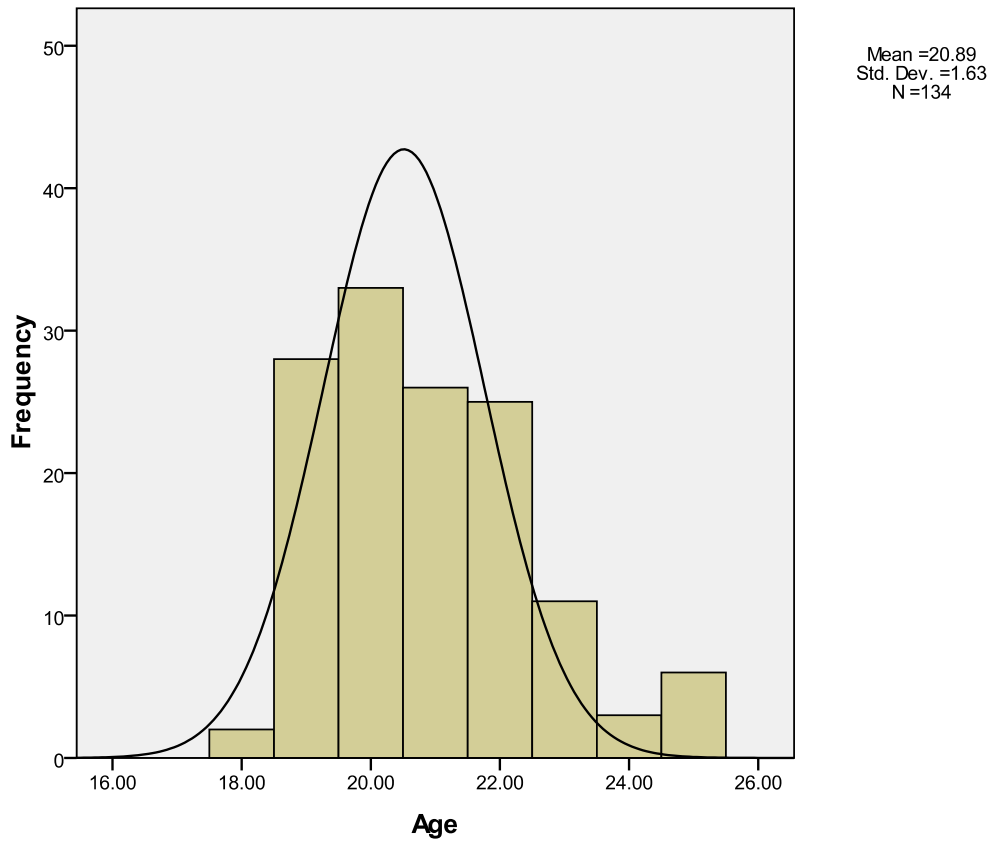


Figure 3. Histogram showing the distribution of the 134 remaining participants

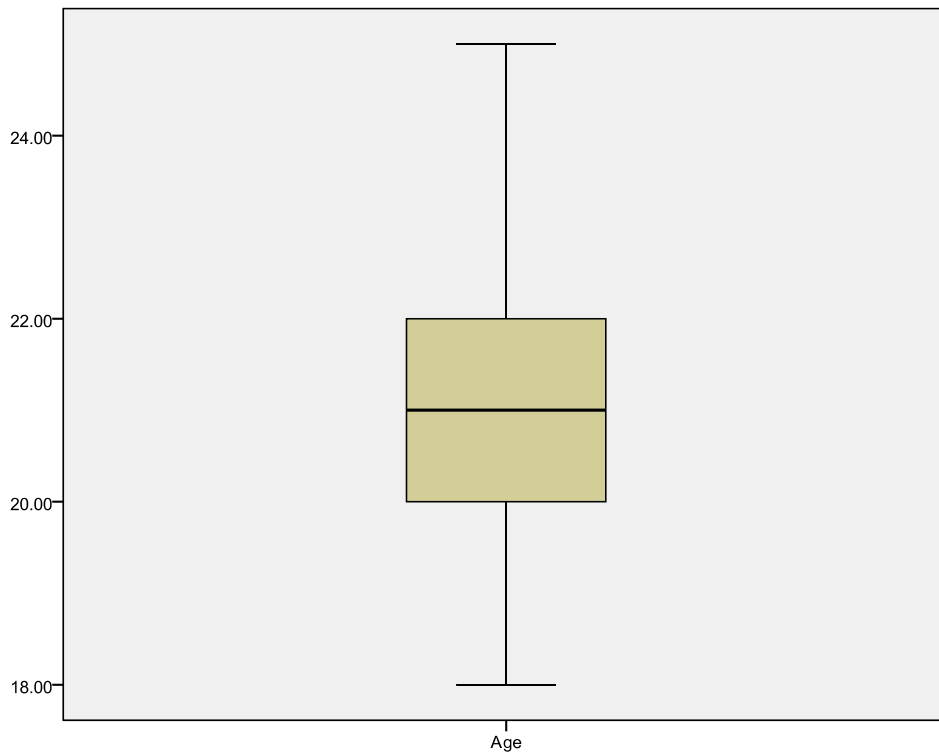


Figure 4. Box plot showing the distribution of the 134 remaining participants

Whilst these graphs are not entirely normally distributed, the distribution can be seen to follow a much more normal pattern, and can be considered sufficiently normal for the purposes of this study. These remaining 134 participants were chosen to become the final sample that would be used to generate the data to be analysed in this work.

6.8 Descriptive statistics

The final sample group that was used in this study was made up of 134 students or recent graduates, all aged 18-25 years, with an average age of 20.9 years. There were 131 students and 3 recent graduates. Of these 134 participants, 52 were from Arts subjects and 82 from Science subjects (subjects studied were categorised according to the description earlier in this work in section 7.2. These figures represent 38.81% and 61.19% of the whole sample group respectively. 123 of the 134 participants stated they were both from, and lived in Galicia, and the remaining 11 stated they considered just one or the other of these two statements to be true about themselves. 6 participants stated they had no Galician parents, 13 stated they had just one Galician parent and 115 stated that both of their parents were Galician.

SECTION SEVEN: RESULTS

7.1 Linguistic differences between the groups

First, in order to be able to show if there was any difference in the way that Arts participants and Science participants view and use language for identification purposes, it was necessary to see if there was a statistically significant difference between the initial language of the two groups within the sample. Clearly, if it was seen that the groups had different initial languages this would distort the rest of the data analysis, for example if it was to show that the most common initial language of the Science participants was Castilian, and of the Arts participants was Galician, and then later differences were seen in their use of language that followed this same pattern it would be impossible to prove whether these differences were caused by the groups' different views and uses of language with regards identity, or if these differences stemmed from the fact that the initial language of the two groups differed.

7.1.1 Initial Language according to Arts / Science subject categorisation

In order to see whether this was the case a series of independent t-tests were carried out to see if the initial language of the Arts sample group and the Science sample group were statistically significantly different. Although Sudman and Bradburn discourage the repetition of questions in a questionnaire as participants may resent having to answer the same question twice, on this occasion I decided to ask each participant three questions on the same theme in order to ascertain their true initial language and to hopefully root out any language disloyalty at this stage.

The question shown in the text box below was used to find out each participant's Stated Initial Language (SIL).

| | |
|---|---|
| 6. ¿Qué lengua hablabas cuando empezaste a hablar? | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> El gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> El castellano <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> El gallego y el castellano | <input type="checkbox"/> Otro: Por favor, especifica: ¿Qué lengua hablabas cuando empezaste a hablar? |
| | |

Participants were then divided into two groups according to the subject they study or have recently graduated in. These groups were Arts, Humanities and Law (henceforth 'Arts') and Science. An independent t-test was used to look for statistically significant differences between the SIL of Arts participants compared to the SIL of Science participants. The data generated by this question can be seen in Figure 1. Given the fact that there were 52 Arts participants but 82 Science participants, the percentage of each group to have chosen each particular SIL choice provided on the questionnaire, not the specific number of participants to have done so has been compared.

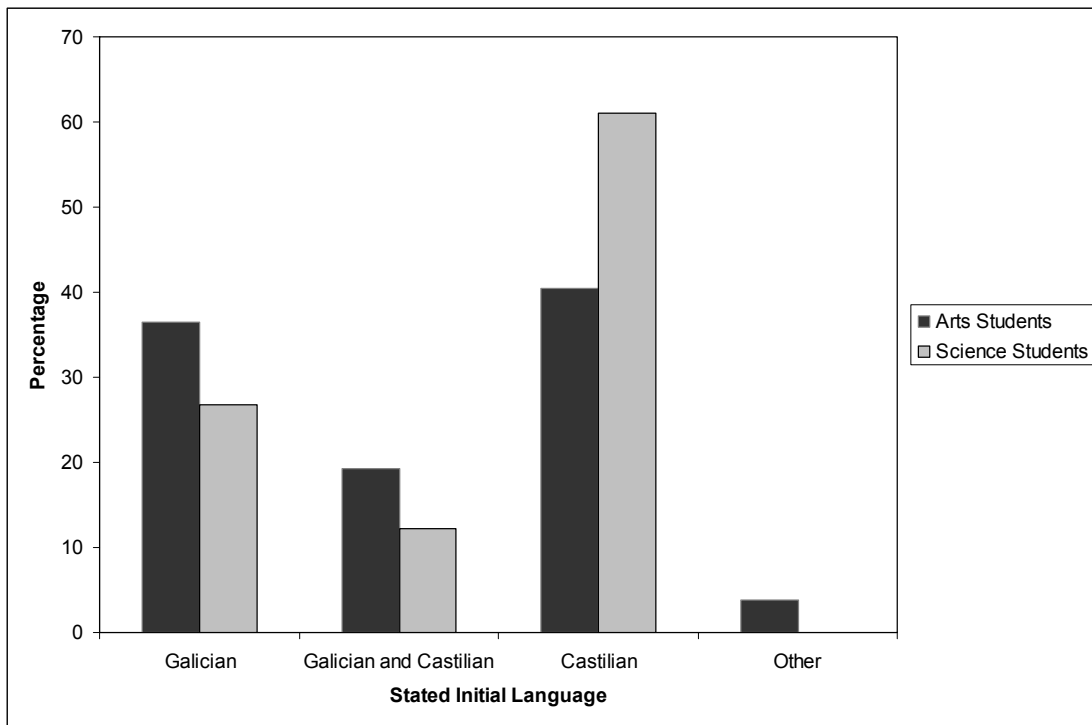


Figure 5. *SIL according to Arts / Science subject categorisation*

Although Figure 5 shows there is a difference between the SIL of Arts participants and that of Science participants, the t-test revealed this difference to have p-value of 0.164, which meant these findings could not be considered statistically significantly different at the 5% level. This means that, given this data collected, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected at this time. ($t(132) = -1.399$; $p = 0.164$).

As mentioned above, asking this question alone would have made it possible for participants to demonstrate language disloyalty, although it would have been impossible to spot any examples of this phenomenon from just this one response. For example, a participant could state his initial language is Galician, which may or may not be an expression of language disloyalty, as it is impossible to tell from just this information. In order to see whether or not this is an example of language disloyalty, it is necessary

to know at what age he started speaking Galician. If this is, for example, age 12, such a statement could show the participant is displaying language disloyalty. If this is age 2 then the participant is not showing language disloyalty. This was the reasoning behind asking the next two questions, which can be seen in the text box below.

7. ¿A qué edad empezaste a hablar el gallego?

8. ¿A qué edad empezaste a hablar el castellano?

The inclusion of these two questions was aimed at highlighting any language disloyalty with regards to initial language, in order than the data used when considering initial language in the analysis of the results generated in the questionnaire stage was as reliable as possible. This method was shown to be effective in several cases, such as detecting one participant who claimed to have ‘Both Galician and Castilian’ as his or her initial language, and then stated he / she first started to speak Galician aged 15, and began Castilian aged 2.

Participants’ responses to these questions were then transferred to a similar coding scheme to that used in the previous question. This meant that any language a participant stated he or she began before school-age (6 years) was taken to be an initial language, as, according to Peñalosa, it can be considered a language learnt as a child whilst spending almost all of his or her time in the home environment or surrounded by family members.¹³⁷ Any language started aged 6 years or older was not taken to be an initial language. This choice follows academic convention, which states that from a purely linguistic viewpoint, the fact that a speaker did not actively use a language until they

¹³⁷ Peñalosa, F. *Introduction to the Sociology of Language* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1981, p39.

reached an age at which they began to receive a high level of influence from outside the home (such as from school) means that this language cannot be considered a speaker's initial language. Following this reasoning, the ages at which participants stated they began to speak each of the languages about which they were questioned were used to decide whether a participant would be considered to have a Described Initial Language (DIL) of Galician, Both Galician and Castilian, Castilian or Other.

It must be stated at this stage that 21 participants chose not to answer these questions, meaning the statistics used when discussing DIL are based on the responses given by 113 participants (of whom 47 were Arts participants and 66 Science). The responses given can be seen in Table 1 and Figure 6.

| DIL | Arts participants | | Science participants | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Galician | 10 | 21.28 | 14 | 21.21 |
| Galician and Castilian | 15 | 35.71 | 19 | 28.79 |
| Castilian | 21 | 50 | 33 | 50 |
| Other | 1 | 2.38 | 0 | 0 |

Table 1. *DIL according to Arts / Science subject categorisation.*

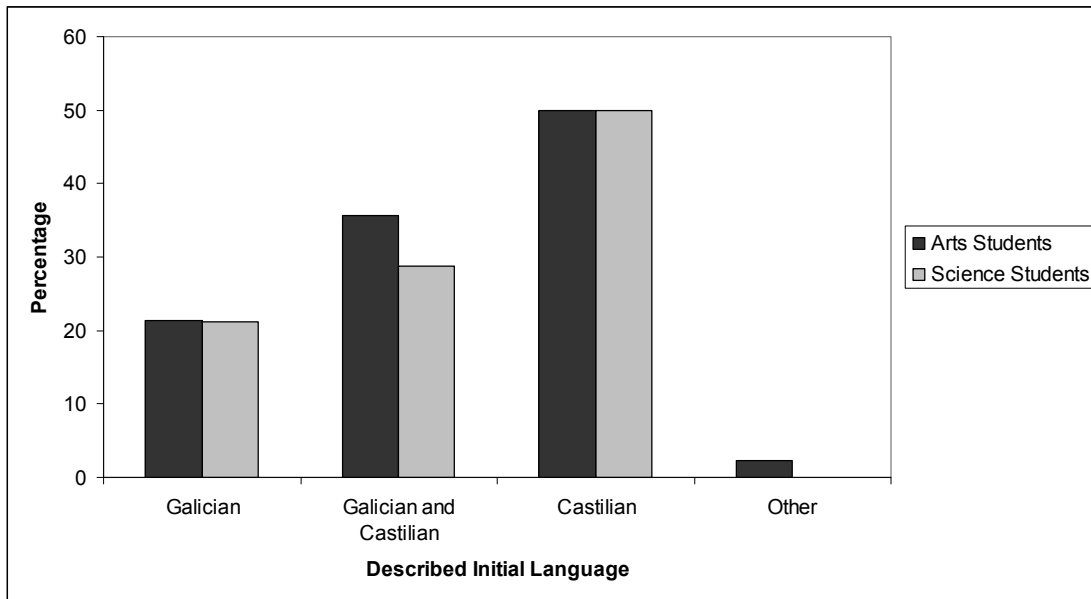


Figure 6. *DIL according to Arts / Science subject categorisation*

Figure 6 shows that the difference between the DIL of Arts participants and that of Science participants is much smaller than when analysing results about participants' SIL (cf. Figure 5), suggesting that some responses to the question about SIL were affected to a certain extent by language disloyalty. A further t-test was used to determine the statistical significance of the difference between the DIL of Arts participants and that of Science participants. This difference was shown to have a p-value of 0.98 and was therefore not shown to be statistically significant. ($t(111) = 0.025$; $p = .980$).

When the results for SIL and DIL and the Arts / Sciences subject categorisation are taken together, it can be seen that the initial language (both stated and described) does not differ to a statistically significant level between the two sample groups that form the sample group of this study. This means that any further differences between the use of language of these two groups cannot be put down to the effects of having a different initial language, therefore other reasons must be present.

7.1.2 Stated Mother Tongue according to Arts / Science subject categorisation

Participants were asked to state their mother tongue, and were given options of Galician, Both Galician and Castilian, Castilian and Other. An independent t-test was carried out to see if there was a difference between the statements that Arts and Science participants stated themselves to have. The t-test showed that there was not a significant statistical difference between the stated mother tongue (SMT) of Arts participants and that of Science participants, giving a p-value of 0.406. This means that in this instance then, statistically speaking, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected, and the conclusion must be drawn that with regards to SMT there is no statistically significant difference between Arts and Science participants. ($t(132) = -0.834$; $p = .406$).

The exact results that were generated by the questionnaires can be seen in Figure 7.

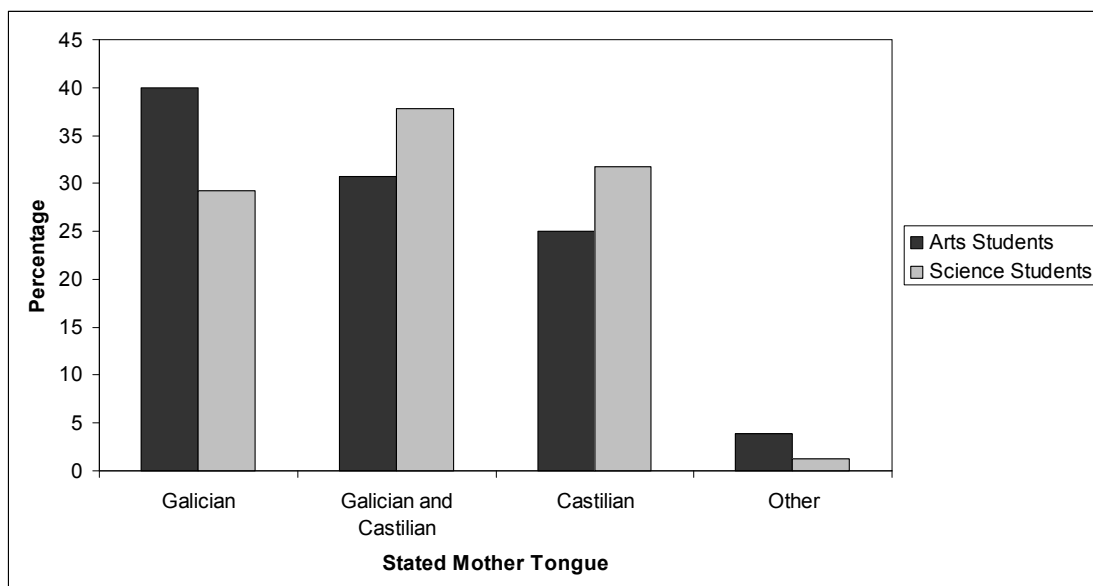


Figure 7. Bar chart to show SMT according to Arts / Science subject categorisation

The definition of mother tongue was intentionally left vague in this question, in order that participants could use this statement to describe either their initial language, or to express their identity as for example, a ‘mother tongue Galician speaker’, whether or not this was the case strictly linguistically speaking. Of the 113 participants who answered the questions relating to DIL, 54 (47.79%) did not give the same response when asked about their SMT. This shows that almost half the participants did not take ‘mother tongue’ to mean their initial language, suggesting this percentage were displaying a degree of language disloyalty (either in favour of Galician or in favour of Castilian). Of these 54 participants, 32 were Science participants, and the remaining 22 were Arts participants. This meant that 47% of the Arts participants and 48.48% of the Science participants who responded to the question on DIL showed language disloyalty when describing their SMT. It can be seen that these figures are extremely close, which means that in this instance the null hypothesis cannot be rejected, supporting a conclusion that with regards to SMT, there is no significant difference between Arts and Science participants.

Of the 54 participants who showed themselves to be linguistically disloyal when their SMT responses were compared with their DIL responses, 37 participants, which represented 32.74% of the sample, were seen to be making a pro-Galician identity statement. That is to say, because of a wish to be seen as part of the group of Galician mother tongue speakers, they have stated their SMT to be Galician when their DIL was shown to be either Castilian or Both Castilian and Galician, or that they have stated their mother tongue to be Both Castilian and Galician, in a hope to be seen as part of that group, whilst their DIL was shown to be Castilian. Of these 37, 14 (37.84%) were

Arts participants, and 23 (62.16%) were Science participants. This represented 29.79% of the Arts participants in this sample, and 34.85% of the Science participants. A further 15 participants (13.27% of the sample) were seen to be making a pro-Castilian identity statement. This means that they have stated their mother tongue to be Castilian when their DIL is either Galician or Both Castilian and Galician, or their mother tongue as Both Galician and Castilian when their DIL is Galician. Of these 15 participants, 7 (46.67%) were Arts participants and 8 (53.33%) were Science participants. These figures represented 14.89% of the Arts participants involved in this question, and 25.8% of the Science participants. There was one Arts participant who claimed to have an SMT of Other, but a DIL of Galician, and one Science participant who claimed to have an SMT of Other, but a DIL of Castilian. In both cases this can be seen as an expression of language disloyalty, (although neither pro-Galician nor pro-Castilian, but rather pro-Other). It appears that in both cases the participant wants to be seen as part of the group of mother tongue speakers of this other language, so states their SMT as this, when really their DIL suggests otherwise.

The statistics used in this section can be seen more simply in the figures below.

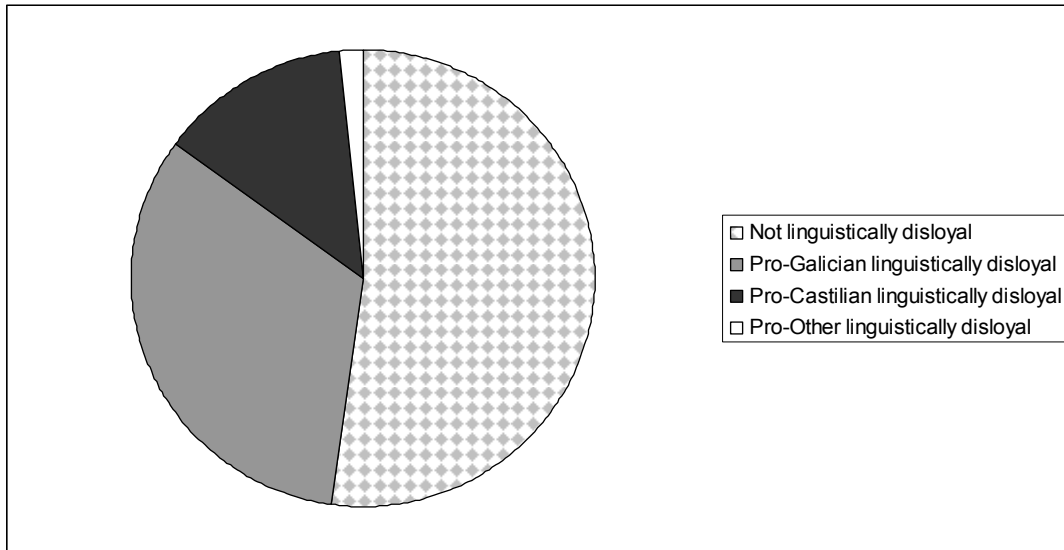


Figure 8. *Pie chart showing the break-down of the whole sample group when SMT and DIL are taken to show Language disloyalty (percentage).*

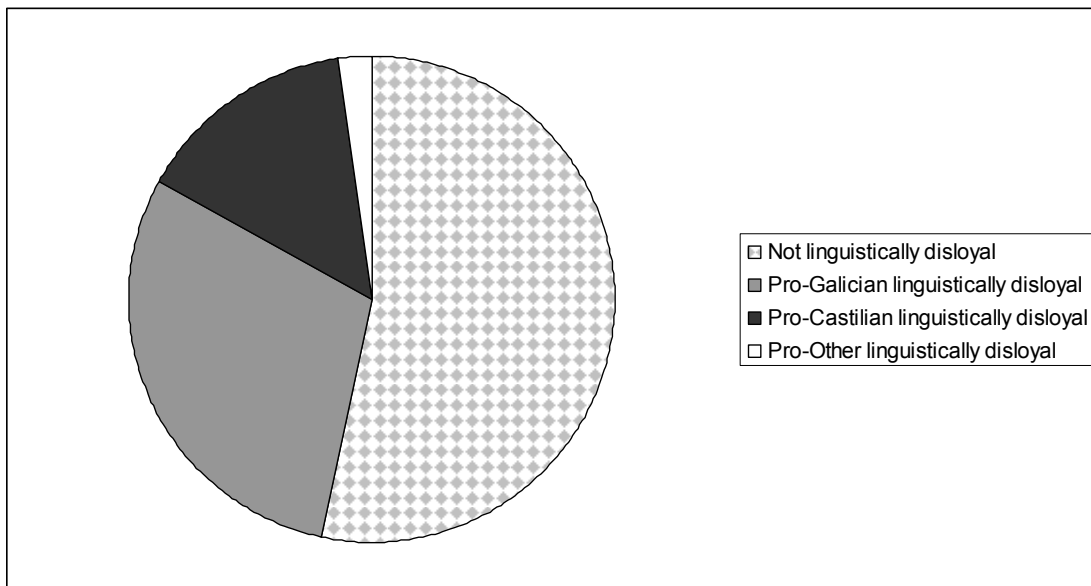


Figure 9. *Pie chart showing the break-down of Arts participants when SMT and DIL are taken to show Language disloyalty (percentage).*

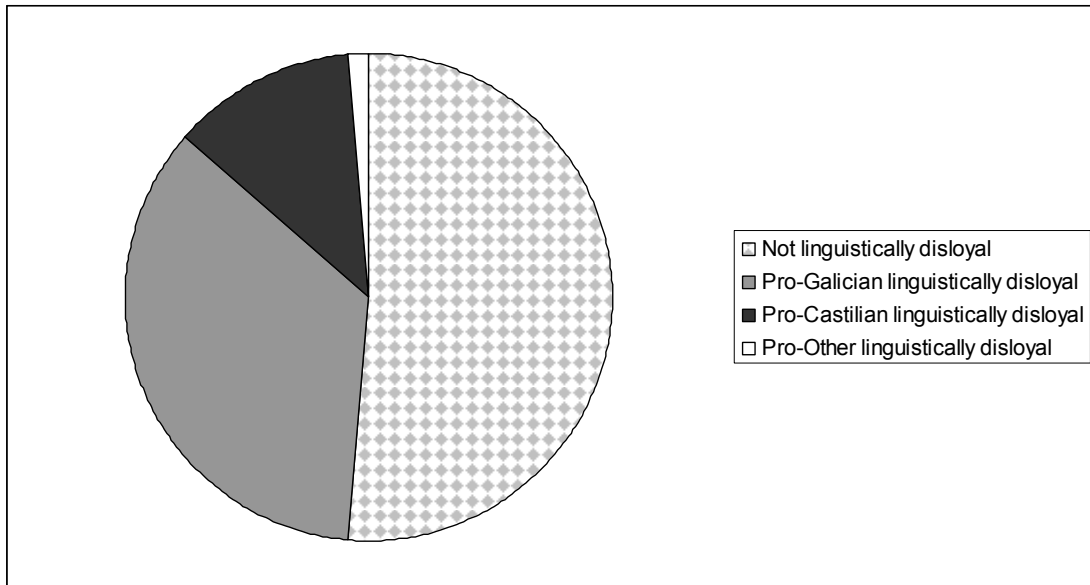


Figure 10. *Pie chart showing the break-down of Science participants when SMT and DIL are taken to show Language disloyalty (percentage).*

Taking Figures 8, 9 and 10 together, it can be seen that the differences between the percentages of participants who have been shown to be linguistically disloyal when making statements about their DIL or SMT are extremely small. In fact there is very little variation between any of the three pie charts. This illustrates more simply the fact that the differences between the percentages of participants who display language disloyalty through their SMT and DIL scores together do not differ sufficiently between Arts and Science participants for any statistically significant statement to be made.

7.2 Importance of factors that make up ‘Galician-ness’

7.2.1 Section introduction

In the interview stage of pilot work, interviewees had been asked to give answers to questions such as ‘what does it mean to be Galician?’, ‘what makes a Galician Galician?’, ‘what makes up Galician-ness?’ Responses to these questions were used to generate a list of factors that could be seen to constitute ‘Galician-ness’. Participants

were asked to rate these factors on a scale similar to a semantic differential scale, from ‘essential’ to ‘totally unnecessary’. The responses given here should show the extent to which a participant believes such a factor is important for any person to be what he or she as an individual considers to be a ‘proper’ Galician. This should then reveal a participant’s ideas about what it means to be Galician: for example, does this Galician-ness come from being a native Galician speaker, is it a state of mind, or are only the true Galicians those who have a Galician bloodline?

The eleven factors that participants were asked to rate are shown below:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Hablar gallego | Nacer en Galicia |
| Tener padres gallegos | Vivir en Galicia |
| Sentirse gallego | Querer a Galicia |
| Querer la lengua gallega | Tener abuelos gallegos |
| Participar en la cultura gallega | Estar integrado en la cultura gallega |
| Tener el gallego como lengua materna | |

These eleven factors were categorised into four groups: language (hablar gallego, querer la lengua gallega, tener el gallego como lengua maternal), sentiments (sentirse gallego, querer a Galicia) family and personal background (tener padres gallego, tener abuelos gallegos, vivir en Galicia, nacer en Galicia), and culture (participar en la cultura gallega, estar integrado en la cultura gallega). Participants’ responses on the scale were coded numerically from 1 to 5, where 1 represented a response of ‘totally unnecessary’ and 5 represented a response of ‘essential’. The responses were then categorised according to the categorisation of the eleven factors, and averages were taken for each individual participant’s stance regarding each of the factor groupings.

The responses generated for each of these four groups will first be analysed separately, and later together.

7.2.2 Importance of language for Galician-ness

The 134 responses, when coded numerically according to the semantic differential scale options chosen, had a range of 1 to 5 (1 being totally unnecessary and 5 being essential). (See Figure 11.) It is to be noted that as the results displayed are the averages for participants' responses to the three separate factors that form the factor group of 'language', not all average response figures were whole numbers. For this reason, average response figures have been rounded to the nearest 0.5 and several extra options have been added to the x-axis of the graph, showing the frequency of participants to have generated an average response that fell midway between two of the options given in the scale on the questionnaire.

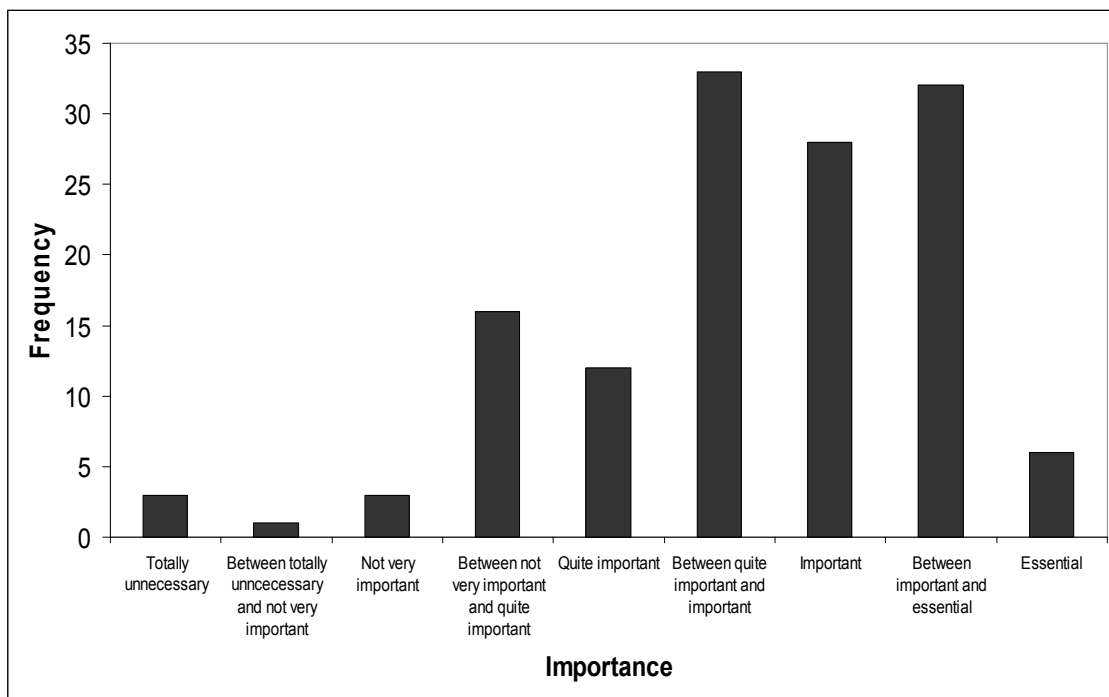


Figure 11. Average response figures of the whole sample group relating to responses on the importance of language for Galician-ness.

As can be seen in Figure 6, on the whole, participants stated they thought language was between quite important and very important for Galician-ness, with the average response figures of 93 participants falling between 3.25 and 4.74 on the 1-5 scale. This represents 69.41% of participants. The overall average response to this question gave language an importance rating of 3.65 on the 1-5 scale.

Figure 12 shows the average response figures given by these two groups for this factor grouping. (Since the sample group consists of 52 Arts participants but 82 Science participants, in order to compare results visually in a fair manner, the sample sizes have been made equal by randomly choosing 52 of the 82 Science participants for inclusion in the comparative graph. The statistics in this section are, of course, based on the full sample group of 82 participants.)

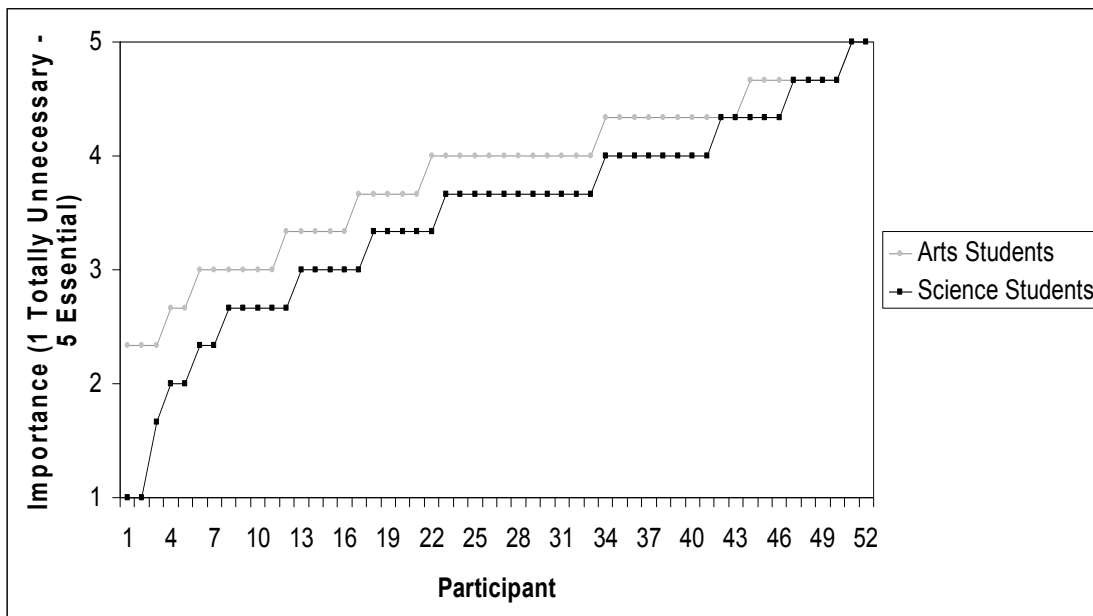


Figure 12. Comparison of average response figures for the importance of language for Galician-ness given by 52 Arts participants and 52 Science participants.

It can be seen from Figure 12, that the average response figures of Arts participants are generally slightly higher than those of Science participants. This means that on average, Arts participants gave the factor group of language a higher importance rating for ‘Galician-ness’ than did Science participants. In fact, the average response for all 52 Arts participants was 3.83, whereas for the 82 Science participants this was 3.53. Furthermore, no Arts participants rated language as totally unnecessary, whilst a small quantity of Science participants did.

An independent t-test was carried out to see if the difference between the average response figures given by Arts participants, and those by Science participants was statistically significant. The p-value of this test was shown to be 0.048, showing that the difference between the average response figures of these two groups was statistically significant, when using $\alpha=0.05$, although it must be stated that this significance is approaching the alpha score borderline. These statistics support the hypothesis of there being a difference in the way Arts participants see and view language compared with Science participants. ($t(132) = -1.996$; $p = .048$).

7.2.3 Importance of sentiments for Galician-ness

The 134 average response figures generated by the factor group relating to the importance of sentiments for Galician-ness, when coded numerically, had a range of 1-5. (See Figure 13.)

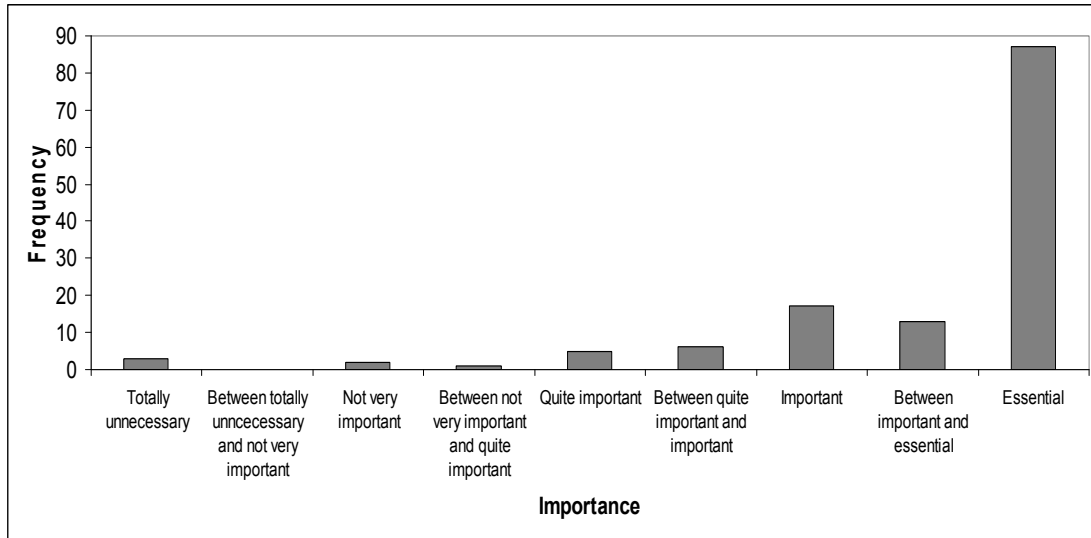


Figure 13. Average response figures of the whole sample group relating to responses on the importance of sentiments for Galician-ness.

As can be seen in Figure 13, an overwhelming majority of 87 participants (64.93% of the sample) stated they thought that sentiments, that is to say feeling Galician and loving Galicia, are essential factor for Galician-ness. The average response figure for all 134 participants was high, at 4.53.

The difference between the average response figures for the sample of Arts participants and the sample of Science participants with regards to the importance of sentiments for Galician-ness can be seen in Figure 14.

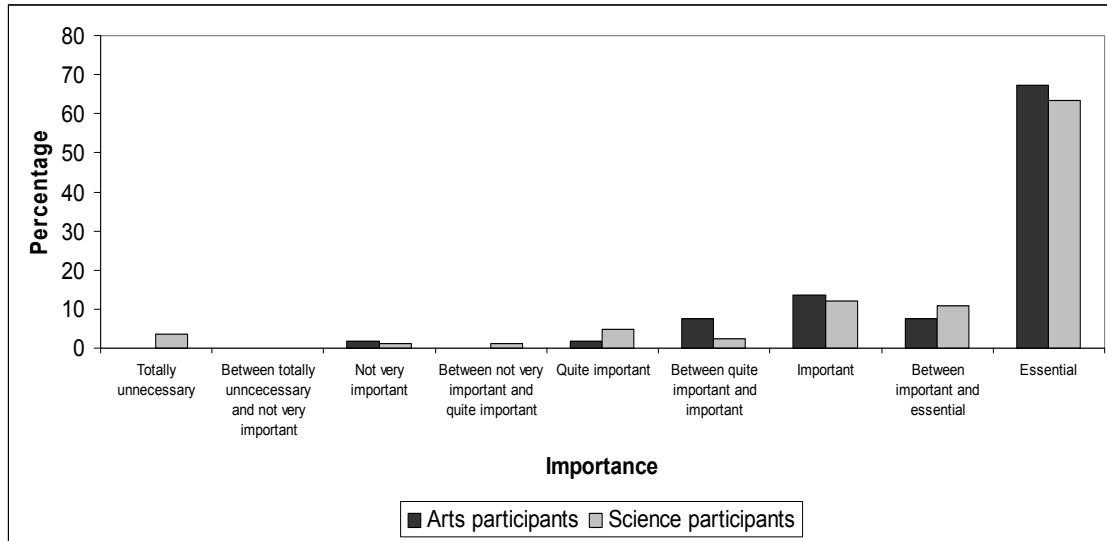


Figure 14. Comparison of average response figures for the importance of sentiments for Galician-ness given by Arts participants and Science participants, using percentages.

From what can be seen in Figure 14, the difference between the average response figures for the importance of sentiments for Galician-ness of Arts participants and that of Science participants seems quite small. Despite this, it can be noted that more Arts participants rate the factor group of sentiments as ‘essential’ than do Science participants (67.31% compared to 63.41%). Furthermore, no Arts participants gave this factor group an importance score lower than 2, while 3 Science participants rated feeling Galician and loving Galicia as totally unnecessary for Galician-ness (with a score of 1). An independent t-test was carried out to see if the average response figures of these two sample groups for this factor group differed to an extent that could be considered statistically significant when using $\alpha=0.05$. This test generated a p-value of 0.356, which is far larger than the alpha level being used in this thesis as a cut-off point for statistical significance, meaning the null hypothesis cannot be rejected for this section of analysis. ($t(132) = 0.926$; $p = .356$).

7.2.4 Importance of family and personal background for Galician-ness

The scale responses to the four factors which made up the factor group of ‘family and personal background’ from all 134 participants were coded numerically according to the aforementioned 1-5 scale. These were then averaged to generate the mean response figures for this factor group. These figures ranged from 1 to 5, and the mean figure was 3.08. Figure 15 shows the average response figures for this factor group.

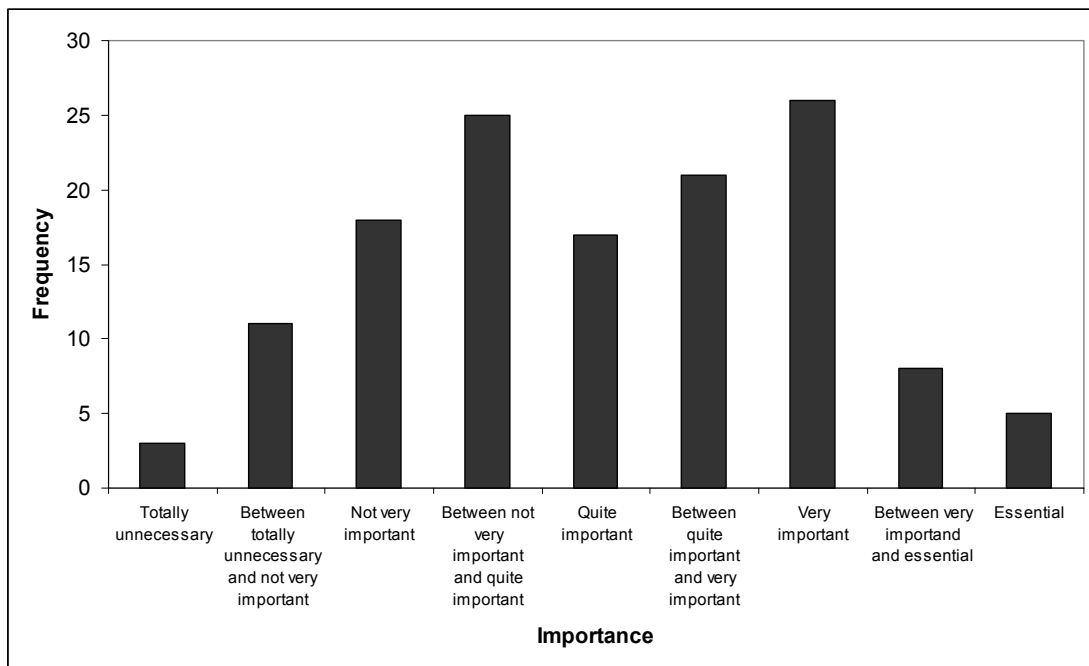


Figure 15. Average response figures of the whole sample group relating to responses on the importance of family and personal background for Galician-ness.

The entire sample group was then divided into the two samples of Arts participants and Science participants. The differences between the average response figures for these two sample groups can be seen in Figure 16.

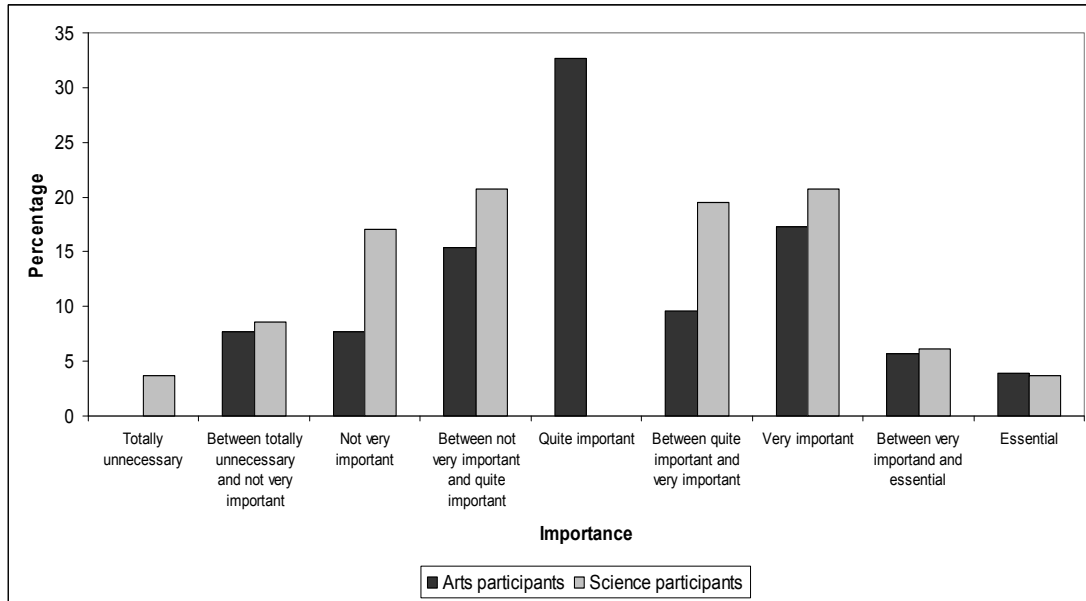


Figure 16. Comparison of average response figures for the importance of family and personal background for Galician-ness given by Arts participants and Science participants, using percentages.

It can be seen that aside from the fact that no Science participants rated family and personal background as a 3 on the scale of importance, the average response figures do not differ to a large extent between these two samples. As mentioned above, the average response figure for all 134 participants was 3.08. The average response figure for Arts participants was 3.01 and for Science participants 3.13. This shows that the difference in the importance rating for Galician-ness given to this factor group by participants of the two samples was minimal. To illustrate this more clearly, see Figure 17, which shows the responses of the 52 Arts participants compared to a random sample of 52 Science participants.

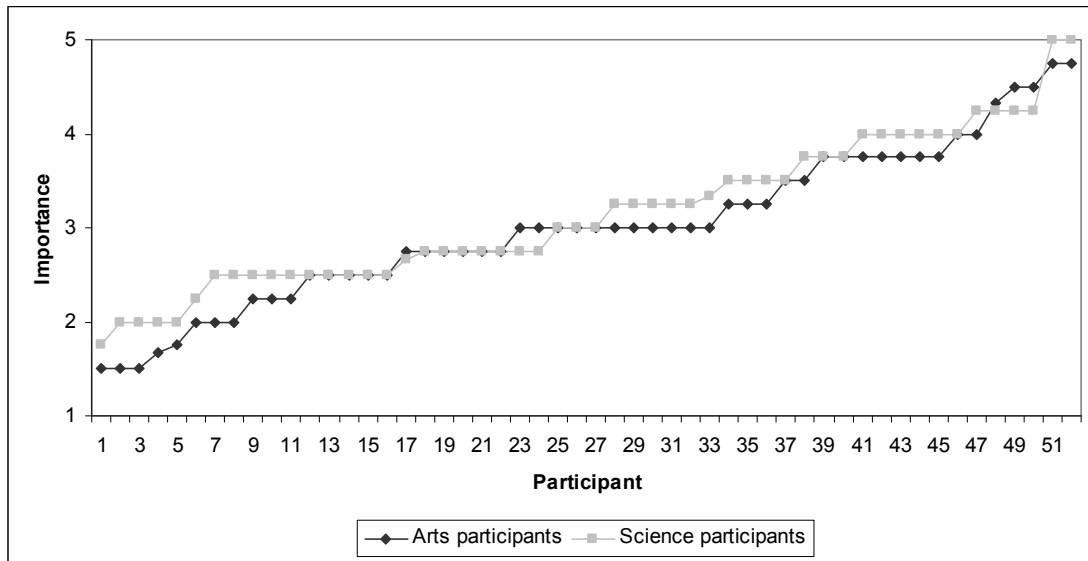


Figure 17. Comparison of average response figures for the importance of family and personal background for Galician-ness given by 52 Arts participants and 52 Science participants.

As could be expected, having seen the results displayed visually in Figure 16, the independent t-test showed that the difference between the responses given by Arts participants compared to those given by Science participants was not statistically significant, with a p-value of 0.419. This means the null hypothesis cannot be rejected with regard to there being a difference between the importance of family and personal background for Galician-ness given by Arts participants and the importance given by Science participants. ($t(132) = 0.811$; $p = .419$).

7.2.5 Importance of culture for Galician-ness

Again, the responses given by the 134 participants were converted into numerical data following the same scheme, and averages were taken for the factors that constitute the factor group of culture. Average response figures for this factor group ranged from 1 to 5, and the average response across the whole sample group was 3.87. See Figure 18.

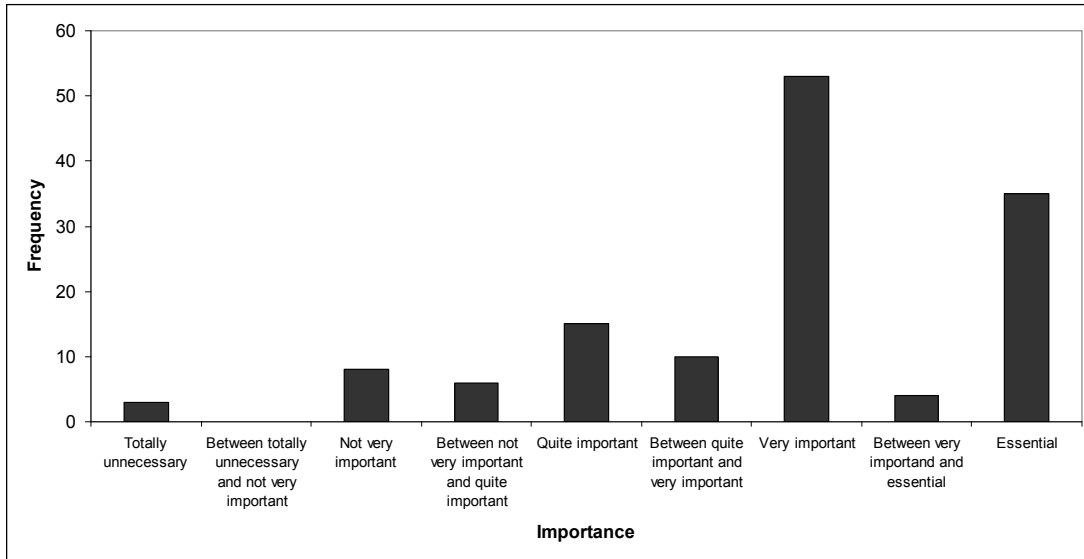


Figure 18. Average response figures of the whole sample group relating to responses on the importance of culture for Galician-ness.

The responses given by the entire sample group were then separated according to subject categorisation. The differences in the average response figures of these two groups can be seen in Figure 19.

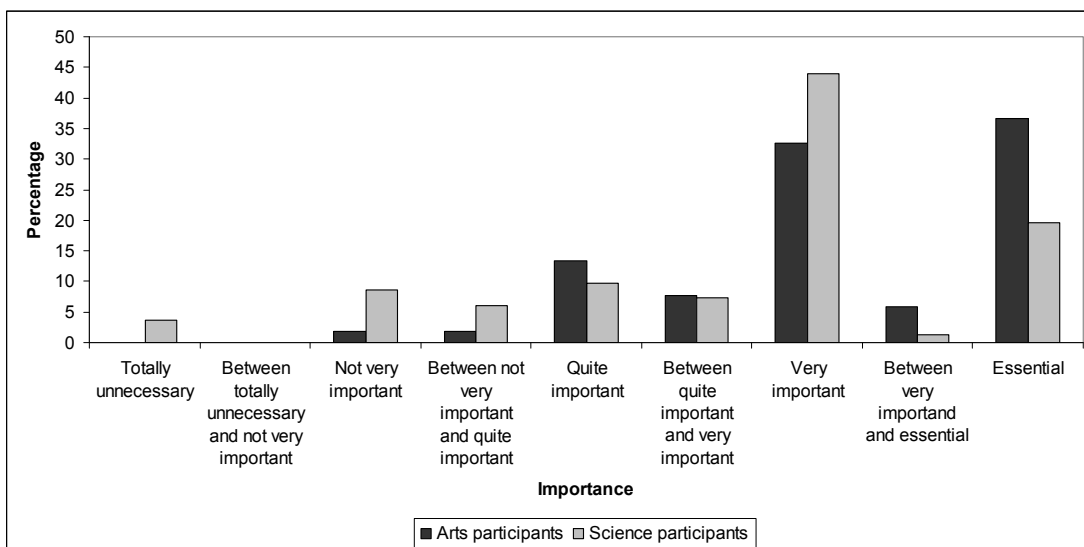


Figure 19. Comparison of average response figures for the importance of culture for Galician-ness given by Arts participants and Science participants, using percentages.

As can be seen in Figure 19, the mode of the Arts sample was a rating of ‘essential’, regarding the importance of culture for Galician-ness (19 participants, 36.54% of the sample group) whilst the mode of the Science participants was a rating of ‘very important’ (36 participants, 43.9% of the group). The average response given by Arts participants was therefore higher than that of Science participants, at 4.15, compared to 3.7. On the whole, Arts participants tended to rate the importance of culture for Galician-ness more highly than did Science participants. This can be seen in Figure 20.

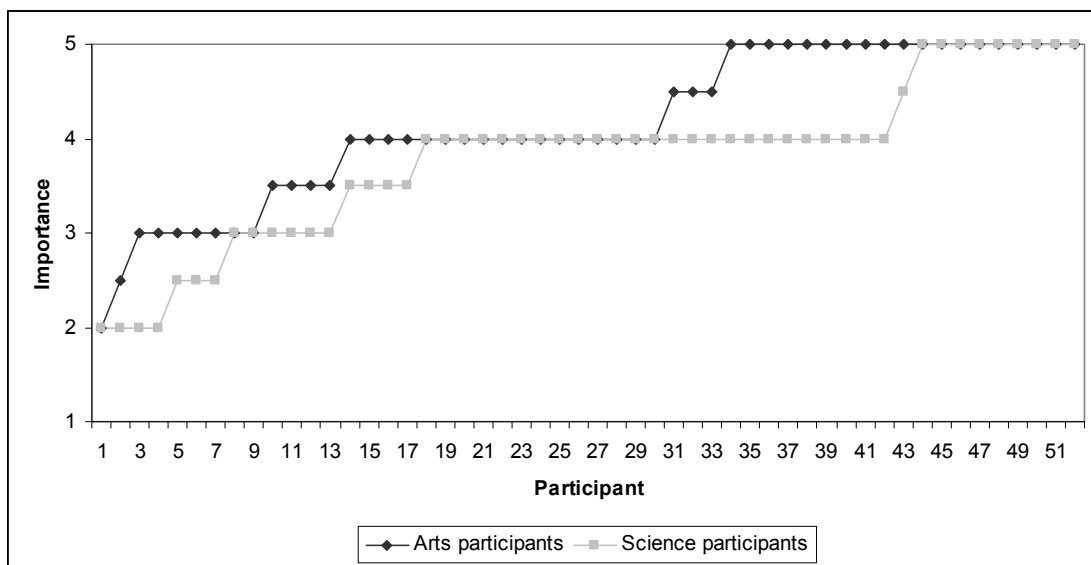


Figure 20. Comparison of average response figures for the importance of culture for Galician-ness given by 52 Arts participants and 52 Science participants.

An independent t-test revealed that the difference between these two sample groups was statistically very significant, and gave a p-value of 0.007, strongly supporting the hypothesis that there would be a difference in the responses provided by these two groups. ($t(132) = -2.747$; $p = .007$).

7.2.6 Synthesis of sub-section

In order to better understand the synthesis of this sub-section it may be helpful to recapitulate some previously quoted figures. These can be seen in Table 2.

| Factor Group | Whole Sample | Arts Participants | Science Participants |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Sentiments | 4.53 | 4.62 | 4.48 |
| Culture | 3.87 | 4.15 | 3.70 |
| Language | 3.65 | 3.83 | 3.53 |
| Family and Personal Background | 3.08 | 3.01 | 3.13 |

Table 2. *Average response figures showing the importance given to factor groups by participants. (Scale of 1-5 where 1 is 'totally unnecessary' and '5 is essential'.)*

Whilst all factor groups have a rating of at least 3 ('quite important' on the semantic differential scale), using the figures in Table 2, the groups can be placed in order of the relative importance according to the responses given by participants. For the whole sample group this order is: sentiments; culture, language, family and personal background. When looking just at the responses given by Arts participants this order of relative importance remains unchanged. The same is true when looking only at the responses given by Science participants. This means that although the actual importance given to each factor group may differ between the two sample groups, the order participants have unknowingly placed the four groups in is the same for both samples.

What does differ between the groups, however, is the actual level of importance that is placed on various factors. Whilst the independent t-tests showed that despite small differences in figures, the responses for the factor groups of sentiments and family and personal background are statistically insignificant at the 0.05 level, the differences between the groups' responses for language and culture both are statistically significant. The difference in responses for culture was particularly significant, as the p-value of 0.007 generated by the independent t-test is significant at the 0.01 level.

In all cases the Arts participants valued each factor group as slightly more important than did the Science participants, except for the family and personal background factor group. This suggests that Science participants are slightly more inclined to value a person's geographical or familial background as an important factor in their 'Galician-ness', although with a difference of only 0.12 points on a scale of 1-5 between the two groups, this difference is far too small to make any statement that could be scientifically defended. The largest difference in importance rating between the two groups was for the factor group of culture. The Arts participants rated this as 0.45 points more important than did the Science participants, which is almost half a step on the importance scale.

These small differences in importance level are, however, all relative to the importance participants placed on the other factors. As the order in which the four are placed remains the same for both Arts and Science participant sample groups, by way of an intermediate conclusion it must be stated that given the data collected, the null hypothesis, which states that there would be no difference between the responses given by these two groups cannot be rejected regarding the importance of factors that make up 'Galician-ness'.

7.3 Uses of Language

7.3.1 Section introduction

Participants were asked to describe their habitual use of language in a series of situations by choosing the most appropriate description out of five options. These were always Galician, mostly Galician, as much Galician as Castilian, mostly Castilian and

always Castilian. The fourteen situations participants were asked to describe can be seen in the text box below.

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Habitual use of language | With superiors |
| With maternal grandparents | With Administration |
| With mother | Whilst reading |
| During daily shopping | To write notes |
| In confidence | To write essays |
| With classmates | With a stranger |
| With home friends | With a specialist doctor |

This list was formulated by modifying the list of situations used in a 1996 study by Rodríguez Neira entitled *Panorama da situación sociolingüística do galego nos universitarios*.¹³⁸ Participants' responses were then coded numerically on a scale of 1 to 5, where 5 refers to a response of 'always Galician', and 1 refers to a response of 'always Castilian'.

7.3.2 Habitual use of language

Responses to this question ranged from 1 to 5, with the largest percentage of participants (31.34%) describing their habitual use of language as mostly Castilian. A further 27.61% of the sample, however, stated their habitual language was always Galician. The responses by Arts participants and those by Science participants were then analysed separately. (See Figure 21.)

¹³⁸ Rodríguez Neira 2004.

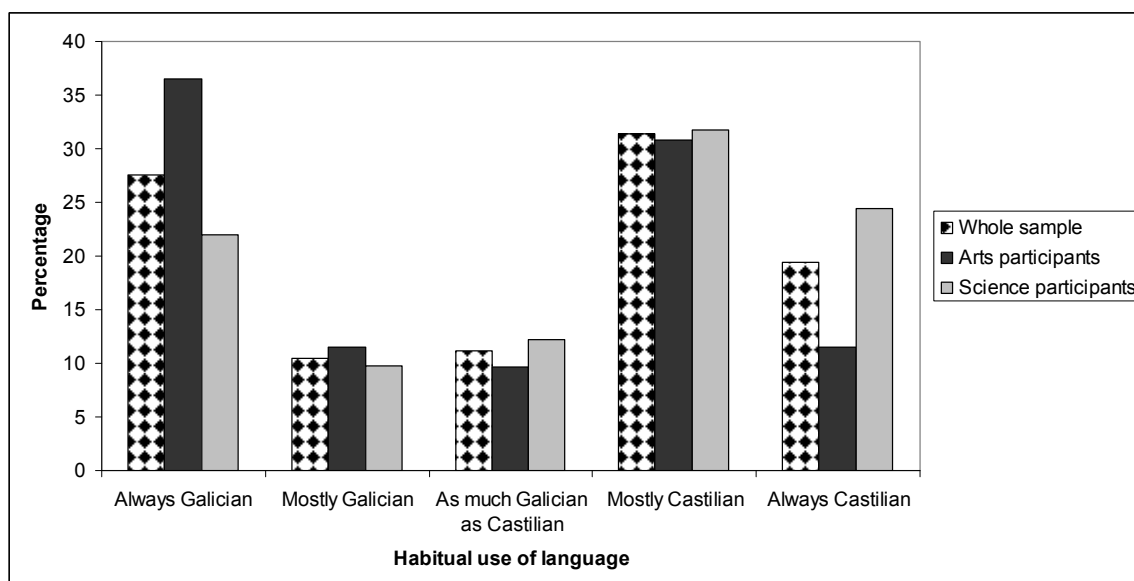


Figure 21. *Habitual use of language, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

As can be seen in Figure 21, more Arts participants stated they always or mostly used Galician than did Science participants (48.04% compared with 31.71%). The reverse is true regarding the use of always or mostly Castilian (42.31% of Arts participants compared with 56.1% of Science participants). The average response given by all 134 participants was 2.96, on the 1-5 scale. The average for Arts participants was slightly higher at 3.31, whilst the average for Science participants was slightly lower at 2.72. The difference between the mean responses given by Arts participants and those given by Science participants were compared in an independent t-test. This showed a p-value of 0.32. This result is statistically significantly difference when using an alpha level of 0.05, supporting the hypothesis that these two samples would use language differently from one another. ($t(132) = -2.203$; $p=0.032$).

7.3.3 With maternal grandparents

Participants were asked to describe their language usage with their maternal grandparents. The reason they were asked only about their maternal background is that this mirrors the questions asked of participants by Rodríguez Neira in his 1996 study.¹³⁹ This decision was taken in order that it would be possible to make a fairer comparison of results from the 1996 study with those from the current study. Again, responses to this question ranged from 1 to 5, although this time the largest percentage of the whole sample group (48.86%) stated their habitual use of language with their maternal grandparents was always Galician. The breakdown of responses when separated into Arts and Science participants can be seen in Figure 22.

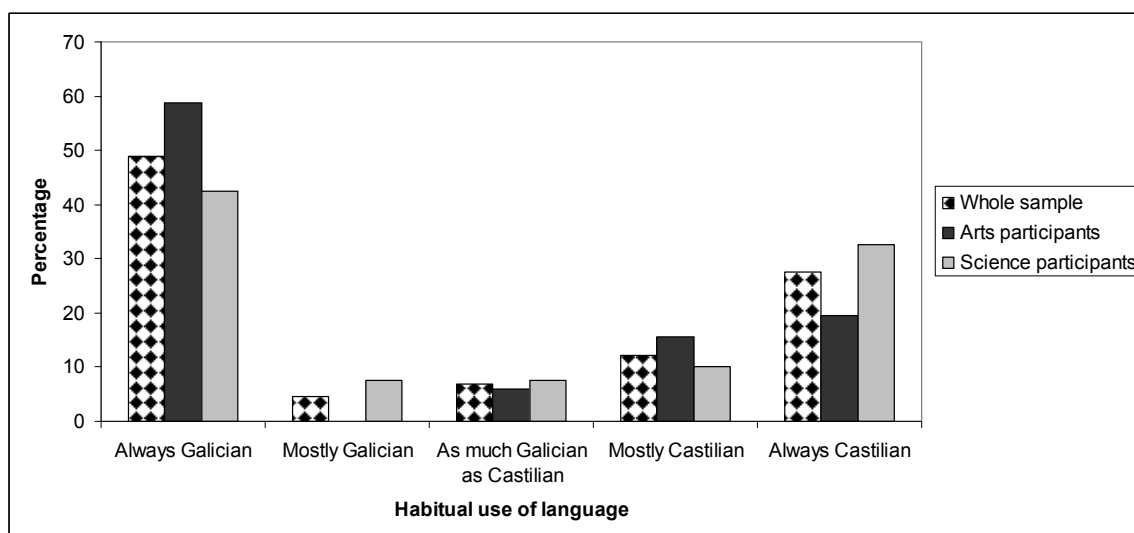


Figure 22. *Habitual use of language with maternal grandparents, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

Figure 22 can be seen to have a similar shape to Figure 21. That is to say that more Arts participants described their habitual use of language in this situation as always Galician or mostly Galician than did Science participants (58.82% compared with 50%), and

¹³⁹ Rodríguez Neira 2004.

more Science participants described their habitual language as always Castilian or mostly Castilian than did Arts participants (42.5% compared with 35.3%). The average response given to this question by all participants was 3.35. The average by Arts participants was slightly higher at 3.63, and that for Science participants was slightly lower at 3.15. The difference between the responses given by the two sample groups was compared in an independent t-test. This showed that although the responses given revealed a higher usage of Galician by Arts participants, and a higher usage of Castilian by Science participants, this difference was not enough to be considered significantly statistically difference at the 0.05 level, with a p-value of 0.154. ($t(129) = -1.435$; $p=0.154$).

7.3.4 With mother

Responses to this question ranged from 1 to 5, and the most commonly stated answer was always Galician, with 42.11% of the whole sample group choosing this option. The average response given by all 134 participants was 2.99. The average response given by Arts participants was 3.37, whilst that given by Science participants was 2.72. This follows the pattern already seen in the variables analysed above. Figure 23 shows how the responses generated by this question can be broken down into the two sample groups, Arts participants and Science participants.

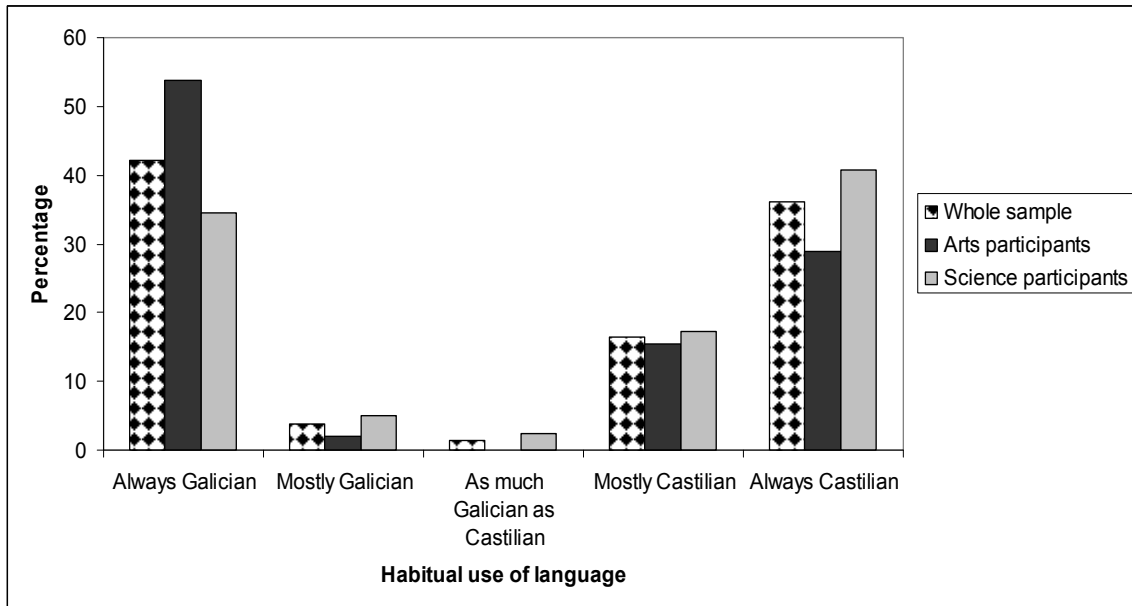


Figure 23. *Habitual use of language with mother, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

Again, the same pattern can be seen in Figure 23 as has been seen in Figures 21 and 22, with 55.77% of Arts participants stating their habitual language use with their mother as always or mostly Galician, compared to 39.51% of Science participants, whilst 58.02% of Science participants speak only or mostly Castilian with their mothers, compared to 44.23% of Arts participants. This difference was tested for statistical significance by an independent t-test, which gave a p-value of 0.06. Strictly speaking, as this thesis is using an alpha level of 0.05 as a cut-off point for statistical significance, this figure cannot be said to be statistically significant, meaning that the null hypothesis cannot be rejected for this question. However, it must be stated that this p-value is close to the 0.05 level, so the reader should bear in mind that it is not far off being statistically significant. ($t(131) = -1.899$; $p=0.06$).

7.3.5 During daily shopping

The responses generated by this question ranged from 1 to 5. This time, amongst the whole sample group, the number of participants choosing always Galician was curiously exactly the same as the number choosing always Castilian, with 42 participants choosing each of these options (each representing 31.58% of the group). The average response to this question was 2.93. The average response given by Arts participants was considerably higher, at 3.43 and by Science participants was lower, at 2.58. Figure 24 shows the breakdown of the results according to subject categorisation.

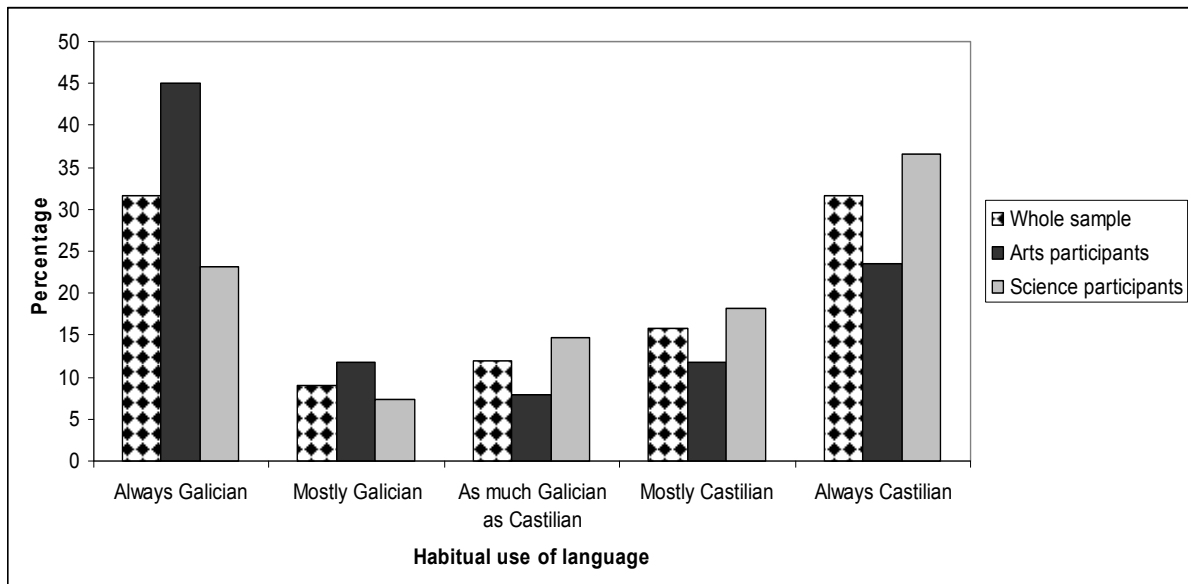


Figure 24. *Habitual use of language during daily shopping, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

In Figure 24 the same pattern can be seen once again, with 56.86% of Arts participants choosing the options of always or mostly Galician to describe their habitual use of language when doing their daily shopping, compared to 30.49% of Science participants, and 54.88% of Science participants choosing always or mostly Castilian, compared to 35.39% of Arts participants. The difference between the responses given by the two

sample groups was compared by an independent t-test. This revealed a p-value of 0.006, which is significant not only at the 0.05 level, but at the 0.01 level. This shows a high level of significance, and strongly supports the hypothesis that these two groups would use language differently. ($t(131) = -2.786$; $p=0.006$).

7.3.6 In confidence

Again the responses generated by this question ranged from 1 to 5. The most commonly chosen option was always Galician, with 32.84% of the whole sample group choosing this option to best describe their habitual use of language in confidence. The average response to this question was 2.99 for the entire sample group. The average for Arts participants was 3.38 and for Science participants was 2.71. Figure 25 shows the results given to this question when analysed according to subject categorisation.

50% of the participants in the Arts sample described their habitual use of language in confidence as always or mostly Galician. This figure is higher than the corresponding figure for Science participants, which saw 32.93% of the participants choosing the same two options. On the other hand, 53.66% of Science participants described their language in this situation as always or mostly Castilian, compared to 34.61% of Arts participants.

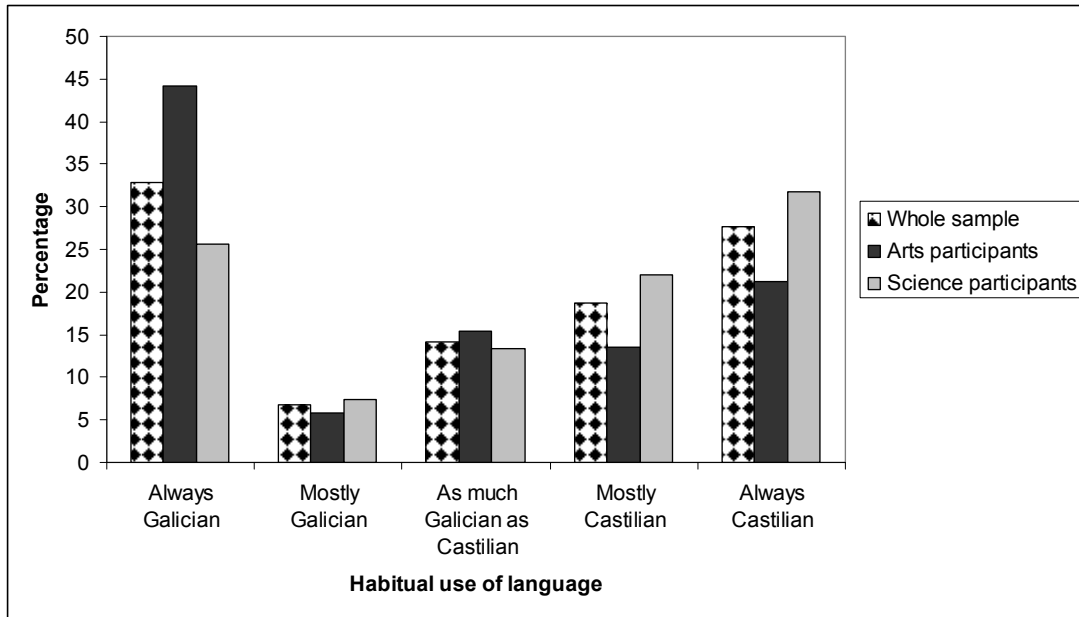


Figure 25. *Habitual use of language in confidence, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

The difference between the responses given by Arts participants and those given by Science participants were compared using an independent t-test. The results from this test showed that with a p-value of 0.024, the responses to this question by the two sample groups were statistically significantly different at the 0.05 level. This supports the hypothesis of the use of language differing between Arts and Science participants.

($t(132) = -2.280; p=0.024$).

7.3.7 With classmates

The options chosen to describe habitual use of language with classmates ranged from 1, representing always Castilian, to 5, representing always Galician. The most commonly chosen option was always Galician, with 31.58% of the whole sample group choosing this, although this was closely followed by always Castilian, which was chosen by 28.57% of the group. The average response for this question was 2.89 when considering the whole sample group as one. This figure rose slightly to 3.33 when just the Arts participants were taken into account, and fell to 2.58 when just the Science participants were considered. The results generated by this question can be seen in Figure 26.

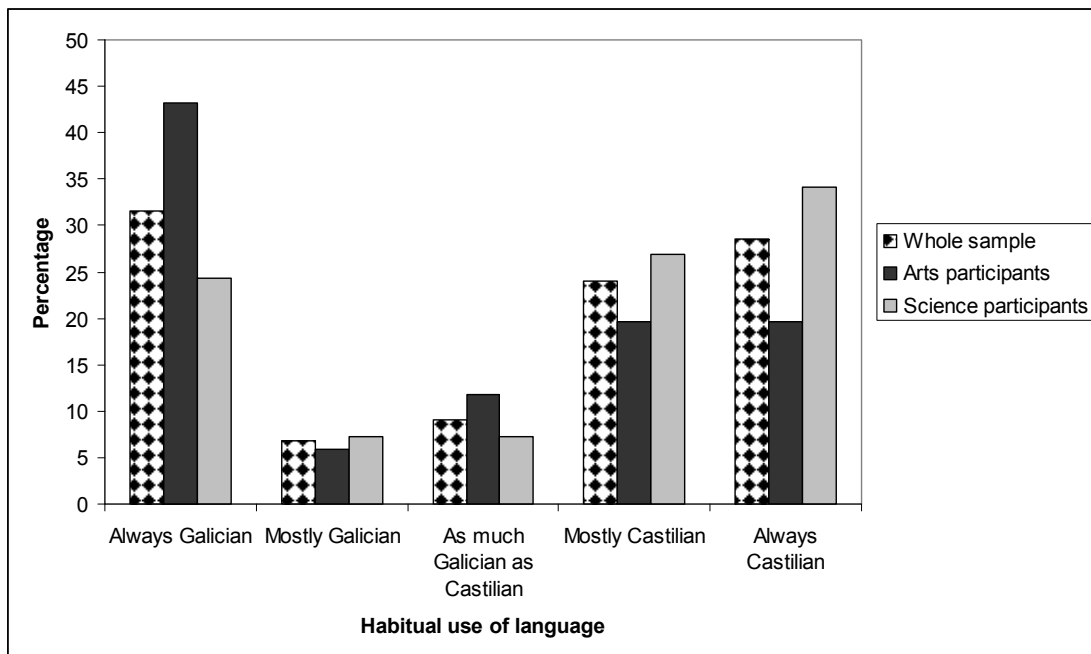


Figure 26. *Habitual use of language with classmates, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

The habitual pattern can be seen again in Figure 26, with more Arts participants choosing always or mostly Galician than did Science participants (49.02% compared with 31.71%), and more Science participants choosing always or mostly Castilian than did Arts participants (60.98% compared with 39.22%). An independent t-test showed a

significant difference between the results of the two sample groups, with a p-value of 0.013. This value is only slightly higher than the 0.01 level, which indicates a strong significant difference between the two samples. This result supports the hypothesis of there being a difference in the use of language by Arts participants compared to Science participants. ($t(131) = -2.508$; $p=0.013$).

7.3.8 With home friends

Again all five options were chosen by participants in their responses to this question. The average response given across the whole sample group was 2.96 on the 1 – 5 scale of use. Following the pattern that can already be seen to have emerged, the average response for Arts participants was slightly higher than this group average, at 3.36, and the average response for Science participants was slightly lower, at 2.65. Again the most commonly chosen option by the whole group was always Galician, which was chosen by 36.36% of the sample group, with a further 34.09% opting for always Castilian as the best description of their habitual language with their home friends (that is to say the friends they have grown up with, before university, henceforth ‘friends’). 50% of the Arts participants described their language in this situation as either always or mostly Galician, compared with 34.15% of the Science participants, whilst 56.09% of the Science participants described it as always or mostly Castilian, compared with 36% of Arts participants. Figure 27 shows a visual representation of the results generated by this question.

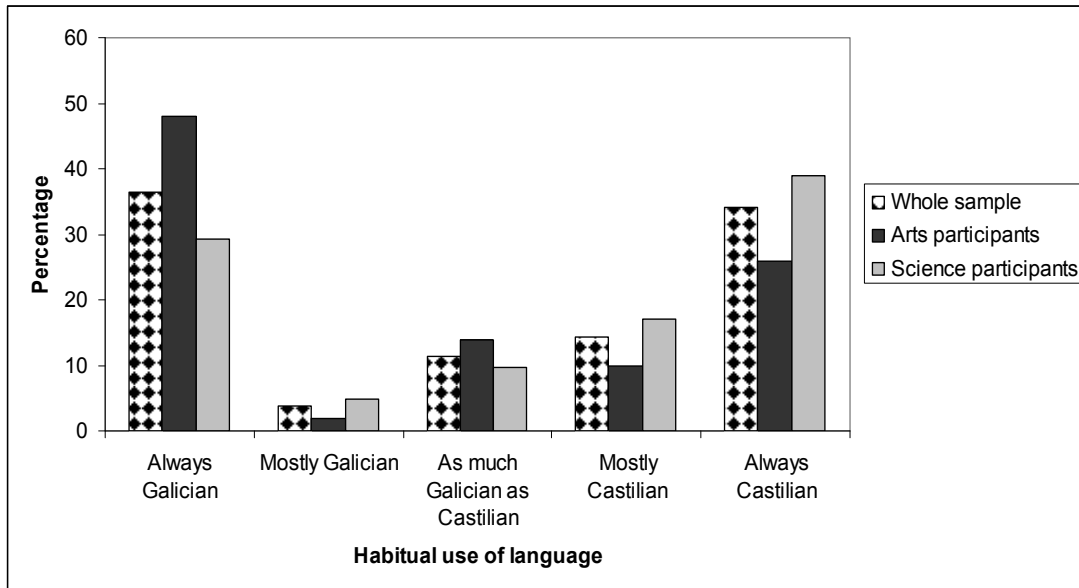


Figure 27. *Habitual use of language with friends, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

An independent t-test showed a significant difference between the habitual use of language with one's friends between the Arts participants and the Science participants, revealing a p-value of 0.029. This supports the hypothesis of the existence of a difference between the ways in which language is used by these two sample groups. ($t(130) = -2.203$; $p=0.029$).

7.3.9 With superiors

Of all five options in the range, the most commonly chosen option to describe habitual use of language with one's superiors was split between always Galician and always Castilian, with 30.6% of the whole sample choosing each of these two options. The most commonly chosen option by Arts participants was always Galician (38.46% of the sample group), and the most commonly chosen option by Science participants was always Castilian (37.8% of the sample). The average response by all participants to this question was 2.91 on the 1 – 5 scale. This average was made up of an average score of

3.29 from the Arts participants and of 2.64 from the Science participants. Figure 28 shows the breakdown of results when categorised according to subject studied.

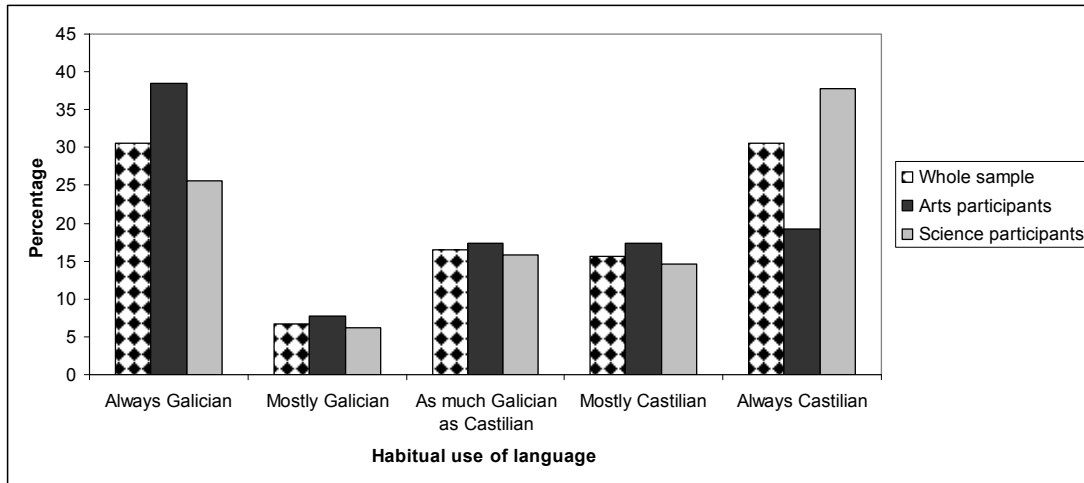


Figure 28. *Habitual use of language with superiors, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

Once again the habitual pattern of responses can be seen, with more Arts participants choosing the options of always or mostly Galician than did Science participants (46.15% compared to 31.71%), and more Science participants choosing the options of always or mostly Castilian than did Arts participants (52.43% compared to 36.54%). The differences in responses from these two samples were tested for statistical significance by an independent t-test. This generated a p-value of 0.033, which falls below the 0.05 alpha level being used to determine significance in this thesis. This supports the hypothesis, which states there would be a difference between the way language is used by Arts participants and the way it is used by Science participants. ($t(132) = -2.156; p=0.033$).

7.3.10 With Administration

Responses to this question ranged from 1 – 5 on the scale where 1 represents ‘always Castilian’ and 5 represents ‘always Galician’. The most common answer was always Galician, with 29.85% of the 134 participants choosing this option, although a further 26.87% opted for always Castilian. The average response across the whole sample group was 3.04 on the 1 – 5 scale. The average for Arts participants was considerably higher (more than half a point), at 3.58, whilst the average response for Science participants was lower, at 2.69. Options relating to a high usage of Galician (always and mostly Galician) were favoured by the Arts participants, with 59.62% choosing these descriptions of language, compared to just 35.36% of Science participants. On the other hand, Castilian options (always and mostly Castilian) were favoured by Science participants, with 54.88% of the Science sample choosing these options, compared to 26.93% of Arts participants. The breakdown of the results generated by this question can be seen in Figure 29.

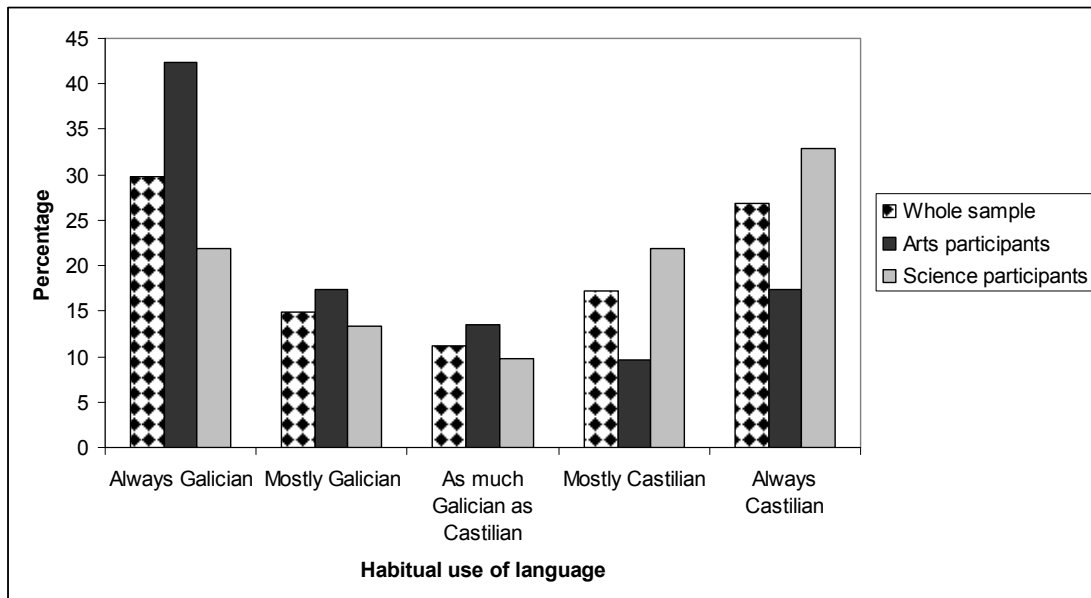


Figure 29. *Habitual use of language with Administration, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

An independent t-test was used to compare the mean responses of Arts participants with those of Science participants to test for statistical significance. The revealed a p-value of 0.002. This is a very low p-value, falling well below the $\alpha=0.05$ level being using in this work, and even well below the $\alpha=0.01$ level. This result can be considered very significant, and shows very strong support for the hypothesis in this case. ($t(132) = -3.184$; $p=0.002$).

7.3.11 Whilst reading

Responses to this question ranged range 1 to 5. The pattern of responses to this question was, however, somewhat different from what we have become used to seeing in Figures 21 to 29. See Figure 30.

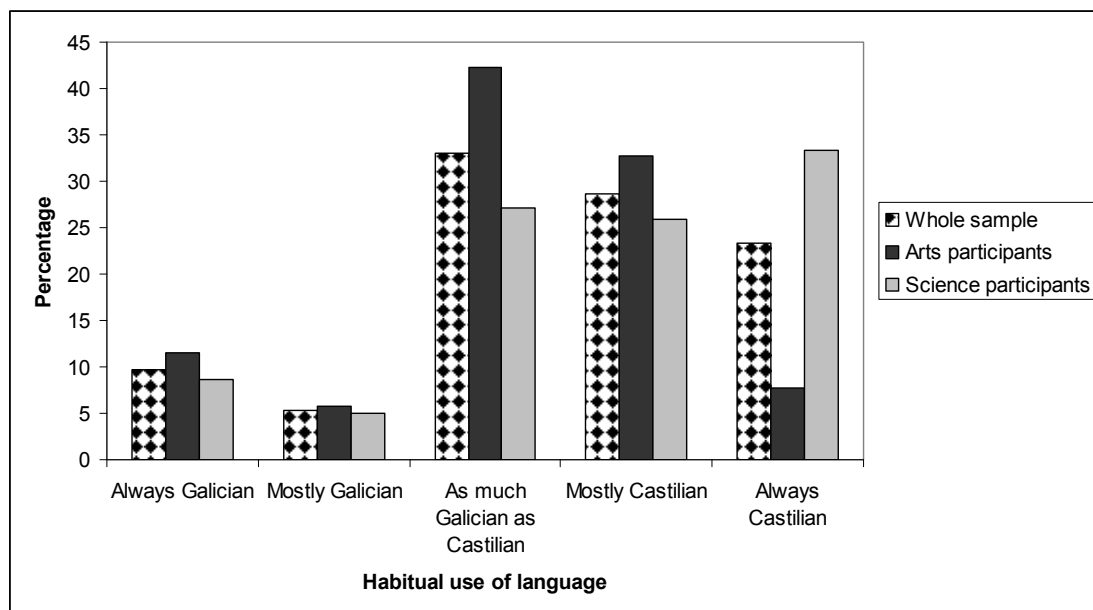


Figure 30. *Habitual use of language when reading, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

It can be seen from Figure 30 that the most commonly chosen option by the whole sample group to describe habitual language usage when reading was ‘as much Galician as Castilian’, with 33.08% of the sample choosing this option. This was also the most commonly chosen response by Arts participants, with 42.31% of the Arts sample making this choice. The largest percentage of Science participants opted for ‘always Castilian’, however, with 33.33% of the group opting for this description of their habitual use of language whilst reading. The average response by the whole group was 2.5. For Arts participants the average response was higher, at 2.81, whilst for Science participants the average was slightly lower, at 2.3.

The responses of the Arts sample and that of the Science sample for this question were tested for a statistically significant difference using an independent t-test. This gave a p-value of 0.015, meaning the difference between the answers of the two groups can be considered statistically significant at the 0.05 level. This supports the hypothesis that there would be a difference between the use of language by these two sample groups. ($t(131) = -2.462$; $p=0.015$).

7.3.12 To write notes

Responses to this question once again ranged from 1 to 5. The most commonly chosen response was always Castilian, with 31.34% of the whole sample group making this choice. A further 28.36% opted for always Galician. The most commonly chosen response by Arts participants was always Galician (38.46%), and for Science participants was always Castilian (41.46%). The average response across the whole sample was 2.84 on the scale of 1 to 5 and for Arts participants was 3.42. The average

response of Science participants was more than a whole point lower than that of their Arts participant counterparts, at 2.46. Figure 31 shows a visual representation of the breakdown of responses to this question when categorised according to the subject studied by participants.

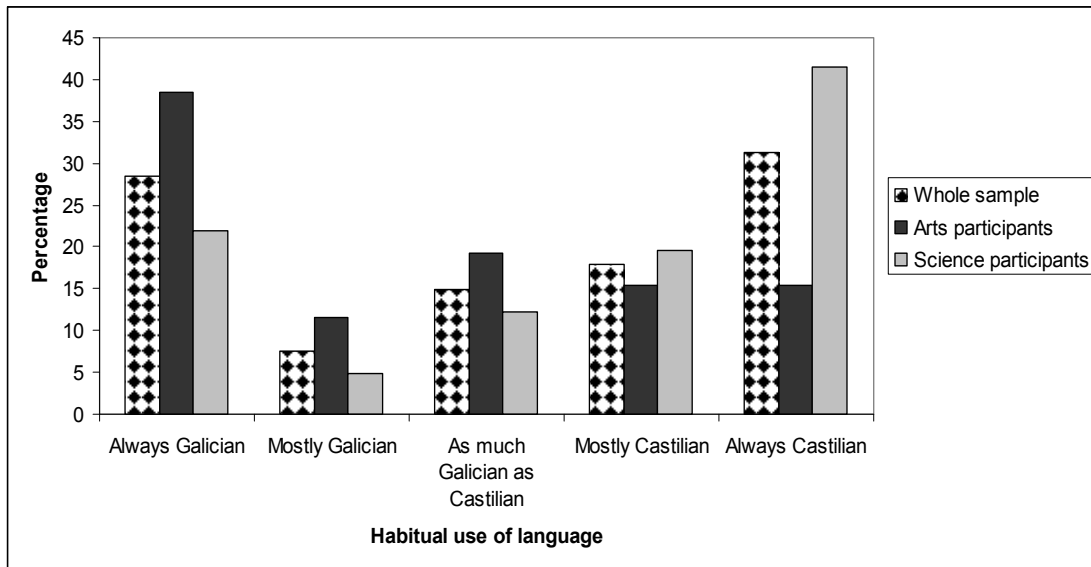


Figure 31. *Habitual use of language when writing notes, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

As can be seen in Figure 31, responses to this question returned to the habitual pattern, with the largest percentage of Arts participants opting for Galician choices (always or mostly Galician), with 50% of the sample making this choice, compared to 26.83% of Science participants. The majority of Science participants opted for Castilian choices (always or mostly Galician): 60.97% of Science participants made these choices, contrasting with the 30.76% of Arts participants who did so. These are some of the largest differences seen yet in the analysis of responses to the questions regarding the use of language. An independent t-test confirmed this, by giving a p-value of the difference between the answers provided by Arts participants to those provided by

Science participants of $p=0.001$. This is an extremely low p-value, and falls far below the 5% level of significance at work in this thesis. It also falls well below the 1% level, which Dancey and Reidy describe as a 'very conservative criterion for significance'.¹⁴⁰ This means the difference in the uses by the two groups is very significant in this case, and very strongly supports the hypothesis which states that there would be a difference between the two. ($t(132) = -3.471$; $p=0.001$).

7.3.13 To write essays

In the usual manner, responses to this question ranged from 1 to 5. The average response across the whole sample group was 2.67. As has become customary, the average response of Arts participants was higher, at 3.16, and the average response of Science participants was lower, at 2.33. The most commonly chosen option to describe habitual language use when writing essays was always Castilian, with 34.38% of the whole sample group choosing this option. This was also the most common response by Science participants, being chosen by 44.87% of the sample, while the largest percentage of the Arts participants (38%) chose the option of always Galician. Following the usual pattern, Galician options (always or mostly Galician) were most favoured by Arts participants, with 40% making this choice, while Castilian options (always or mostly Castilian) were most favoured amongst Science participants, being chosen by 64.1% of the Science sample. Figure 32 shows the breakdown of responses to this question according to Arts and Science participants.

¹⁴⁰ Dancey and Reidy p144.

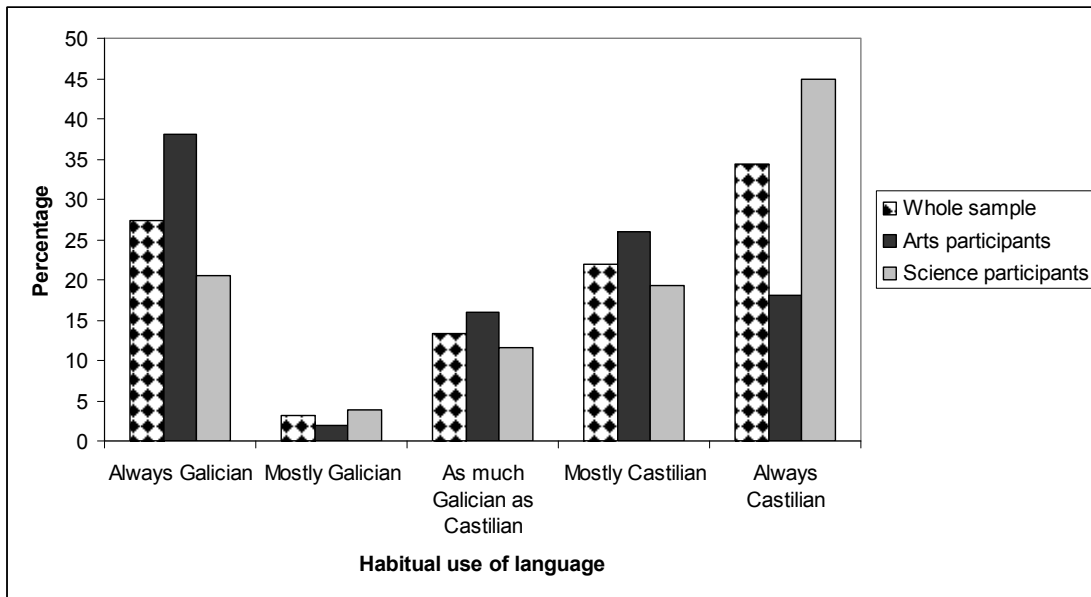


Figure 32. *Habitual use of language when writing essays, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

An independent t-test revealed a p-value of 0.006 when testing for a statistically significant difference in language use when writing essays between the two sample groups. This is statistically significant at the 0.05 alpha level being used in this work, and also at the more conservative 0.01 level. This strongly supports the hypothesis of this thesis. ($t(126) = -2.798$; $p=0.006$).

7.3.14 With a stranger

Responses generated by this question also ranged from 1 to 5, with an average score across the whole sample group of 2.71. The average response for Arts participants was customarily higher, at 3.25, whilst for Science participants was lower, at 2.36. Figure 33 shows a visual representation of the responses provided to this question.

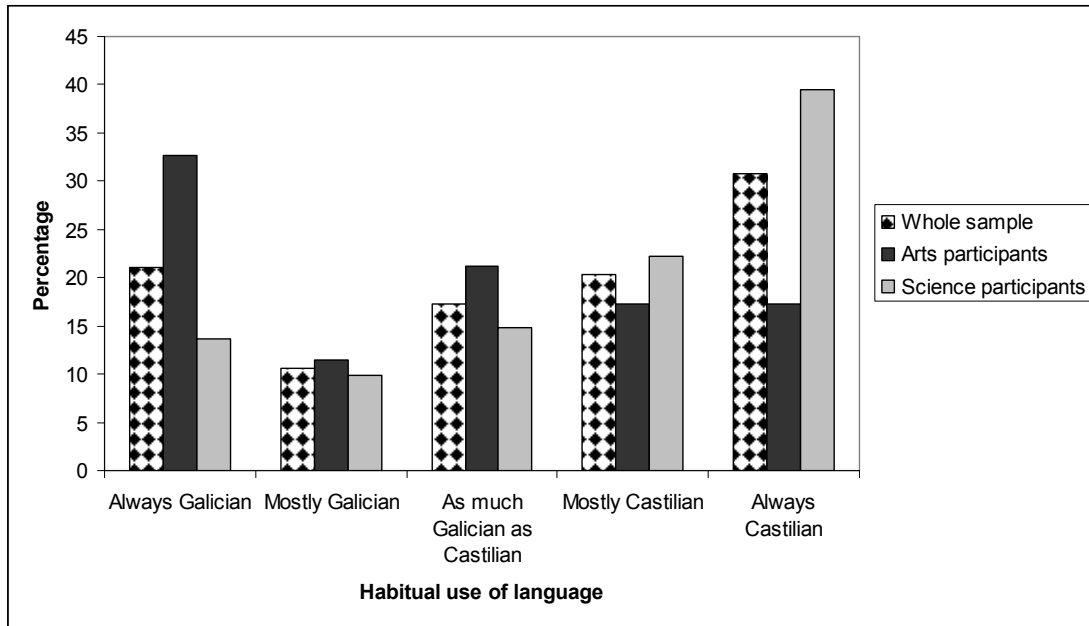


Figure 33. *Habitual use of language when conversing with a stranger, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

As can be seen in Figure 33, the most common response for the whole sample group was always Castilian, with 30.83% of the group choosing this as the best way to describe their habitual language when conversing with a stranger. This was also the most common response for Science participants, with clearly the largest percentage of the group (39.51%) making this choice, whilst the largest percentage of the Arts participants (32.69%) opted for a description of always Galician. Options representing a high usage of Galician (always and mostly Galician) were chosen by more Arts participants than Science participants (44.23% compared with 23.46%), whilst options representing a high usage of Castilian (always and mostly Castilian) were chosen by more Science participants than Arts participants (61.73% compared with 34.62%).

The mean responses provided by participants from these two sample groups were compared and tested for statistical significance by an independent t-test. This gave a p-

value of 0.001. Again, this is an extremely low p-value, and shows a very high level of support for the hypothesis in this instance. ($t(131) = -3.431$; $p=0.001$).

7.3.15 With a specialist doctor

Responses for this question ranged for 1 to 5 on the scale. The average response given by the whole sample group to describe habitual language use with a specialist doctor was 2.83. This was made up of an average response of 3.37 by Arts participants and 2.46 by Science participants, which follows the usual pattern. The most common response across the whole sample group was always Castilian, which was chosen by 33.08% of participants. This was also the choice of the largest percentage of Science participants (40.74%), although the largest percentage of Arts participants opted for always Galician (42.31%). Following what has now become the usual pattern, more Arts participants made choices relating to a high usage of Galician (always or mostly Galician) when talking to a specialist doctor than did Science participants (50% compared with 27.16%), whilst more Science participants chose options relating to a high usage of Castilian (always or mostly Castilian) than did Arts participants (59.26% compared with 34.61%). See Figure 34.

An independent t-test showed the difference between the responses provided by these two sample groups to this question were very significant, with a p-value of 0.002. This strongly supports the hypothesis of this thesis, which states that there would be a difference between the use of language by these two differing sample groups. ($t(131) = -3.114$; $p=0.002$).

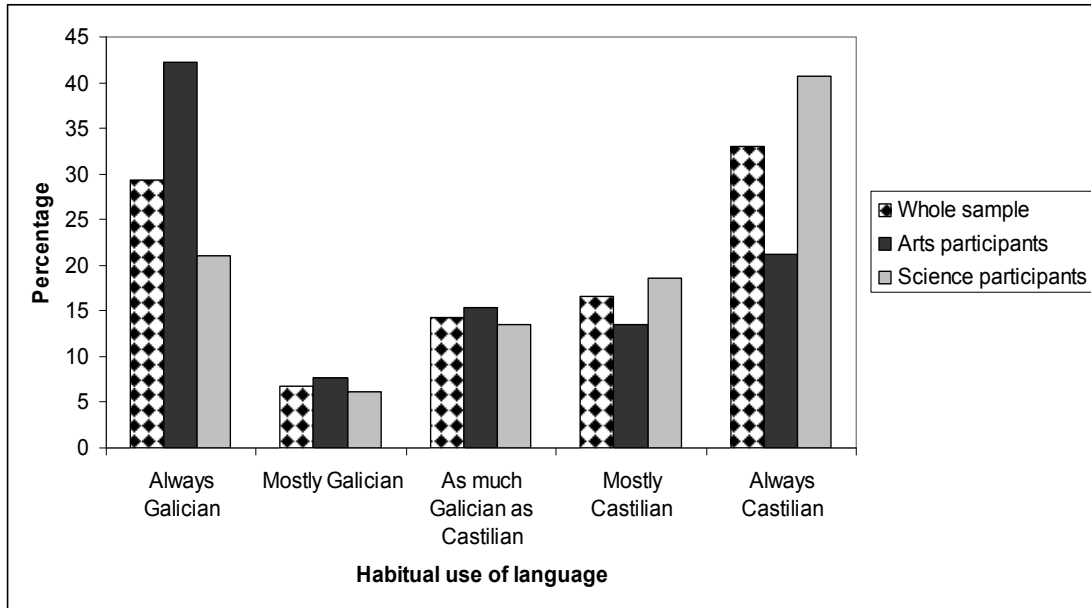


Figure 34. *Habitual use of language when talking to a specialist doctor, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).*

7.3.16 Average habitual usage

For ease of viewing, the average scores relating to participants' habitual use of language in all situations about which they were asked have been placed together in Figure 35.

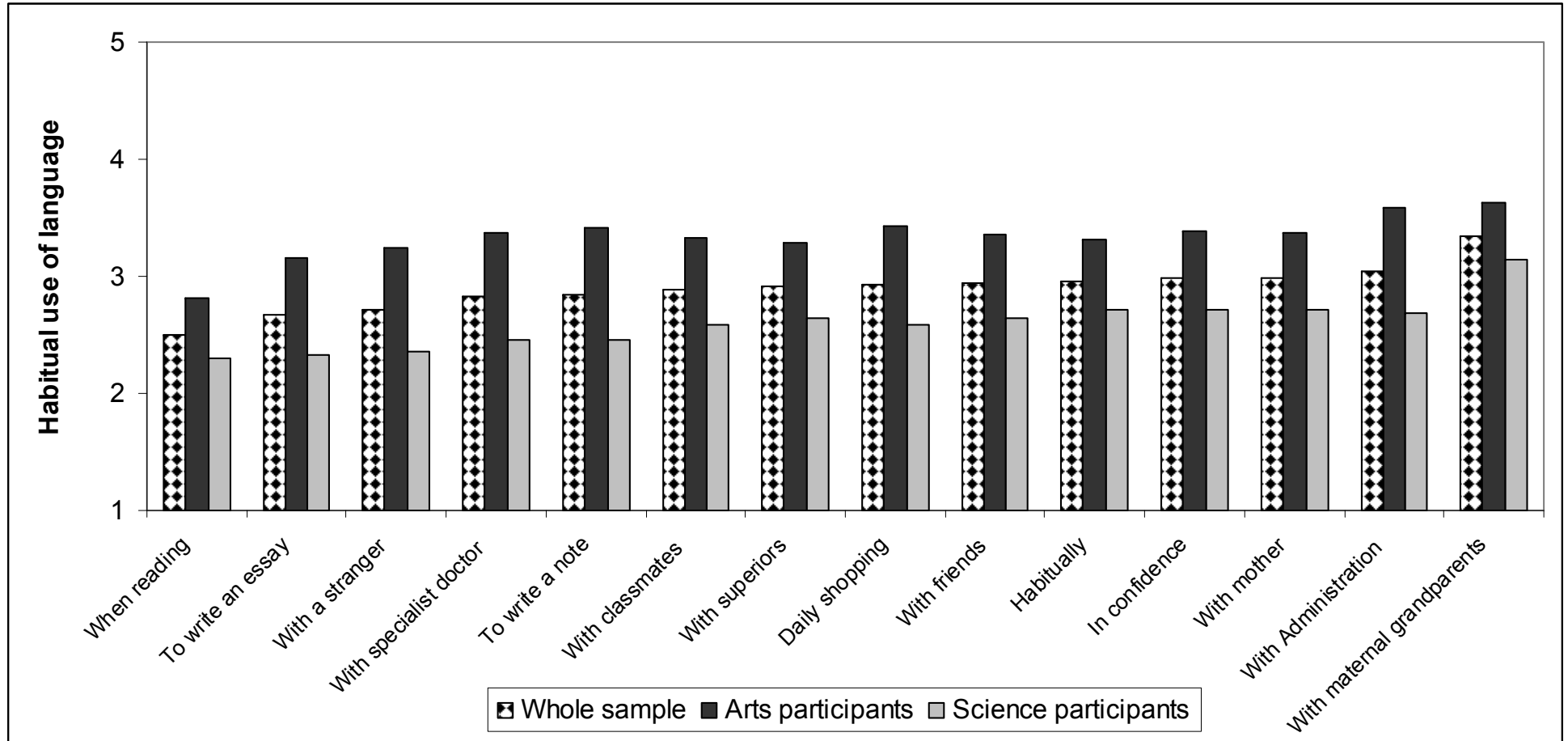


Figure 35. Habitual use of language, according to Arts and Science participants (percentage).

It can be seen in Figure 35 that the average habitual usage of language by Arts participants is consistently pitched further towards a more extensive use of Galician than the average habitual usage of language by Science participants. Visual examination of the data would suggest that such a difference in usage is sufficient to be considered significant. An independent t-test confirmed this, giving a p-value of 0.003. This shows that, if the null hypothesis (that there would be no difference in the usage of language by these two samples) were true, this result would be very unlikely to have arisen, with a probability of just three in one thousand. It can therefore be concluded that in terms of the average habitual use of language, at least within the social situations about which participants were asked, the difference between participants who are studying or have recently graduated in Arts subjects and those who are studying or have recently graduated in Science subjects, is statistically very significant, despite there being no statistically significant difference in their described initial language or their stated mother tongue. ($t(132) = -3.078$; $p = .003$).

7.3.17 Degrees of formality and the use of language

The average scores for habitual use of language can also be used to look for a relationship between the use of language and the degree of formality of a situation. The average language use scores for each situation can be seen in Figure 36. Since participants were asked to describe their use of language in a particular situation by choosing the most appropriate description on a scale from always Castilian to always Galician, and then these descriptions were coded numerically from 1 to 5, a higher average score represents a more extensive usage of Galician.

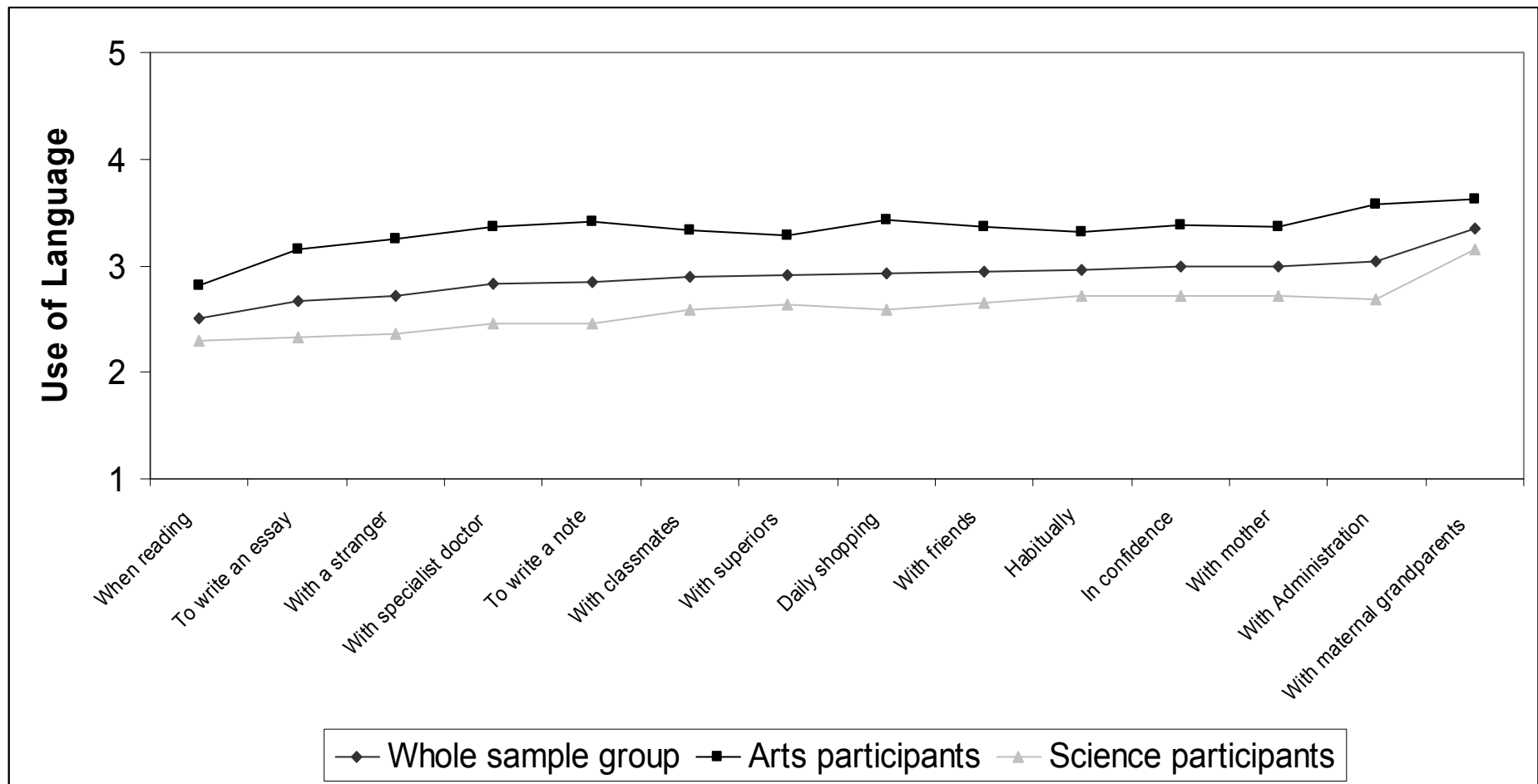


Figure 36. *Habitual use of language in various situations.*

Looking at Figure 36 then, it can be seen that a general trend emerges showing a negative correlation between the amount of use of Galician and the degree of formality of a situation. That is to say, the more formal a situation, the less Galician is spoken. That said, the average scores for language use with Administration, which could be considered a formal situation, is relatively high. The use of Galician in written situations remains relatively low, even in informal situations such as writing a note.

Although the average use scores for Arts participants and those for Science participants differ slightly, the general trend of using more Galician in the most informal situations remains. The main differences between the average scores of these two sample groups are found in the following situations: talking to a stranger, talking to a specialist doctor, when doing the daily shopping, with Administration, when writing a note and when writing an essay. These were all the situations in which a p-value of 0.006 or lower was found, and the highly statistically significant differences between the responses of each sample group can be seen more simply using Figure 36, as these are the situations in which the widest separations between the Arts participants line and the Science participants line occur. The situations in which there was the least difference in the average scores as provided by the two sample groups are the language used when talking to one's mother, and the language used when talking to one's maternal grandparents. These were the two situations which the independent t-tests did not find to be statistically significantly different at the 0.05 level.

7.3.18 The use of language when writing

Participants were asked to describe their use of language when writing in two situations: writing essays and writing notes. Figures 37 and 38 show the responses given regarding the use of language when writing notes.

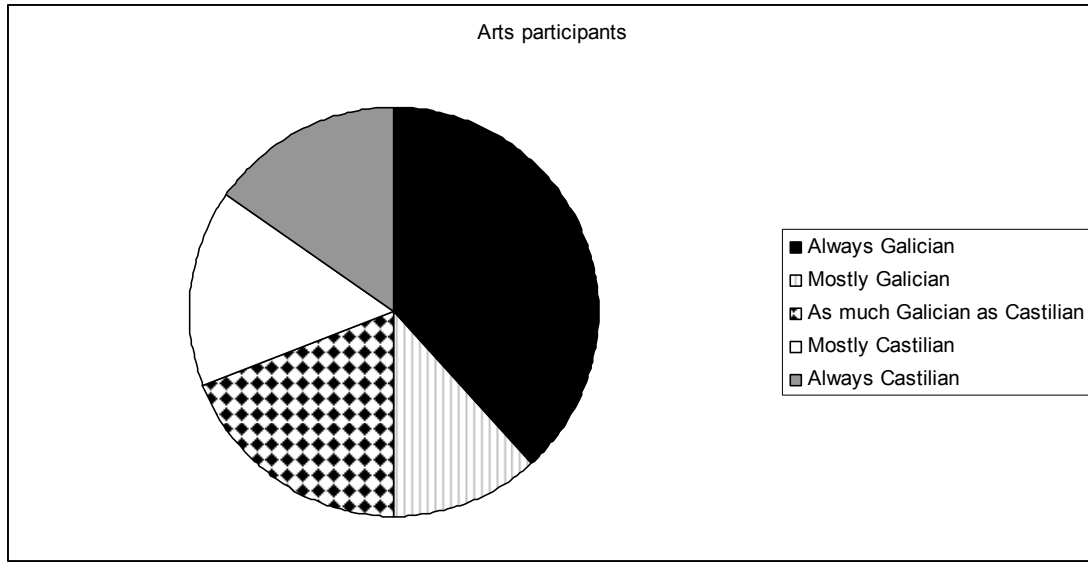


Figure 37. *Use of language by Arts participants when writing notes.*

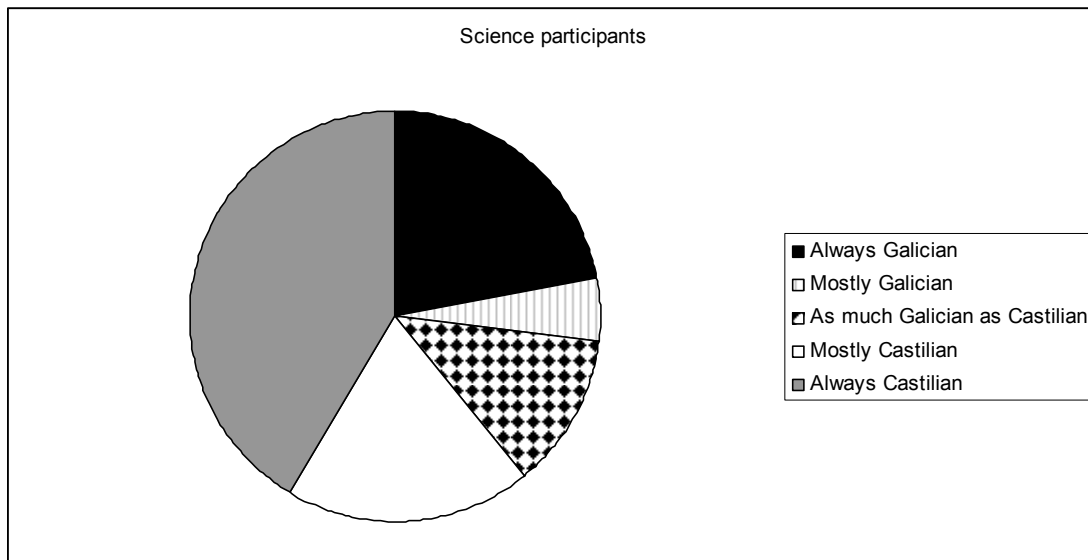


Figure 38. *Use of language by Science participants when writing notes.*

It can be seen that the Arts participants made much heavier usage of Galician, whilst the Science participants favoured the use of Castilian. As mentioned above, the p-value for the difference in these responses was very significant, at $p=0.001$, which strongly supports the hypothesis of this thesis. Figures 39 and 40 show participants' use of language when writing essays.

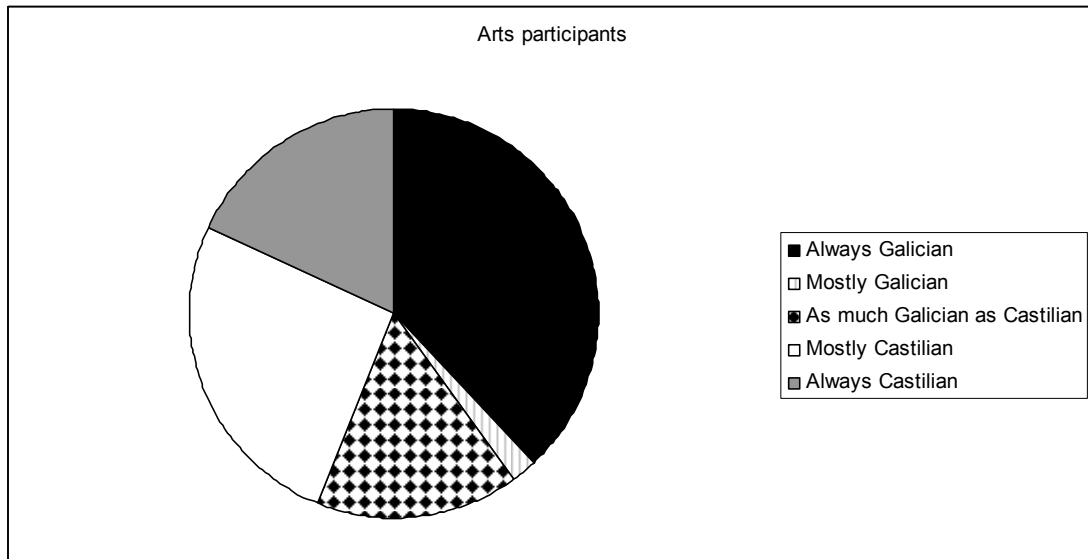


Figure 39. *Use of language by Arts participants when writing essays.*

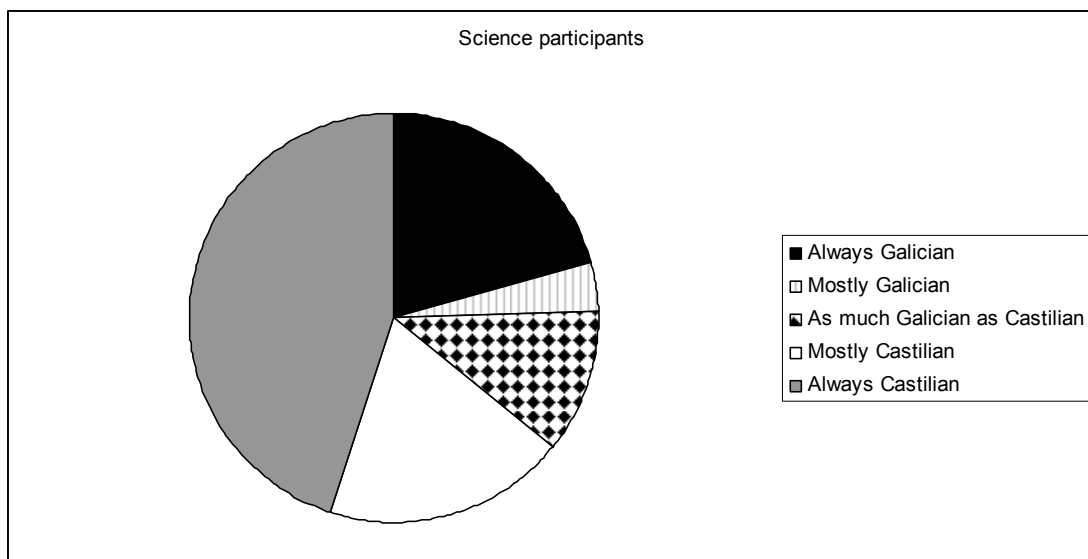


Figure 40. *Use of language by Science participants when writing essays.*

Again the same pattern was seen in the results, with Arts participants favouring the use of Galician to write essays, and Science participants favouring the use of Castilian. The p-value for this difference, although slightly larger, at 0.006, is still a highly significant result, and strongly supports the hypothesis being tested.

There is, however, a difference in the numbers of Arts participants who made each choice between essay-writing responses and note-writing responses. Whilst 50% of Arts participants described their note-writing language as always or mostly Galician, just 40% stated they used always or mostly Galician to write an essay. 30.76% of Arts participants stated they always or mostly wrote notes in Castilian, whilst 44% stated they wrote their essays always or mostly in Castilian. In contrast, whilst 24.36% of Science participants described their habitual note-writing language as always or mostly Galician, a very similar figure of 23.46% stated they always or mostly wrote their essays in Galician. 64.1% of Science participants chose to describe their habitual note-writing language as always or mostly Castilian, 61.73% described their habitual essay-writing language as the same.

A difference can be seen then, in the choice of language made particularly by Arts participants: as the formality of the text being written rises, participants are increasingly likely to choose to write in Castilian. This suggests a preference for Castilian for writing formal texts, even amongst Arts participants, who have already been seen to use significantly more Galician than their Science counterparts, and in more formal situations (such as with a specialist doctor and a stranger).

7.3.19 Synthesis of sub-section

From looking at the data generated in this study and its analysis, a link can be seen between the degree of formality of the situation and the use of language. In almost all cases, this takes the form of a correlation between the two. That is to say in situations with a high degree of formality, speakers are more likely to use Castilian than Galician. The inverse is also true. This is even the case amongst Arts participants, who have been shown to have a tendency towards a much more extensive usage of Galician than do Science participants, despite there being no significant difference in the initial language of these two groups. This shows a link between prestige and the use language, specifically that a situation with a higher level of prestige will usually encourage the use of Castilian.

One particular situation, however, can be seen to buck this trend. This is the use of language with Administration. Despite the fact that this could be considered a formal situation, so a high usage of Castilian would normally be expected, the average usage score across the whole sample group for this situation was 3.04 on the 1 – 5 scale where 1 represented a response of ‘always Castilian’, 5 represented ‘always Galician’ and 3 represented ‘as much Galician as Castilian’. The only situation which scored higher overall was the use of language with one’s maternal grandparents (3.35). More participants stated they use Galician with Administration (29.85%) than have Galician as their habitual language (27.61%).

Aside from this tendency towards the use of Galician with Administration, these results show a correlation between formality / prestige of situation and the use of Castilian.

7.3.20.1 Pastime usage of language

Participants were asked to describe the extent to which they use Galician when listening to music, watching films and watching the television. The question can be seen in the text box below.

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 16. ¿Escuchas música en gallego? | <input type="checkbox"/> Siempre | <input type="checkbox"/> Muchas veces | <input type="checkbox"/> A veces | <input type="checkbox"/> Pocas veces | <input type="checkbox"/> Nunca |
| 17. ¿Ves películas en gallego? | <input type="checkbox"/> Siempre | <input type="checkbox"/> Muchas veces | <input type="checkbox"/> A veces | <input type="checkbox"/> Pocas veces | <input type="checkbox"/> Nunca |
| 18. ¿Ves la televisión en gallego? | <input type="checkbox"/> Siempre | <input type="checkbox"/> Muchas veces | <input type="checkbox"/> A veces | <input type="checkbox"/> Pocas veces | <input type="checkbox"/> Nunca |

Responses were then coded numerically from 1 to 5, where 5 represented ‘always’ and 1 represented ‘never’.

7.3.20.2 Use of language when listening to music

Responses to this question ranged from never to always, although the most common response for the largest percentage of Arts participants (34.62%) was sometimes, and for the largest percentage of Science participants (32.1%) was not very often. Figures 41 and 42 show the breakdown of results according to subject categorisation.

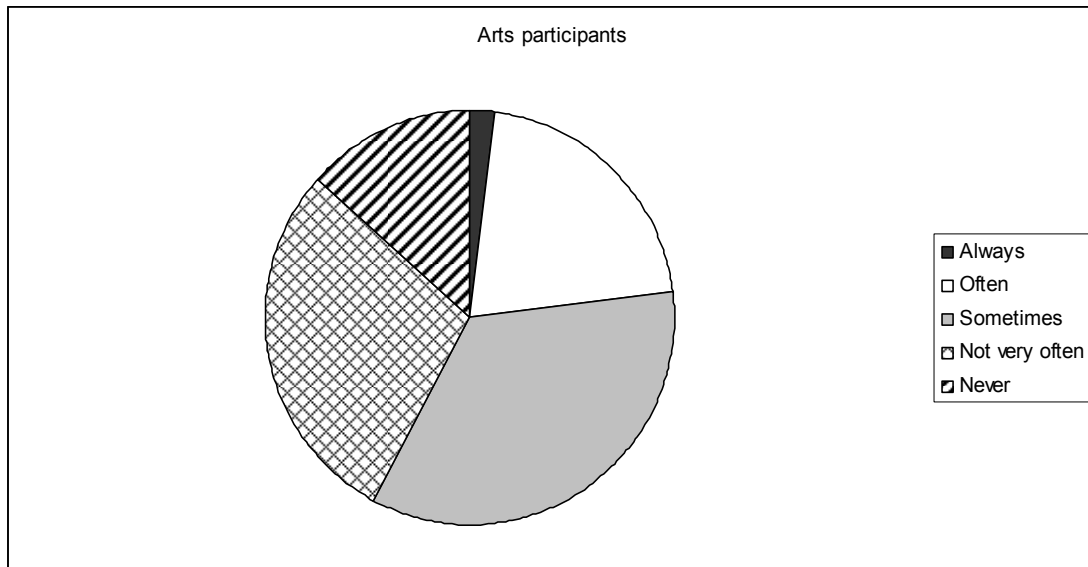


Figure 41. *Use of Galician when listening to music. Arts participants (percentage).*

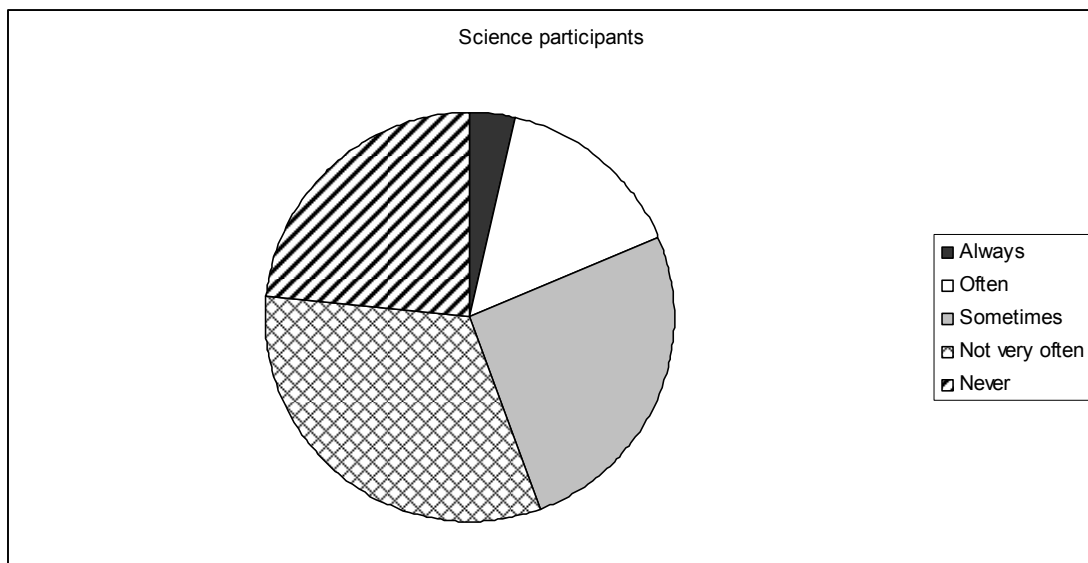


Figure 42. *Use of Galician when listening to music. Science participants (percentage).*

Figures 41 and 42 show that the general shape of responses given by the two sample groups are quite similar, the main difference being that on average, Arts participants tend to listen to music in Galician slightly more often. It can be seen from Figures 41 and 42 that a slightly larger percentage of Science participants than Arts participants

stated they always listen to music in Galician (3.7% compared with 1.92%), although the overall mean response figure for each group shows that on average, Arts participants listen to music in Galician slightly more often than do Science participants, with an average of 2.7 on the 1 to 5 scale for the Arts sample and 2.4 for the Science sample. The differences between the responses from the two groups were tested for statistical significance using an independent t-test. This revealed no significant difference between the two, with a p-value of 0.178. The null hypothesis cannot therefore be rejected on the matter of language usage when listening to music. ($t(131) = -1.355$; $p=.178$).

7.3.20.3 Use of language when watching films

The range of responses for Science participants was 1 to 5, whilst for Arts participants this was 1 to 4. Figures 43 and 44 show responses to this question when participants are categorised according to the subject they study. As can be seen from these figures, the most common response for Science participants was not very often (45.68%), and Figure 44 shows a similar shape to Figure 42. The shape for Arts participants however, is different, with equal numbers of participants choosing often and never (11.54% each) and equal numbers of participants choosing sometimes and not very often (38.46% each). Again, as Figures 43 and 34 show, more Science participants stated they always watched films in Galician than did Arts participants (2.5% of Science participants gave this response but 0% of Arts participants did). Nevertheless, when the mean response figures are compared it can be seen from the results that Arts participants tended to state they used slightly more Galician when watching films than did Science participants (with an average of 2.5 on the 1 to 5 scale for Arts participants compared with 2.4 for

Science participants), although the fact the difference in the two figures is so slight could be used to argue that this is in no way conclusive of the main hypothesis.

Rather unsurprisingly, after looking at the average response figures for the two sample groups, the difference in responses was not found to be significant. When analysed using an independent t-test, a high p-value of 0.727 was revealed, meaning again the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. ($t(131) = -.349$; $p=.727$).

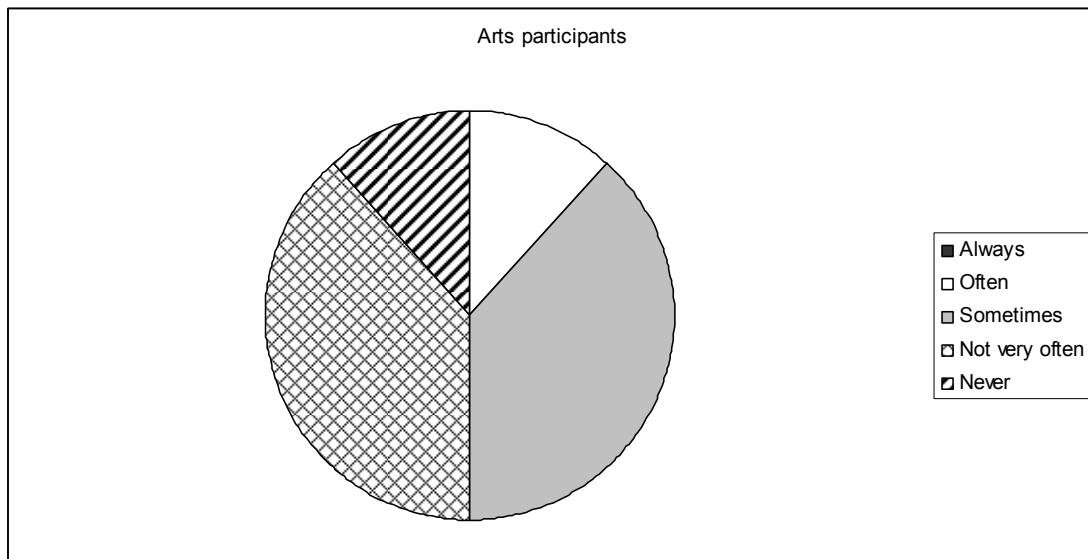


Figure 43. *Use of Galician when watching films. Arts participants (percentage).*

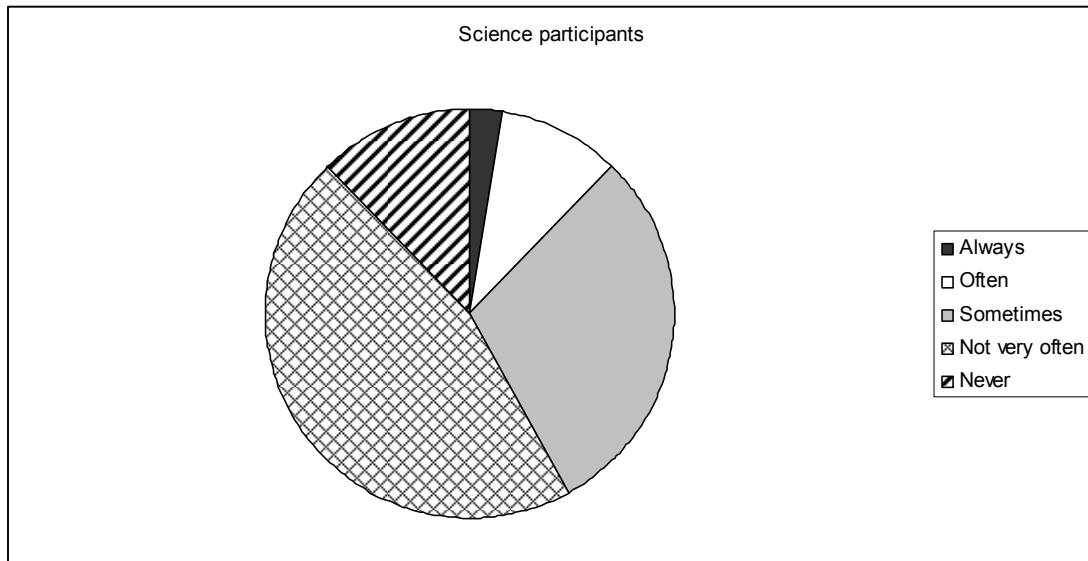


Figure 44. *Use of Galician when watching films. Science participants (percentage).*

7.3.20.4 Use of language when watching television

Responses to this question had a range of 1 to 5 for Science participants and 2 to 4 for Arts participants. In both cases the most common response was sometimes, with 56.85% of Arts participants and 45% of Science participants choosing this option to best describe the extent to which they watch television in Galician. Figures 45 and 46 are a visual representation of the data collected by the question.

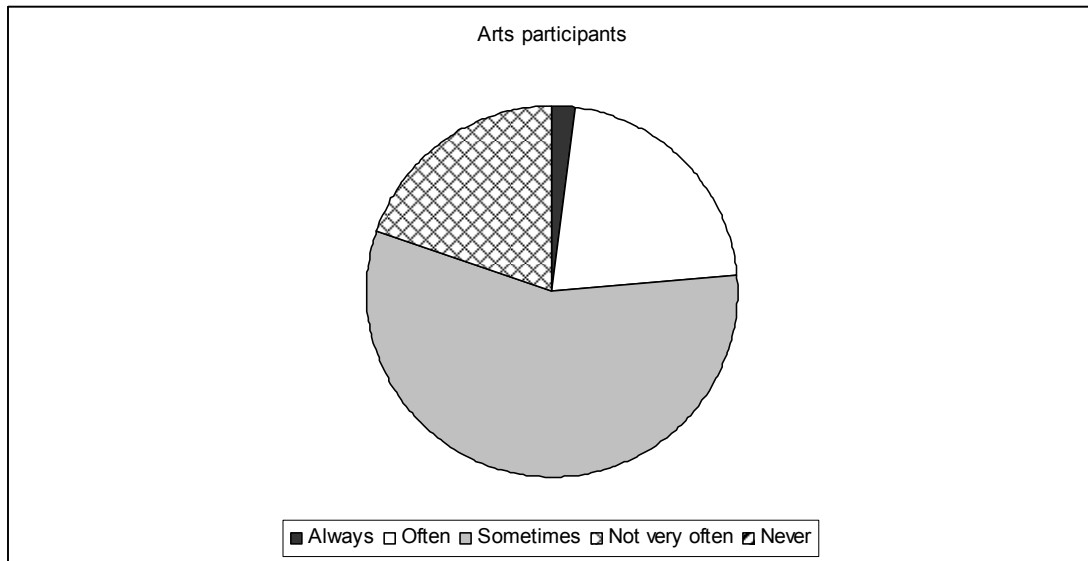


Figure 45. *Use of Galician when watching television. Arts participants (percentage).*

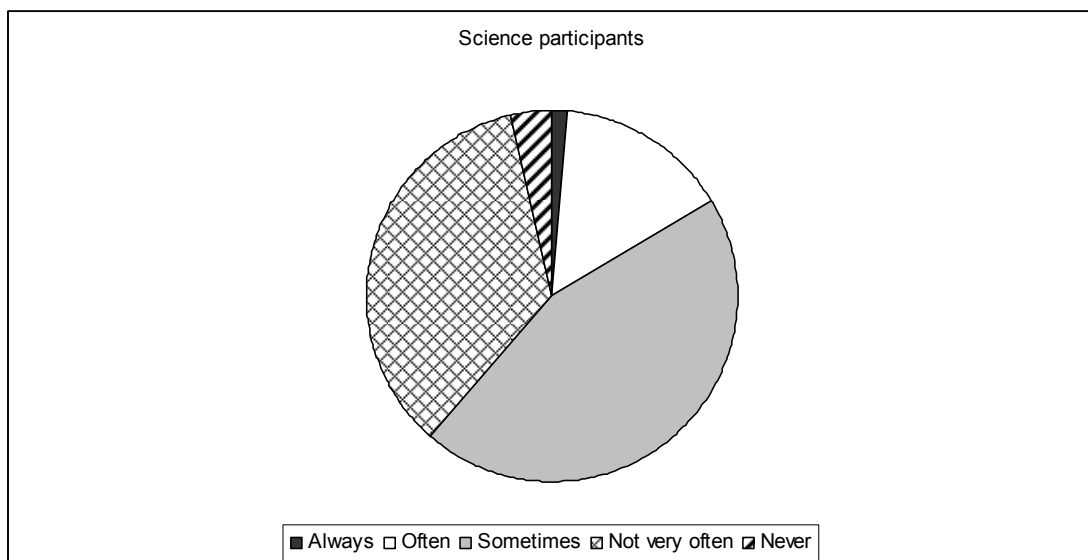


Figure 46. *Use of Galician when watching television. Science participants (percentage).*

Figures 45 and 46 show the difference in responses to this question by the two differing sample groups. 80.39% of the Arts participants made the choices to describe the extent to which they watch television in Galician as always, often or sometimes. This can be compared with only 61.25% of Science participants. An independent t-test revealed that that difference in responses of these two sample groups to this question was statistically

significantly different at the 5% level, with a p-value of 0.022, supporting the hypothesis that a difference would be seen in the usage of language by these two groups. ($t(116.560) = -2.314$; $p=.022$).

7.3.20.5 Average pastime use of language

It has already been seen above that while there was no statistically significant difference between the use of language by the two sample groups when watching films or listening to music, there was a statistically significant difference between these two groups' use of language when watching television. In order to get a simpler analysis for this section of results, participants' responses for the three questions on pastime uses of language were averaged. This was to allow a comparison of the average pastime use of language by Arts participants and Science participants. This can be seen in Figure 43. As the whole sample group includes more Science than Arts participants, for the purposes of visual analysis of the data, 52 Science participants were chosen at random for inclusion in Figure 47.

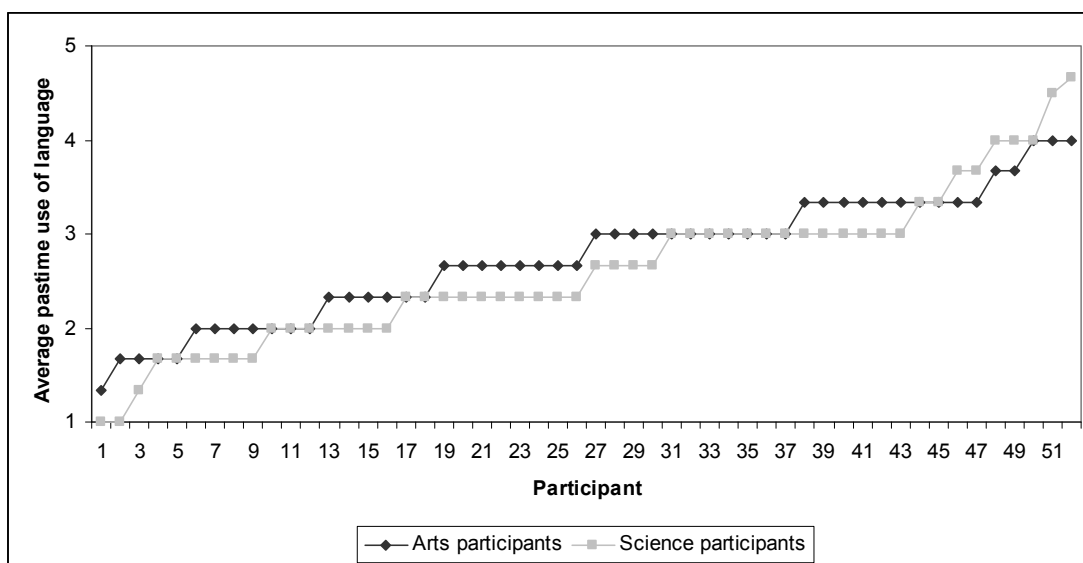


Figure 47. *Average pastime use of language according to Arts / Science subject categorisation.*

It can be seen that the responses for the two sample groups are very similar, and there appears to be very little difference between the averages of the Arts sample group and those of the Science sample group regarding language use when listening to music, watching films or watching the television. This data is supported by the results of an independent t-test which measured the statistical significance of the difference between the responses of the two sample groups. This revealed a p-value of 0.144, which is too large to be considered statistically significant at the 0.05 level. This means that the null hypothesis cannot be rejected regarding participants' average pastime use of language. ($t(131) = -1.470$; $p=.144$).

7.3.21 Use of language with home friends and classmates

As seen in the data analysis above, the difference in language use with one's classmates between Arts participants and Science participants was statistically significant at the 5% level with an independent t-test revealing a p-value of 0.013. A second t-test showed the difference in the language used by these two groups with one's home friends (one's non-university friends) was also significant, with a p-value of 0.029. Responses given by interviewees during the interview stage of pilot work had suggested there was some difference in participants' use of language with their home friends and their university classmates. Table 3 shows participants' responses to these questions.

| Language use | Home friends | | Classmates | |
|----------------------------|--------------|---------|------------|---------|
| | Arts | Science | Arts | Science |
| Always or mostly Galician | 50% | 34.15% | 49.02% | 31.71% |
| Always or mostly Castilian | 36% | 56.09% | 39.22% | 60.98% |

Table 3. *Language use with home friends and with classmates according to subject categorisation.*

Table 3 shows that while 50% of Arts participants stated they spoke always or mostly Galician with their home friends, a very similar figure of 49.02% of the same group described their language use with the classmates in this way. Similarly, while 34.15% of Science participants stated they spoke always or mostly Galician with their home friends, 31.71% made the same choice to describe their language with their classmates. The figures for the use of Castilian follow a similar pattern, with 36% of Arts participants claiming they always or mostly use Castilian with their home friends, and 39.22% making the same choice to describe their language with their classmates, while 56.09% of Science participants describe their use of language with their home friends in this way, and a similar figure of 60.98% of the same sample choosing these options when asked about their language with their classmates.

It appears that while some individuals' use of language varies slightly between these two situations (accounting for the slight differences in figures), this does not occur to a high enough extent to consider this a general trend. The conclusion to be drawn here would be that the use of language with classmates and home friends differs according to the subject studied by participants, but not according to the way in which these friends were made (friends from home, or friends from university).

7.3.22 Comparison of results of the current study with those of M.A. Rodríguez Neira (1996)

As mentioned above, the questions regarding the use of language in various situations were adapted from an earlier study carried out by Rodríguez Neira in 1996.¹⁴¹ This was a study of the sociolinguistic situation in Galicia of the time, and used 4,158 students and graduates as participants. Since the sample group of this earlier study was much wider in terms of age-range (only 30% of his participants were aged 18-25), some questions asked by Rodríguez Neira were deemed inappropriate for the sample group being used in this current study, such as questions about the language participants use to talk to their daughters, and the language they use with their employees. For this reason, some situations were not included in the questions used in the questionnaire for the data collection stage of this thesis.

There were four main findings in Rodríguez Neira's study that are relevant to this thesis. He found that the use of Castilian was higher than the use of Galician in all situations except two: with one's maternal grandparents and with Administration, and that the more formal a situation, the more likely a participant was to use Castilian, showing a correlation between the language and prestige.¹⁴² A further finding was that more people use Galician with Administration than speak Galician habitually.¹⁴³ He also found that written uses of language were dominated by Castilian, even in familiar situations, for example writing a note.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Rodríguez Neira 2004.

¹⁴² Rodríguez Neira 2004 p392.

¹⁴³ Rodríguez Neira 2004 p393.

¹⁴⁴ Rodríguez Neira 2004 p393.

Despite the thirteen years that have passed since Rodríguez Neira's study and this modified repetition of it, it is interesting to note that all four of the main relevant findings of the earlier study remain true at the current time. The average response figures of this thesis show that the use of Galician only surpassed the use of Castilian in two situations: with Administration and with one's maternal grandparents, as these situations gained response figures of 3.04 and 3.35 respectively (using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 represented always Castilian, 5 represented always Galician and 3 represented as much Galician as Castilian). The response figures for all other situations were below 3. Furthermore, Figure 31 shows a correlation between prestige of situation and the use of Castilian. Regarding Rodríguez Neira's finding about the use of Galician with Administration being higher than the habitual use of language, this remains true in the current study, as although 27.61% stated their habitual language is always Galician, 29.85% stated they always used Galician with Administration. Finally, the fourth finding relevant to this study, regarding written uses of language is also true for this modified repetition of the earlier study: written uses of language are still dominated by the use of Castilian. This is true for essay-writing, note-writing and reading when looking at the figures for the whole sample group together and for just the Science participants. It is also true with essay-writing and reading for the Arts participants. The only situation in which this trend is bucked is for Arts participants when writing notes, although this preference for Galician is not strong enough to change the average for the whole sample group. This means then, that when looking at the whole group as one sample, all four of Rodríguez Neira's findings are still valid at this time.

Table 4 shows a comparison of the data published by Rodríguez Neira, and that generated in this study. As Rodríguez Neira used a four-item scale to describe language usage (Só galego, máis galego, máis castelán and só castelán) and this thesis used a five-item scale (Always Galician, mostly Galician, as much Galician as Castilian, mostly Castilian and always Castilian), in order to compare the figures found by the two studies in a simple and fair manner, the data from this study has been manipulated into a four-item scale. This means that any participants who scored 3 (representing a response of ‘as much Galician as Castilian’) have been removed from the figures for each variable. The remaining participants have then been considered as 100% of the sample, so the data shown in Table 4 have been adjusted to suit.

| Situation: | Use (%): | Always Castilian | Mostly Castilian | Mostly Galician | Always Galician |
|----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Habitual use of language | 1996: | 20.2 | 40.7 | 26.8 | 12.3 |
| | 2009: | 21.84 | 35.29 | 11.76 | 31.09 |
| With maternal grandparents | 1996: | 30.7 | 10.4 | 9.3 | 49.6 |
| | 2009: | 29.51 | 13.11 | 4.92 | 52.46 |
| With mother | 1996: | 39.3 | 15.6 | 7.1 | 38.0 |
| | 2009: | 36.64 | 16.79 | 3.82 | 42.75 |
| During daily shopping | 1996: | 38.4 | 18.6 | 12.0 | 30.9 |
| | 2009: | 35.9 | 17.95 | 10.26 | 35.9 |
| With class- / workmates | 1996: | 31.1 | 26.5 | 21.3 | 21.1 |
| | 2009: | 31.4 | 26.45 | 7.44 | 34.71 |
| With superiors | 1996: | 44.2 | 21.7 | 15.6 | 18.6 |
| | 2009: | 36.61 | 18.75 | 8.04 | 36.61 |
| With Administration | 1996: | 35.4 | 14.0 | 11.9 | 38.5 |
| | 2009: | 30.25 | 19.33 | 16.81 | 33.61 |
| With a specialist doctor | 1996: | 63.6 | 12.3 | 6.4 | 17.7 |
| | 2009: | 38.6 | 19.3 | 7.89 | 34.21 |
| Whilst reading | 1996: | 31.0 | 61.5 | 7.2 | 0.3 |
| | 2009: | 34.83 | 42.7 | 7.87 | 14.61 |
| To write a note | 1996: | 58.0 | 16.5 | 10.8 | 14.7 |
| | 2009: | 36.84 | 21.05 | 8.77 | 33.33 |
| In confidence | 1996: | 34.0 | 22.0 | 14.7 | 29.4 |
| | 2009: | 32.17 | 21.74 | 7.83 | 38.26 |
| With a stranger | 1996: | 60.7 | 14.7 | 8.7 | 16.0 |
| | 2009: | 37.27 | 24.55 | 12.73 | 25.45 |

Table 4. *Comparison of data relating to the use of language generated by Rodríguez Neira in 1996 and in this study, in 2009.*

For ease of comparison, the figures in Table 4 can be seen in Figure 48.

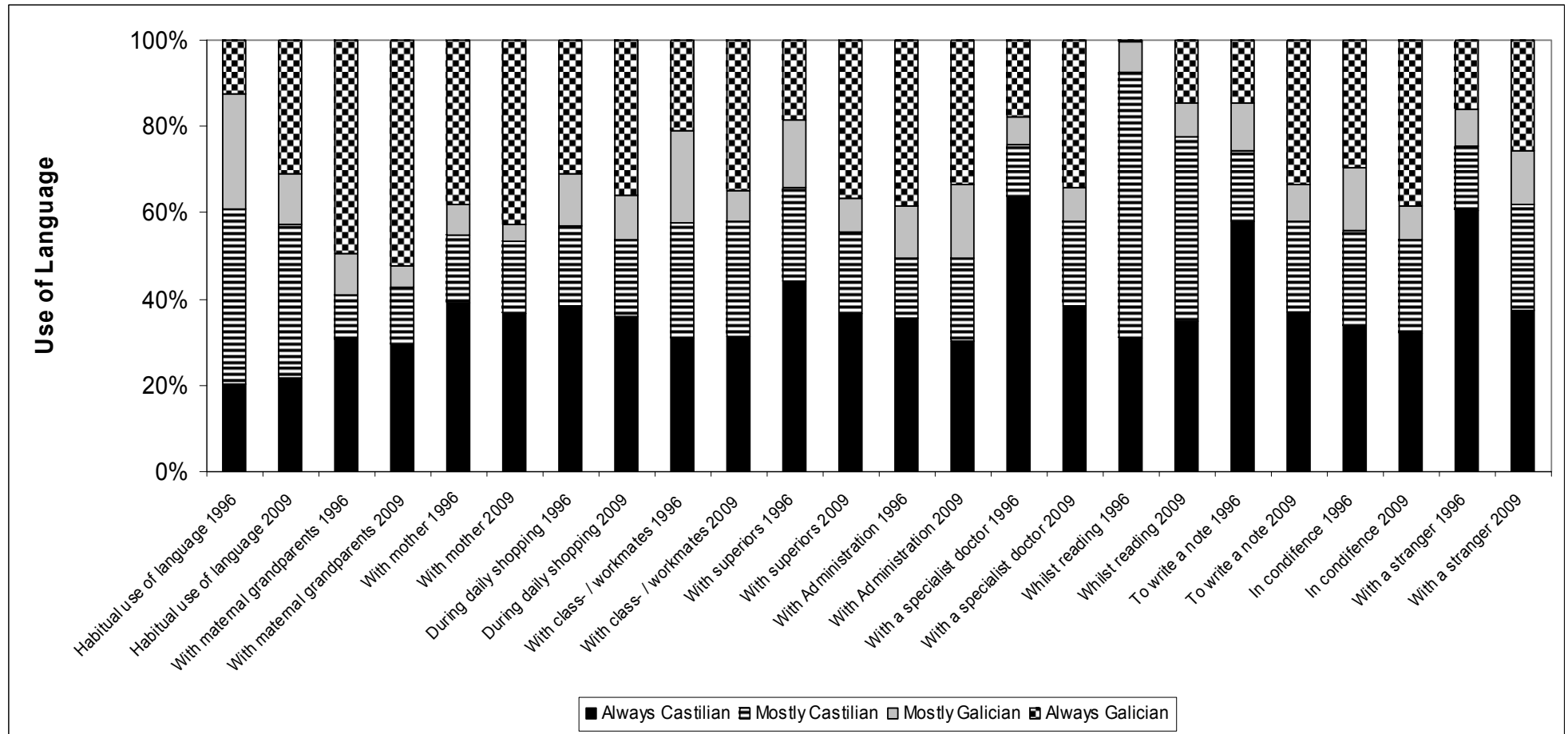


Figure 48. Comparison of use of language collected by Rodríguez Neira in 1996 and in this study in 2009.

From looking at Figure 48 and Table 4 it can be seen that despite the thirteen years that have passed since the original study, overall the two studies show largely very similar results. This is particularly true in the cases of the use of language with one's maternal grandparents, the use of language during daily shopping and the use of language in confidence where the figures from 1996 are very similar to those found in the current study.

In many cases it can be seen that the percentage of participants describing their habitual language usage in a given situation as always Galician has risen, for example in the case of habitual language, where those choosing always Galician has risen from 12.3% in 1996 to 31.09% in 2009. This may seem to suggest a language shift towards Galician. The overall habitual use of Galician has not risen by much at all, however, as in the same example situation in 1996 39.1% of participants described their habitual language as mostly or only Galician, compared with 42.85% in 2009. This shows there has been more of an intensification of usage of Galician rather than evidence of language shift. A difference has been made between these two phenomena as language shift refers to a more permanent shift in language use across several social contexts, whilst an intensification of usage refers to temporary language shifting in specific contexts or by certain speakers, or a small percentage of speakers only. In fact this is the case with almost all situations about which participants were asked. Looking at Figure 43 it can be seen that whilst the sizes of the stacks representing each of the four item choices (always / mostly Castilian / Galician) differ between the two studies, the spot where the two stacks relating to Castilian usage meet the two stacks relating to Galician usage are relatively close in most pairs of bars. In all cases except four (with a stranger, to write a

note, with a specialist doctor and with Administration) the percentage of participants choosing ‘always’ options has risen, and the percentage choosing ‘mostly’ options has fallen. This shows an intensification of usage of a particular language, rather than a definite language shift. Table 5 demonstrates this.

| Situation: | | Participants choosing ‘always’ options (%) | Participants choosing ‘mostly’ options (%) |
|----------------------------|-------|---|---|
| Habitual use of language | 1996: | 32.5 | 67.5 |
| | 2009: | 52.93 | 47.05 |
| With maternal grandparents | 1996: | 80.3 | 19.7 |
| | 2009: | 81.97 | 18.03 |
| With mother | 1996: | 77.3 | 22.7 |
| | 2009: | 79.39 | 20.61 |
| During daily shopping | 1996: | 69.3 | 30.6 |
| | 2009: | 71.8 | 28.21 |
| With class- / workmates | 1996: | 52.2 | 47.8 |
| | 2009: | 66.11 | 33.89 |
| With superiors | 1996: | 62.8 | 37.3 |
| | 2009: | 73.22 | 26.79 |
| With Administration | 1996: | 73.9 | 25.9 |
| | 2009: | 63.86 | 36.14 |
| With a specialist doctor | 1996: | 81.3 | 18.7 |
| | 2009: | 72.81 | 27.19 |
| Whilst reading | 1996: | 31.3 | 68.7 |
| | 2009: | 49.44 | 50.57 |
| To write a note | 1996: | 72.7 | 27.3 |
| | 2009: | 70.17 | 29.82 |
| In confidence | 1996: | 63.4 | 36.7 |
| | 2009: | 70.43 | 29.57 |
| With a stranger | 1996: | 76.7 | 23.4 |
| | 2009: | 62.72 | 37.28 |

Table 5. *Comparison of choices of descriptions of language usage generated by Rodríguez Neira in 1996 and in this study, in 2009.*

Despite an intensification of use of a particular language from mostly to always in most cases, Figure 48 shows that this does not usually equate to a significant increase in the use of any given language. Having said that, Figure 48 also shows that this is not the

case with five situations. These are the use of language with superiors, with a specialist doctor, when reading, when writing a note, and when talking to a stranger. See Table 6.

| Situation: | Use (%): | Always / Mostly Castilian | Always / Mostly Galician |
|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Habitual use of language | 1996: | 60.9 | 39.1 |
| | 2009: | 57.13 | 42.85 |
| With maternal grandparents | 1996: | 41.1 | 58.9 |
| | 2009: | 42.62 | 57.38 |
| With mother | 1996: | 54.9 | 45.1 |
| | 2009: | 53.43 | 46.57 |
| During daily shopping | 1996: | 57 | 42.9 |
| | 2009: | 53.85 | 46.16 |
| With class- / workmates | 1996: | 57.6 | 42.4 |
| | 2009: | 57.85 | 42.15 |
| With superiors | 1996: | 65.9 | 34.2 |
| | 2009: | 55.36 | 44.65 |
| With Administration | 1996: | 49.4 | 50.4 |
| | 2009: | 49.58 | 50.42 |
| With a specialist doctor | 1996: | 75.9 | 24.1 |
| | 2009: | 57.9 | 42.1 |
| Whilst reading | 1996: | 92.5 | 7.5 |
| | 2009: | 77.53 | 22.48 |
| To write a note | 1996: | 74.5 | 25.5 |
| | 2009: | 57.89 | 42.1 |
| In confidence | 1996: | 56 | 44.1 |
| | 2009: | 53.91 | 46.09 |
| With a stranger | 1996: | 75.4 | 24.7 |
| | 2009: | 61.82 | 38.18 |

Table 6. *Comparison of uses of Galician and Castilian generated by Rodríguez Neira in 1996 and in this study, in 2009.*

Table 6 shows that in all except the five cases mentioned above, the use of each language has not changed vastly: most changes are within a couple of percent. The changes in percentage of usage of the five aforementioned situations differ by more than this. A further 10.5% of participants in the 2009 study described their use of language with their superiors as always or mostly Galician than did participants in 1996. The

percentage of participants describing their habitual language as always or mostly Galician with a specialist doctor rose 18% between the two studies. An extra 15% of participants described their habitual language as Galician when reading in 2009 than in 1996. The percentage of participants describing their habitual language when writing a note as Galician rose by 16% between the two studies, and finally the percentage of participants stating they habitually speak to strangers in Galician rose by 13.5% over the thirteen years. This does show evidence of a language shift amongst the 18-25 university-educated population in these situations towards a more extensive use of Galician. It must be noted that this language shift is heavily influenced by the results of Arts students, although since results for the subjects studied by participants in Rodríguez Neira's study are not available it must be assumed that his participants were randomly or equally distributed as would be expected from a random sample of participants not specifically chosen on the basis of the subject they study, and were not formed from just one subject area. This should mean that his results too included responses from both Arts and Science participants, meaning that any influences from subject area seen in the current study would have also been seen in the previous study.

In conclusion then, it can be seen that many of the findings of Rodríguez Neira's 1996 study into the use of language amongst young, university-educated Galicians remain true in 2009. Slight differences have manifested themselves between the intensity of usage of Galician and Castilian, in that in the current study a larger percentage of participants described their language using 'always' options in the majority of cases. The overall usage of the two languages has not differed to a great extent across the

thirteen year gap, except in a handful of cases where a minor language shift towards Galician has taken place.

7.3.23 Synthesis of sub-section

The analysis of the data collected regarding the use of language has shown the link between formality / prestige and the use of language still exists in Galicia amongst young, university educated speakers. In almost all formal or prestigious situations, most speakers will tend to use Castilian, except when dealing with the Administration. The situation is different in that it evokes the usage of Galician to a large degree, even amongst those who do not use Galician habitually.

Galician is used more extensively by the Arts students and graduates who made up the participants in this study in all social and written situations (at least in those about which they were asked) than it is by Science students and graduates, despite the fact there is no significant difference in the initial language of these two groups. In all cases except two, the use of language differs between these two samples to an extent that can be considered significant at the 0.05 level. In many cases this difference is so significant that it would be considered significant at the much more conservative 0.01 level. The two cases in which language use does not differ to a significant degree are with one's mother and with one's maternal grandparents. This is because a much larger percentage of Science students speak Galician in these situations than is usually the case. The written usage of Galician is always low, even amongst Arts participants, except when writing notes.

The pastime use of Galician does not differ significantly between the groups when looking at data regarding watching films or listening to music. This is probably because such items in Galician are fewer in number, and are more difficult to obtain, although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to enter into such speculation, as it would be impossible to prove academically without specific research. There is a significant difference in the use of Galician when watching television, however, which would support the above claim, as there is a channel which broadcasts almost solely in Galician which is easily accessible to almost all Galician households. This would suggest that when a Galician-language option is made conveniently available, the usual significant difference between the language choices made by Arts participants and those made by Science participants return.

With regards to the hypothesis of this work, which states there would be a difference in the way language is used by Arts and Science participants respectively, given the evidence collected as data for the use of language section of the current study, it can be said that the hypothesis has been proven to be true.

7.4 Opinions on Language and Identity

7.4.1 Section introduction

Participants were presented with a series of 25 phrases, some of which were based on those used by Álvarez Torres et al.¹⁴⁵ The 25 phrases were:

¹⁴⁵ Álvarez Torres et al pp165-171.

- | | |
|---|---|
| - Estou máis cómodo en galego | - Falar galego é esencial para ser galego |
| - Fálase suficiente galego nas escolas | - Considérome galego unicamente |
| - Considérome galego e español | - O galego ten pouco futuro |
| - Estou máis cómodo en castelán | - Considérome español unicamente |
| - Non é necesario falar galego para ser galego | - Estou orgulloso de ser galego |
| - Non é posible ser galego e español á vez | - É importante falar o galego |
| - Fálolle galego ós de fóra de Galicia | - As normas do galego son demasiado españolas |
| - En galego debería usarse o 'nh' en vez do 'ñ' | - O futuro do galego depende totalmente da política |
| - Quero que a xente de fóra de Galicia non saiba que son galego | |
| - Se un galego me fala en castelán, respondo en galego | |
| - É máis importante que os nenos galegos aprendan o castelán que o galego | |
| - Quero que os meus fillos teñan o galego como a súa lingua materna | |
| - Os nomes dos lugares en Galicia deberían estar só en galego | |
| - Espero que o galego se siga falando dentro de cen anos ou máis | |
| - Os nomes dos lugares en Galicia deberían estar tanto en galego como en castelán | |
| - Para ser galego é máis importante sentirse galego que falar galego | |
| - Falar informalmente nun galego non-normativo significa falar mal | |

Participants were asked to state the extent to which they agreed with the above statements, by choosing the most appropriate item on a Likert scale. The five items were totally agree, agree, not sure, disagree and totally disagree. Items were then coded on a 1 to 5 scale. As some phrases could be considered 'pro-Galician' (for example, 'toponyms in Galicia should only be in Galician') and others were 'pro-Castilian' (such as 'I consider myself to be solely Spanish') some phrases were coded numerically where 1 represented totally agree and 5 represented totally disagree, and some phrases were reverse coded, so 1 represented totally disagree and 5 represented totally agree, in order that what could be considered the most extreme pro-Galician response always received a score of 5. A more in-depth explanation of the coding system used can be seen in Appendix 2. The phrases were then grouped thematically and averages were taken for participants' scores of the phrases within each theme. Table 7 shows how the phrases were grouped.

| Theme | Phrases |
|--|--|
| My use of language | Estoy más cómodo en gallego |
| | Estoy más cómodo en castellano |
| 'National' identity | Me considero gallego únicamente |
| | Me considero gallego y español |
| | No es posible ser gallego y español a la vez |
| | Me considero español únicamente |
| | Quiero que la gente de fuera de Galicia no sepa que soy gallego |
| | Estoy orgulloso de ser gallego |
| Language as an essential characteristic to be Galician | Hablar gallego es esencial para ser gallego |
| | No es necesario hablar gallego para ser gallego |
| | Para ser gallego es más importante sentirse gallego que hablar gallego |
| Children and Language | Se habla suficiente gallego en las escuelas |
| | Es más importante que los niños gallegos aprendan el castellano que el gallego |
| | Quiero que mis hijos tengan el gallego como su lengua materna |
| The Future of Galician | El futuro del gallego depende totalmente de la política |
| | Espero que el gallego se siga hablando dentro de cien años o más |
| | El gallego tiene poco futuro |
| The Galician Norms | Hablar informalmente en un gallego no-normativo significa hablar mal |
| | Las normas del gallego son demasiado españolas |
| | En gallego se debería usar la 'nh' en vez de la 'ñ' |
| The Use of Language in Society | Hablo gallego a los de fuera de Galicia |
| | Es importante hablar el gallego |
| | Si un gallego me habla en castellano, respondo en gallego |
| | Los nombres de los lugares en Galicia deberían estar sólo en gallego |
| | Los nombres de los lugares en Galicia deberían estar tanto en gallego como en castellano |

Table 7. *Grouping of the Language and Identity phrases.*

The data generated by this set of questions will be analysed in turn in terms of participants' average opinion scores regarding the Language and Identity question groups. As average scores made up of responses to up to five separate opinions stated on the Likert scales are being used for the data analysis, not all averages are whole numbers. Because of this, some extra items have been added to the original scale that

appeared in the questionnaire. Average scores have been rounded to the nearest 0.5 in order to fit the new scale. The scale being used for data analysis can be seen in Table 8.

| Average Score | Likert Item |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | Very strongly pro-Castilian |
| 1.5 | Strongly pro-Castilian |
| 2 | Moderately pro-Castilian |
| 2.5 | Slightly pro-Castilian |
| 3 | Neutral |
| 3.5 | Slightly pro-Galician |
| 4 | Moderately pro-Galician |
| 4.5 | Strongly pro-Galician |
| 5 | Very strongly pro-Galician |

Table 8. *Likert scale used in data analysis of Language and Identity section.*

7.4.2 My Use of Language

Average opinion scores for this group of questions ranged from 1 to 5 for both sample groups. The most common score for Arts participants was 5, representing a very strongly pro-Galician opinions, which was demonstrated by 26.92% of the sample. A further 17.31% of the Arts sample did, however, generate a neutral response. Despite this, a tendency towards pro-Galician opinions can be seen amongst the Arts sample, with 57.69% receiving average opinion score of 3.5 or higher, compared to just 25% who received scores of 2.5 or lower. The responses given by Science participants were much more equally distributed, with no clear majority of participants displaying a particular opinion, and no strong tendencies of opinion being seen. 14.63% of the sample scored 1.5, a further 14.63% scored 3, and 13.41% scored 5. 41.47% of the Science sample demonstrated pro-Castilian responses (scoring 2.5 or lower) and 43.91% demonstrated pro-Galician responses (scoring 3.5 or higher). Figure 49 shows a

visual representation of the data generated by the group of phrases entitled ‘My Use of Language’.

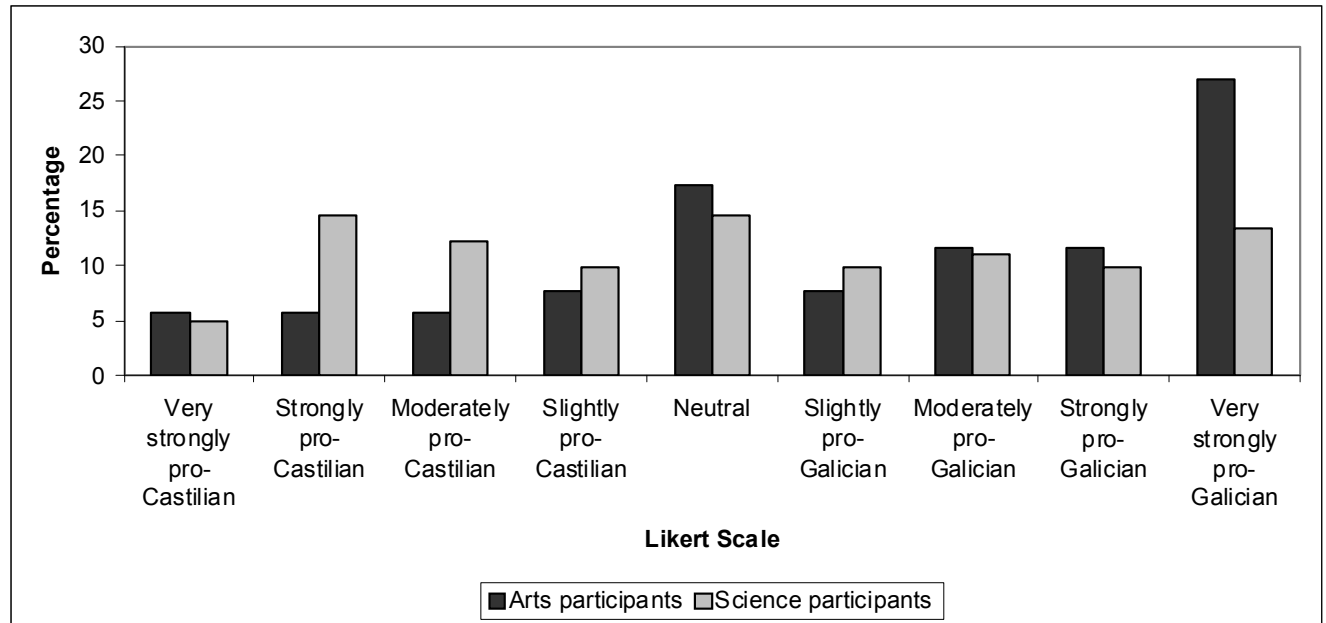


Figure 49. Average opinion scores for *My Use of Language* according to subject categorisation (percentages).

The differences in the responses given by the two sample groups were tested for statistical significance using an independent t-test. This revealed a p-value of 0.033, which falls below the 0.05 alpha level being used as a cut-off point for statistical significance in this thesis. This means that the results generated by this group of questions supports the hypothesis being tested in this work, which states that there would be a difference in the use of language between Arts participants and Science participants. ($t(132) = -2.156; p = .033$).

7.4.3 'National' Identity

Average opinion scores ranged from 2 to 5 for Science participants and from 2.5 to 5 for Arts participants. The most common average response to questions in this group were neutral across both samples, with 30.77% of Arts participants and 35.37% of Science

participants choosing options that averaged at between 2.75 and 3.24. Just 7.60% of Arts participants received pro-Castilian scores, compared with 24.39% of Science participants, while 61.54% of Arts participants demonstrated pro-Galician opinions, compared with 40.24% of the Science sample. This shows a stronger tendency by Arts participants towards pro-Galician opinions regarding the Galician ‘National’ identity (that is to say towards a separatist Galician identity, as opposed to an identity as a Spaniard, or a Galician Spaniard). Figure 50 shows the breakdown of responses according to Arts and Science participants.

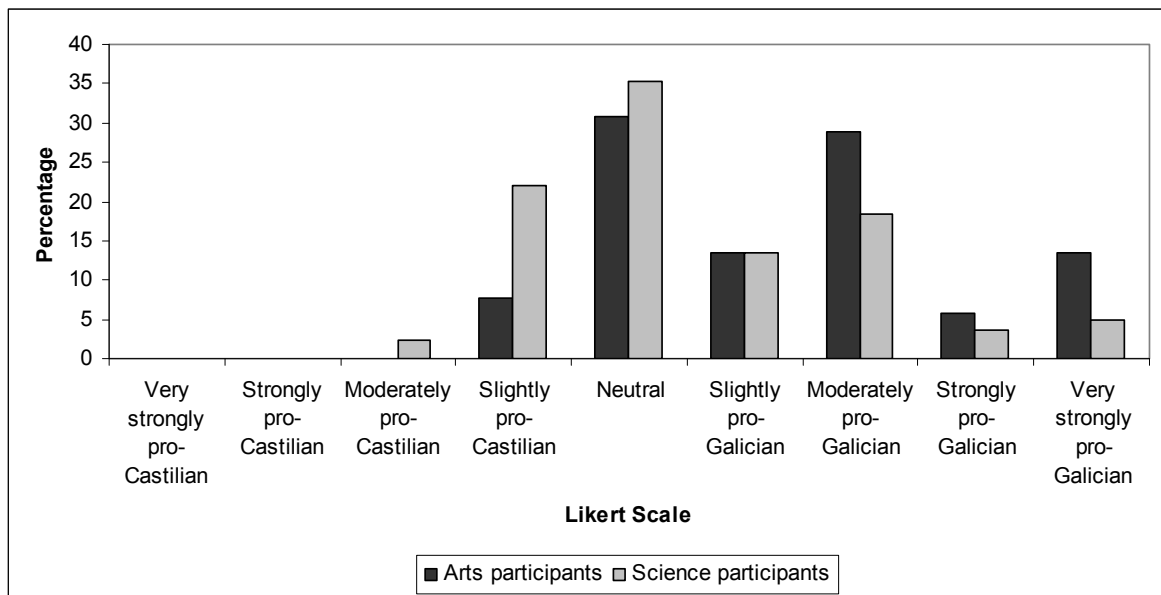


Figure 50. Average opinion scores for ‘National’ Identity according to subject categorisation (percentages).

Again, the difference between the scores of Arts participants and those of Science participants were tested for statistical significance using an independent t-test. This generated a p-value of 0.002, which is an extremely low score. This shows a strong statistically significant difference between the results of the two groups, and strongly supports the hypothesis.

7.4.4 Language as an Essential Characteristic to be Galician

Rounded average opinion score responses to the questions in this group ranged from 1 to 5 for Arts participants and 1 to 4.5 for Science participants. Bucking the usual trend, Arts participants showed a slight tendency towards pro-Castilian responses, with 42.3% generating scores of between 1 and 2.5 (so 'pro-Castilian' responses on the 1 – 5 scale) and 36.54% generating scores of between 3.5 and 5 (so 'pro-Galician'). This difference is very small, however. Science participants also showed a slight tendency towards pro-Castilian responses, with 43.91% scoring between 1 and 2.5, while 39.04% scored between 3.5 and 4.5 (as mentioned above, no Science participants scored 5 for this question group). Despite these small differences in percentages of participants giving various responses to this question group, overall the answers given did not differ greatly between sample groups. This can be seen in Figure 51, which shows a breakdown of the responses according to Arts and Science participants.

An independent t-test confirmed this by comparing the average opinion scores of the two samples, generating a p-value of 0.187. This is much higher than the 0.05 alpha level being used in this thesis, meaning the difference between the responses of the two samples cannot be considered statistically significant at this level. With regards to opinions on the concept of Language as an Essential Characteristic to be Galician then, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected at this stage. ($t(132) = -1.326$; $p = .187$).

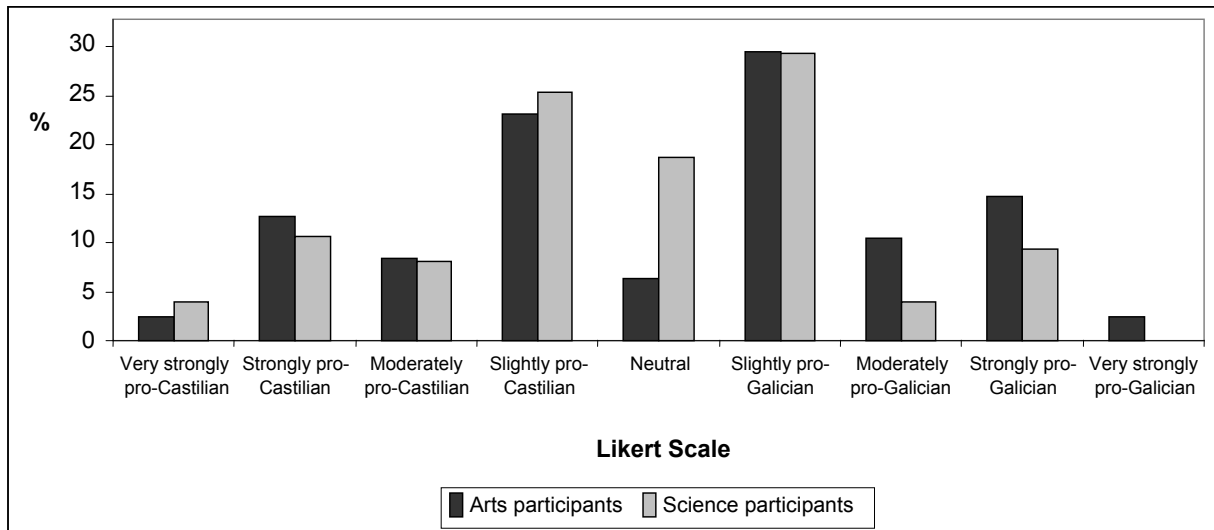


Figure 51. *Average opinion scores for Language as an Essential Characteristic to be Galician, according to subject categorisation (percentages).*

7.4.5 Children and Language

Average opinion scores relating to this question group ranged for 1 to 5 for both samples. Both groups showed strong tendencies towards pro-Galician opinions, with 88.46% of Arts participants and 71.95% of Science participants scoring 3.5 or higher. There was a difference however, in the strength of these pro-Galician opinions: 26.92% of Arts participants generating scores of 3.5 or 4, so slightly to moderately pro-Galician, while 50% of Science participants received such scores. 61.54% of Arts participants scored 4.5 or 5, which can be considered strongly pro-Galician, whilst the responses of just 21.95% of Science participants generated these scores.

An independent t-test comparing the average opinion scores of the two groups revealed that the difference between the scores was statistically significant. The p-value shown was $p=0.001$. As described above when such results have been revealed, this is a very

low p-value, and shows very strong support for the hypothesis of this work. ($t(132) = -3.254$; $p = .001$).

Figure 52 shows the rounded average opinion scores for this question group with participants categorised according to the subject they study.

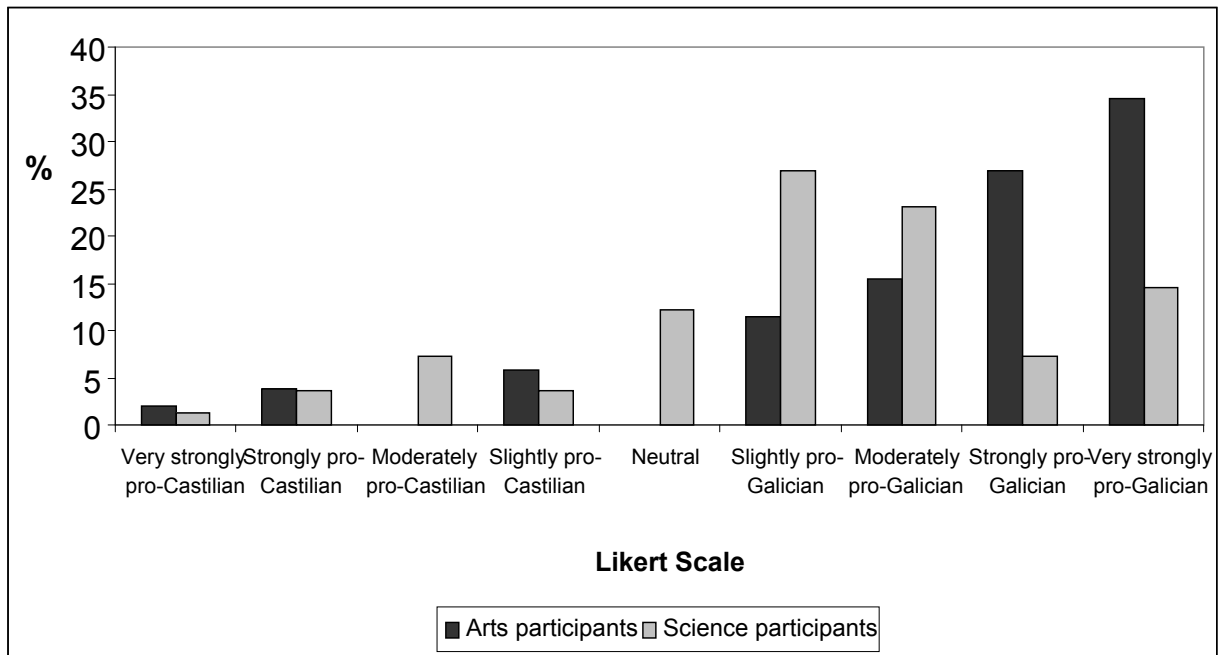


Figure 52. Average opinion scores for Children and Language, according to subject categorisation (percentages).

7.4.6 The Galician Norms

Opinion scores for both samples ranged from 1.5 to 5 on the 1 – 5 numerically coded Likert scale. The most common score for Arts participants was 3.5, scored by 30.77% of the sample, and for Science participants was 2.5, with 32.93% of the sample scoring this. The Arts participants showed a tendency towards pro-Galician opinions, with 59.63% of the group scoring 3.5 or higher, whilst just 31.71% of Science participants scored this highly. The tendency amongst Science participants was towards a pro-

Castilian opinion, 40.25% scoring between 1.5 and 2.5, compared to just 17.3% of the Arts sample. A visual breakdown of opinion scores according to subject categorisation can be seen in Figure 53.

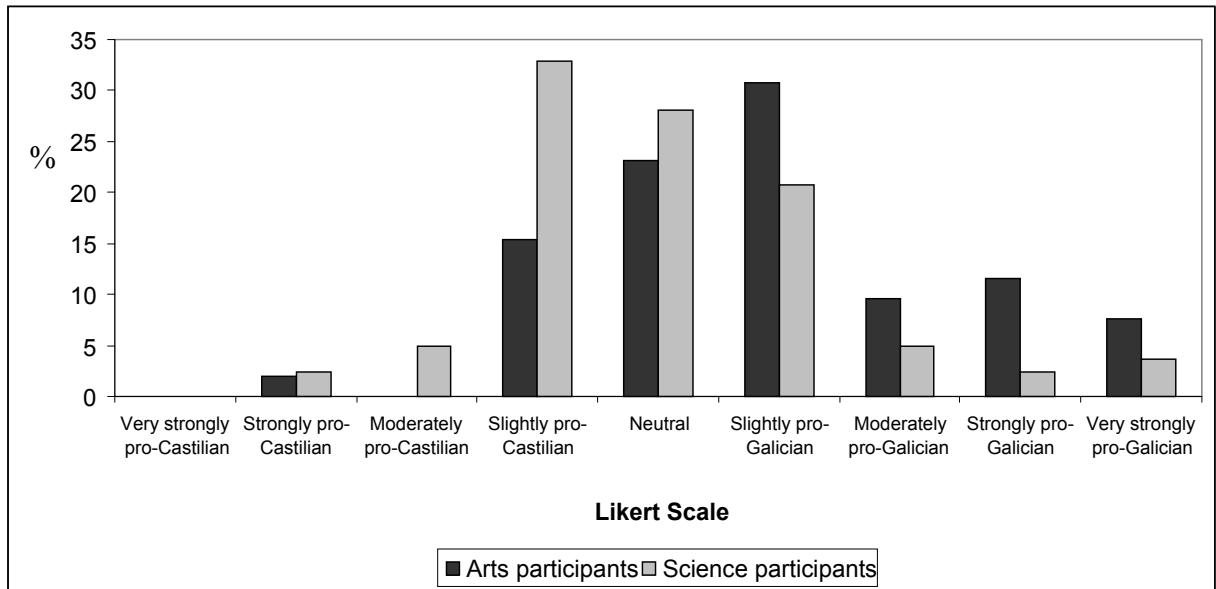


Figure 53. Average opinion scores for the Galician Norms, according to subject categorisation (percentages).

The difference between the average opinion scores given by the two sample groups were tested for statistical significance using an independent t-test. This revealed a p-value of less than 0.001, meaning that if the null hypothesis were true, this outcome would be found by chance in fewer than one case in a thousand. This shows extremely strong support for the hypothesis being tested in this thesis, which states that there would be a difference between these two samples. ($t(132) = -3.629; p < 0.001$).

7.4.7 The Future of Galician

The average opinion scores of both sample groups reveal a tendency towards pro-Galician opinions. The range of scores for Arts participants was just 3 to 5, although

only 3.85% of the sample scored as low as 3 (neutral). The range for Science participants was 2 to 5. Just 6.1% of Science participants displayed pro-Castilian opinions for this question group, and a further 2.44% declared themselves to be neutral on this issue. Figure 54 shows the results of this question group, categorised according to the subject studied by participants.

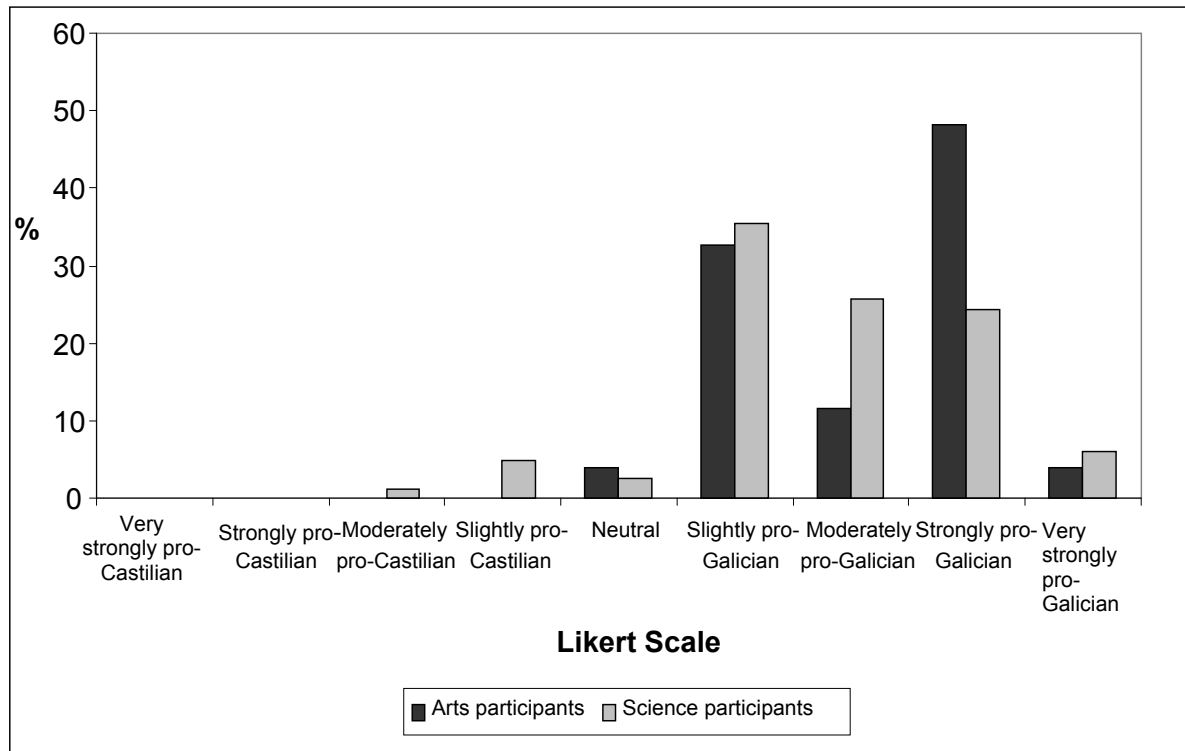


Figure 54. Average opinion scores for the Future of Galician, according to subject categorisation (percentages).

As can be seen in Figure 54, there was a difference, however, in the strength of the pro-Galician opinions displayed by the two groups. 60.98% of the Science participants had average response scores of 3.5 or 4, whilst 44.23% of Arts participants generated these scores. The remaining 51.95% of Arts participants gained strongly pro-Galician scores of 4.5 or 5, compared with 30.49% of Science participants. These differences were tested for statistical significance by an independent t-test. This revealed a p-value of

0.04. Whilst this falls within the 0.05 level being used in this thesis as a cut-off for statistical significance, it must be stated that this is approaching the alpha level boundary, meaning although significant at the 5% level, this value should not be considered very significant. The hypothesis is, however, supported by these findings, when using the 0.05 alpha level. ($t(132) = -2.075$; $p = .04$).

7.4.8 Language in Society

Average opinion scores for the questions in this group ranged from 1.5 to 5 for Arts participants, and from 2 to 5 for Science participants. The most common score of Arts participants was 3.5 (19.23% of the sample), and for Science participants was 3 (30.49%). Again, the tendency of both sample groups was towards pro-Galician opinions, although this tendency was stronger amongst Arts participants than Science participants. (71.18% of Arts participants scored 3.5 or higher, compared with 47.56% of Science participants.) Figure 55 shows a visual representation of the data generated by this question group.

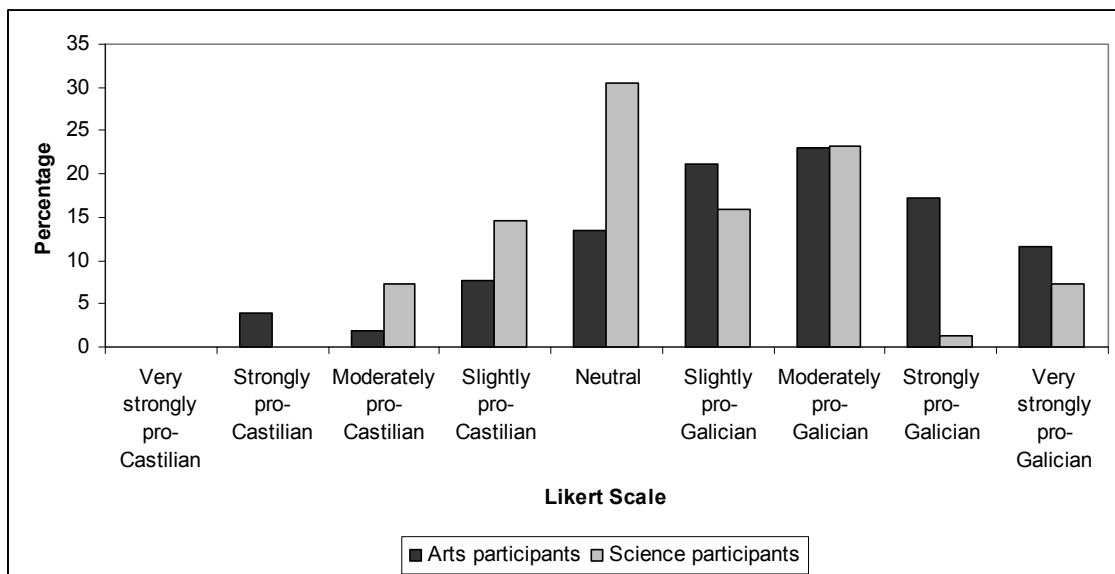


Figure 55. Average opinion scores for the Use of Language in Society, according to subject categorisation (percentages).

An independent t-test revealed that the difference between the average opinion scores of these two groups was statistically significant, giving a p-value of 0.007. This falls below the more conservative 0.01 alpha level used in some studies, and therefore falls well below the 0.05 level being used in this study. This shows strong support for the hypothesis being tested in this work. ($t(132) = -2.756; p = .007$).

7.4.9 Synthesis of sub-section

Overall it has been seen that the difference in opinions regarding language and identity between Arts participants and Science participants is often very striking. Arts participants expressed overall pro-Galician opinions in six out of the seven topics on which they were asked. The significant difference between the two samples is seen in the same six of the seven topic areas. In some cases this means that overall both samples express pro-Galician opinions, but the Arts participants are more strongly pro-Galician than are the Science participants, and in some cases this means that while Arts participants were on the whole pro-Galician, the Science participants showed a pro-Castilian tendency. The only opinion topic on which the average responses of the two samples were not shown to differ to a statistically significant level is the importance of language for a Galician identity, when both samples showed a slight tendency towards pro-Castilian views.

SECTION EIGHT: SYNTHESIS OF RESULTS

8.1 Section introduction

Statistical analysis of the data collected in the questionnaire stage revealed no significant difference between the described initial language of Arts participants and that of Science participants. Nor was there any statistically significant difference in these samples' stated mother tongue. This led to the intermediate conclusion that if this is the case, any differences in language use or opinions regarding language will not be based on a difference in initial language or mother tongue, so will therefore exist for extra-linguistic reasons.

8.2 Language Use and Galician Identity

Analysis of participants' responses regarding their language usage revealed significant differences between the two samples in all situations except two: language use with one's mother and language use with one's maternal grandparents. In all situations about which participants were questioned, the Arts participants were seen to make more use of Galician than the Science participants, and in all except the two cases mentioned above this difference is statistically significant. The difference in language use in these two cases is not statistically significant as Galician is extensively used by both samples in these situations, although the Arts sample still showed a higher average usage of Galician than did the Science sample.

Participants' responses regarding the characteristics considered necessary for any person to be thought of as Galician showed that on the whole, differences between the two samples were minimal. Both groups rated the four factor groups with the same

order of importance for ‘Galician-ness’: that is (from most important to least important), sentiments (feeling Galician), culture (the extent to which an individual is integrated and participates in what is considered to be Galician culture) language (having Galician as a mother tongue, and / or speaking Galician), family and personal background (birth, where an individual lives, and having Galician ancestry). On average, both groups rated family and personal background as quite important, and sentiments as between important and essential. Responses relating to language as an essential factor for Galician-ness showed a borderline significant result (when $\alpha = 0.05$). On the whole, average response figures suggested both samples rated language as important for Galician-ness, although the Arts sample placed slightly more importance on language than did the Science sample. The only strongly significant difference between the two groups was regarding a person’s integration and participation in Galician culture. Again, on average, both groups rated this as important, and again, the difference came about as the Arts sample placed more importance on this factor than did their Science counterparts. Overall then, it can be seen that there is very little difference between the two samples regarding what factors are considered necessary for a person to be Galician.

It would appear at this stage then, that while the two samples expressed similar ideas regarding what constitutes a Galician identity, participants in the Arts sample seem more disposed to act on these ideas and to alter their use of language by speaking Galician more extensively, and in more situations than are those participants in the Science sample. Since the groups’ DILs were not shown to be statistically significant, it

can be concluded that these significant differences in the use of language show extra-linguistic motives on the part of the Arts sample.

All evidence points to the fact that the more extensive use of Galician by Arts participants is a choice made by speakers actively and habitually to use Galician, although it is unclear from the data whether this is a conscious or unconscious choice. Such an action is likely to have two purposes. The first is similar to the purpose of language loyalty with minority languages: the use of a language in order to safeguard the cultural differences represented by this language and to guard against any loss of cultural differentiation or identity that may come about as a result of the loss of language. Following this point, it is interesting to note here that Arts participants rated culture as a factor constituting Galician identity as significantly more important than did Science participants. This increased perceived importance of culture supports the idea that Arts participants would be more concerned with safeguarding this culture from any cultural assimilation through linguistic assimilation than would Science participants. The second purpose of a more extensive use of Galician by Arts participants is similar to that of language disloyalty: to influence others' decoding of the linguistic signs displayed by speakers, in order to change others' perceptions about one's identity.¹⁴⁶ That is to say, to display the identity of a habitual Galician speaker, whether the individual concerned has Galician as their initial language or not. The use of Galician is used as a means of asserting a speaker's identity as a Galician, and implies a wish to be differentiated from non-Galician speakers and Spaniards.

¹⁴⁶ For more on the concept of language disloyalty please see section 2.5.

8.3 Opinions Regarding Language and Identity

From the results collected in the opinions section and their analysis it is possible to make several statements which illustrate the difference in the opinions and the way language is viewed and used by Arts participants and Science participants respectively. These will be discussed in turn below.

Whilst it has been seen in earlier analyses that the DILs of these two groups do not differ to a statistically significant level, the responses given regarding one's comfort in speaking Galician and Castilian ('My Use of Language') show that a large percentage of Arts participants (57.69%) claim they feel more comfortable in Galician than in Castilian. This is not the case amongst Science participants, who showed no significant tendencies either way. This could be read as a display amongst Arts participants of language disloyalty, since given the very similar DIL responses of the two sample groups, there is no linguistic reason for the Arts participants to feel more comfortable in Galician, if this sentiment is not also expressed by the Science participants. If purely linguistic factors can then be discounted, such a response from Arts participants can be interpreted as an expression of linguistic identity, meaning participants are more comfortable speaking in Galician as this supports their wish to be seen as habitual Galician speakers, or on the other hand that participants state they feel more comfortable speaking in Galician when really they have no true purely linguistic preference, in order to encourage others to see them as habitual Galician speakers, both of which can be considered as a manifestation of language disloyalty.

Analysis of the results from the ‘National’ Identity segment of this section shows that Arts participants hold slightly more pro-Galician results than do Science participants on the topic of the identity one feels one has (Galician, Spanish, or Galician and Spanish), and the pride one feels in one’s own Galician-ness (with 92.31% of the Arts sample scoring neutral or pro-Galician, compared with 75.61% of the Science sample). This suggests that Arts participants see themselves as slightly more Galician, and are prouder of their Galician identity than are Science participants, which links to the fact that Arts participants speak more Galician and in more situations than Science participants. The fact that the Arts sample has already been seen to speak more Galician, and more widely than the Science sample links with the finding of an increased sense of Galician identity amongst the Arts sample, although without further study it would be impossible to know which causes which: does the increased use of Galician encourage a Galician identity, or does a heightened perception of identity promote the use of the language?

A pro-Galician response to the questions within the topic of ‘Children and Language’ means the participants are on average in disagreement with the ideas that Galician is spoken to a sufficient extent in schools and that it is more important for children to learn Castilian than Galician, in addition to a wish for one’s children to speak Galician as a mother tongue. Analysis of the data relating to this topic showed that the majority of participants in both samples expressed pro-Galician opinions (88.46% of the Arts sample and 71.95% of the Science sample). There was a difference, however, in the strength of these pro-Galician opinions, in that the Arts sample was on average much more strongly pro-Galician than was the Science sample. This implies that while all participants place emphasis on the cultural value of Galician, that the lower economic

value of the language (in comparison with Castilian) inhibits a large proportion of Science participants from holding very strongly pro-Galician views on the subject. This does not seem to be the case amongst Arts participants, of whom 61.54% expressed strong or very strong pro-Galician opinions, compared with 21.95% of Science participants. The upholding of a language for cultural motives in the face of economic adversity is one of the main purposes of language loyalty. The results from this section clearly show a much stronger tendency towards views which seem to mirror the principles behind language loyalty amongst the Arts sample than amongst the Science sample.

A pro-Galician response to the section of opinion phrases themed around the use of language in society shows that on average, a participant has pro-Galician opinions regarding the importance of speaking Galician, the use of only Galician for toponyms in the region, and the promotion of Galician by responding to Castilian-speaking Galicians in the language, and by speaking to non-Galicians in Galician. The main tendency amongst both sample groups was pro-Galician (13.46% of Arts participants and 21.95% of Science participants showed pro-Castilian opinions, whilst 71.18% of Arts participants and 47.56% of Science participants showed pro-Galician opinions; the remainder displayed neutral views). There was a significant difference, however, in the strength of these pro-Galician opinions: 42.33% of Arts participants and 39.02% of Science participants expressed slightly to moderately pro-Galician views, whilst 28.85% of the Arts sample expressed strongly Galician views, compared to just 8.54% of the Science sample. This difference was seen to be very significant, with a p value of $p=0.007$. These results show that while both sample groups appear to hold what could

be considered pro-Galician views on this topic, the opinions of the Arts sample are far more intense than those of the Science sample. This links to the idea of there being more language loyalty amongst the Arts sample than the Science sample, as the Arts sample appear to feel more strongly about the importance of upholding the use of Galician in society to safeguard its cultural value than do the Science sample.

The section of opinion phrases related to the Galician norms included three phrases. Two of these are clearly pro-Galician, so a response in agreement with these would plainly demonstrate pro-Galician views. These are ‘en galego deberíase usar o ‘nh’ en vez do ‘ñ’’, and ‘as normas do galego son demasiado españolas’. The third phrase ‘falar informalmente nun galego non-normativo significa falar mal’ was shown in the pilot work to be pro-Castilian, so a pro-Galician response would be to disagree with this. Asking participants to state their views on the informal use of non-normative Galician is a way of seeing whether participants are in favour of all varieties of Galician in context, or if only the normative variety is seen as appropriate for use in society. Whilst few would argue that it is acceptable to speak non-normative Galician in formal situations (as the highly dialectally fragmented state of non-normative Galician may mean regional lexemes and grammar cause comprehension difficulties), a participant’s opinions regarding the informal use of non-normative Galician shows whether he or she is in agreement with the idea that all varieties of the language are valuable, or simply the new academic norm. A particularly pro-Galician view would show support for all varieties of the language because of its cultural value, whereas a less pro-Galician view may be more inclined to support just the normative form even in informal contexts, which would imply support for only the more economically valuable varieties of the

language. A pro-Castilian view would imply the belief that regional varieties of Galician hold too little prestige to be appropriate for social use, and an extreme pro-Castilian participant would also agree that the informal use of non-normative Galician is a poor use of language, although the reasoning behind this view would be more likely to stem from the idea that Castilian should be used in all situations.

The difference between the two sample groups for this opinion topic was shown to be very significant, at $p < 0.001$. The main tendency of the Arts sample was towards pro-Galician views (59.62% scored 3.5 or above), whilst the main tendency amongst the Science sample was towards pro-Castilian views (40.25% scored 2.5 or lower, and 28.05% were neutral). Clearly these results support the hypothesis of a difference in language use between the two groups, and the responses particularly of the Arts sample can be seen to demonstrate similar ideals to those of language loyalty. If language loyalty involves the upholding or promotion of a less economically powerful language to protect this language and its associated culture from assimilation with another tongue, a strong desire to differentiate this less dominant language from the more dominant one (such as using orthography or the norms of this language), could be considered a potent method of doing just this, and would make linguistic and cultural assimilation more difficult and therefore less likely. Furthermore, the extreme pro-Galician views of 19.23% of the Arts sample show strong support for all varieties of the language in the appropriate context, in comparison with just 6.1% of the Science sample. The more extensive support by the Arts participants for the non-normative varieties of the language due to their cultural significance, and despite a lack of economic value, supports the existence of more language loyalty amongst participants of this group.

Analysis of the results relating to the section of questions based on the future of Galician showed both samples displayed pro-Galician responses. These imply agreement with the idea that Galician is a strong language in that it does not rely solely on political support for its survival, and a desire for the continued use of the language. Both samples showed strong tendencies towards pro-Galician opinions, with 96.18% of the Arts sample and 91.47% of the Science sample scoring 3.5 or above, and not one participant across either group received a score of 1 or 1.5. A significant difference was seen in the strength of responses, however. 44.23% of the Arts sample received slightly to moderately pro-Galician scores, compared to 60.98% of the Science sample. Strong and very strong pro-Galician scores were generated by 51.95% of the Arts sample, but just 30.49% of the Science sample. These results display a high level of confidence and support for the future of Galician, regardless of the level of specific political provision for the language amongst both samples, although the strength of this confidence and support was more significant amongst Arts participants.

The seventh topic within the opinions section involved the importance for language for Galician identity. A similar question was asked in the section specifically about the factors needed for a person to be considered Galician, which revealed a slight difference in scores between the two samples, with a p value of 0.048 caused by the Arts sample giving language a slightly higher importance for identity than did the Science sample. As mentioned earlier, this p-value is significant at the 0.05 level, although it is very much on the cusp of not being considered significant at this alpha level. The opinion phrases in this segment were more specific than the more general importance question, and three phrases were included in the topic group: 'speaking Galician is essential to be

Galician’, ‘It is not necessary to speak Galician to be Galician’, and ‘It is more important to feel Galician than to speak Galician’. The pilot work showed the most extreme pro-Galician participants believed that it is very important to speak Galician to be Galician, more so than it is important to feel Galician. The data generated in the final questionnaire stage revealed a slight pro-Castilian tendency amongst both groups and there was no significant difference between the average scores of the two samples at the alpha level being used in this work. It may appear at first that these two results (the opinion topic result and the identity factor result) are contradictory, which at first glance they are. It must be taken into account, however, that the opinion scores are more specific, since they ask the participant to respond to three separate phrases on the topic, as opposed to giving their general opinion on the subject. Given the fact that the p-value for the identity factor result was so close to the alpha score, and therefore must be read with caution, and that the opinion factor result was not significant at the 0.05 level, it has been concluded that all things considered, there is no significant difference in the opinions of young, university-educated adult Galicians on the importance of Galician language for a Galician identity.

A further reading into the same matter could be seen to show a degree of language disloyalty on the part of the Arts sample. Since when asked directly the Arts sample gave the factor of the Galician language for a Galician identity more importance than did the Science sample, (see Figure 12) it would be expected that the same would be true when asked in a more indirect manner. In fact the opposite is true. Whilst the figures of participants expressing pro-Castilian views to the opinion phrases on this topic differed very little between the two groups: 42.3% of the Arts sample and 43.92%

of the Science, slightly more Science participants expressed pro-Galician views than did Arts participants (39.04% compared with 36.54%). The implication of such results would be that the Arts sample is overstating the importance they give to language as a factor for a Galician identity when asked directly, for similar reasons to those for which language disloyalty can take place: to make a statement on the topic of language and identity which is not entirely true, due to a wish to display a modified version of one's linguistic identity or opinions. This would encourage others to decode identity signals differently, and to think the individual as slightly more pro-Galician than he perhaps is in reality. This portrays what the pro-Galician linguistically disloyal participant would consider to be a more socially desirable identity.

8.4 Running Conclusion

In terms of an intermediate conclusion it can be seen that although there is no significant difference in the DILs of the Arts sample compared with the Science sample, there are significant differences in their usage of language in almost all stated social situations. Furthermore, Arts participants declare themselves to be more comfortable in Galician. A linguistic reason for these differences can be discounted, showing they take place due to extra-linguistic factors. One reading is that the results show the Arts sample is much more likely to display language loyalty and disloyalty towards Galician than is the Science sample, and is more likely to consciously choose to speak in Galician in the knowledge of the identity connotations such language use can carry.

As was the case in Rodríguez Neira's 1996 study, on the whole Galician remains reserved for informal usage, whilst Castilian is more extensively used in formal

situations. This shows that the traditional diglossic state in Galicia remains, despite some 25 years having passed since the LNL and the language planning measures that have been put into practice.

The need to teach Galician to children provokes a positive response in both sample groups, as was the case in Beswick's 1998 study of a group of Galician speakers, but the difference in strength of pro-Galician-ness of the responses of my two sample groups shows that the Science participants are more likely to focus on the low economic value of Galician in comparison with Castilian, whilst the Arts participants are more likely to focus on the high cultural and symbolic value of Galician and its use as a marker of a desirable identity (being Galician).

Of course, as mentioned in the preface, although this study has highlighted a link in the subject studied and language use for identity purposes, using the results of this study it is impossible to tell the cause from the effect when looking at these two events. Similarly, other factors will certainly play a large role, such as whether participants are from urban or rural backgrounds and their social class, although these factors were consciously omitted from the study as the length limitations of this thesis meant they could not be studied fully here.

SECTION NINE: CONCLUSION

9.1 Section introduction

The aim of this thesis was to look closely into the current use of language by young adult Galicians, and to examine the ways in which language is used by this group to express identity. As Chambers explains, ‘the underlying cause of sociolinguistic differences, largely beneath consciousness, is the human instinct to establish and maintain social identity’.¹⁴⁷ Following this reasoning, any differences in language use that are not seen to be due to a linguistic explanation, such as a difference in initial language, can be considered an identity-motivated choice on the part of the speaker. This choice may or may not be conscious. The main hypothesis for this work stated that there would be a difference between the way language was used for identity purposes by the Arts students and graduates and the Science students and graduates. Having carried out the research phase of this work and analysed the results it can be seen that overall this hypothesis has been proven to be true.

9.2 Identity and the use of language

There was no significant linguistic difference shown between the two groups, since their described initial languages were not seen to differ significantly, and their level of education was moderated by ensuring that all participants were university students in one of the three Galician universities. There were, however, significant differences in the extent to which the two groups used language in twelve out of fourteen social situations. The Arts sample continually stated they used Galician more than did their Science counterparts. If one assumes these responses have not been influenced by the

¹⁴⁷ Chambers p250.

observer's paradox, that is to say that the results provided by participants are as true and as fair as is possible when one is making statements about one's own use of language, an extended use of Galician by the Arts sample reveals an increased tendency amongst this group towards language loyalty. If, however, one assumes the results *have* been affected by the observer's paradox, and that participants have manipulated their responses to provide what they consider to be more socially desirable replies, this results would display an increased tendency by the Arts sample towards language disloyalty. The reasoning behind this is that as the Arts sample have allowed their views about the social desirability of an identity as a habitual Galician speaker to influence their responses in order that they might appear to others as more extensive speakers of Galician than is perhaps strictly true. Either way then, it can be seen that there is a significant difference in the way that language is used by Arts students and graduates compared with Science students and graduates, and as no significant purely linguistic difference between these two groups was seen, this difference in use can be read as being motivated by the expression of identity.

9.3 The current use of Galician in society by university-educated young adult speakers

The results from the current study, when read in conjunction with the results of Rodríguez Neira in his 1996 study show an intensification of usage (from a large percentage of 'mostly *x* language' responses in 1996 to a large percentage 'always *x* language' responses in 2009), rather than any significant language shifts in the majority of situations.¹⁴⁸ Five situations did, however, reveal a more extensive usage of Galician in 2009 than was seen in 1996, with an average of 14.6% more Galician spoken in the

¹⁴⁸ Rodríguez Neira 2004.

recent study in these five social contexts. Nevertheless, these minor language shifts amongst some participants were not considerable enough to swing the average use of language to showing a more extensive use of Galician than of Castilian overall. The ‘ubiquitous predominance’ of Castilian noted by Beswick in 1998 in her *Attitudinal and Behavioural Observations Regarding Lexical Code-Switching in Santiago de Compostela*, amongst those already of school age by the time the educational reforms which introduced Galician into the classroom took place, is also seen amongst the following age group in the current study, with the exception of just two situations.¹⁴⁹ These are the use of language with one’s maternal grandparents and the use of language with Administration. This illustrates two points already made by linguists about the current sociolinguistic situation of Galicia. Firstly, it can be seen that Galician is still predominantly reserved for the most informal of situations, despite the language’s official status.¹⁵⁰ Secondly, it shows that Rodríguez Campos’ statement that aside from politics, which has seen language planning measures have a high level of success to the extent that Galician is now dominant in this domain, Galician is largely marginalised in daily life.¹⁵¹

On the whole, the traditional diglossia regarding the use of Galician and Castilian as noted by Beswick and Rodríguez Neira, with Castilian as the more prestigious language and Galician retained almost solely for the most informal contexts remains in place at this time and amongst this sample (university-educated Galicians aged 18 to 25 years). The only significant exception to this rule is the use of language with Administration, which as mentioned above, was shown in the results to have a very slight tendency

¹⁴⁹ Beswick 1998 p19.

¹⁵⁰ Rodríguez Neira 2004 p394.

¹⁵¹ Rodríguez Campos 1999 p110.

towards a heavier usage of Galician than Castilian. The current results mirrored those of Rodríguez Neira, which showed more participants use Galician with Administration than have Galician as their habitual language. This supports Beswick's idea of the emergence of an upside-down diglossia, according to which it is more socially acceptable and 'correct' to speak Galician than Castilian in certain situations, although Administration is the only social context in which this is currently the case. In all other situations the traditional diglossia is maintained by speakers of this age group. This diglossia can be seen to be more rigid amongst Science participants than amongst Arts participants, who continually use more Galician than do Science participants, and in more situations (or who at least state they do, showing the effects of language disloyalty), although it must be said here that even the Arts participants will follow the traditional diglossic path of using Castilian in the most formal of situations.

9.4 Factors defining a Galician identity

Linked to the results regarding the use of language are those involving the factors participants consider necessary to be Galician. The difference between the two groups on this issue was minimal, with both groups rating the four factor groups in the same order of importance: (i) feeling Galician, (ii) participating and being integrated into Galician culture, (iii) speaking Galician and having Galician as a mother tongue, and (iv) having a Galician heritage, being born and living in Galician. The fact that both groups stated they considered feeling Galician and loving Galicia as by far the most important factor was somewhat surprising, as given the significant differences in the use of language for identity purposes as seen in earlier sections of data analysis, it could have been expected that the Arts sample at least rated language as higher than the third

most important factor out of four. These results do not support the main hypothesis of this thesis, meaning that in this instance the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. It is interesting to note, however, that research for the 2004 *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* (MSG) revealed similar results as this. Results showed that 54.5% of MSG participants stated the most relevant distinctive characteristic of a Galician identity is the ‘vontade de pertenza á comunidade’. The MSG linguists go on to state that this result can be seen repeated across all the Autonomous Communities that have their own language, and point out that similar results were seen in Siguán’s 1999 study *Conocimiento y uso de las lenguas*.¹⁵²

Having said that, the factor of language in this study still received an average importance rating of 3.65 out of 5 (comprising 3.83 by Arts participants and 3.53 by Science participants). Reading this section of results alongside the section regarding uses shows that despite no purely linguistic difference between the two groups, and no significant difference in the extent to which language is considered important for Galician identity (both groups consider it to be ‘quite important’), it is the Arts participants who are more inclined to use their views on the importance of language for a Galician identity to affect their language usage. That is to say that whilst there is no difference in the groups’ opinions on language and identity, there is a difference in their use of language for identity purposes.

The extent to which the Arts sample rated language as an important factor for a Galician identity was shown in this section to be of borderline significance at the alpha level in

¹⁵² González González. M. (Dir.) *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia, 2004. Vol. II: Usos lingüísticos en Galicia* (A Coruña: RAG, 2008) p73.

use, when contrasted with the results of the Science sample. Later in the analysis process the results from a similar topic were analysed and it was found that when asked in a less direct manner, the difference between the importance placed on language for Galician identity by Arts participants was not statistically significant by comparison with the importance placed on it by Science participants. As Oppenheim states, when using attitude scales (as is the case in much of the questionnaire used in this thesis), asking a question in more than one way can give a more reliable result.¹⁵³ It is for this reason that the two results for the importance of language for identity must be read as a pair, and when taken together they show no significant difference between the views of Arts participants and those of Science participants on this point, but highlight a degree of language disloyalty displayed by the Arts sample, when questioned in a more direct manner.

9.5 Language loyalty and disloyalty

With the exception of the above-mentioned opinion questions on the topic of the importance of language for a Galician identity, the remaining opinion phrases all suggested significantly different responses between the Arts sample and the Science sample. A higher degree of language loyalty was seen amongst the Arts sample than the Science sample, particularly within the subject of children and language. Similar to the results found by Beswick in 1998, both groups reported a strong cultural attachment to Galician, although the ‘weighing up of values’ as described by O’Rourke was seen to take place, which saw participants weigh up the culturally symbolic value of Galician in comparison with the economic power of Castilian.¹⁵⁴ Following the principles of

¹⁵³ Oppenheim p120.

¹⁵⁴ O’Rourke pp581-586.

language loyalty, the Arts sample showed a stronger tendency towards more extreme pro-Galician views on this topic, whilst the views of the Science participants appeared to be moderated by the lower economic value of Galician compared with Castilian.

More language loyalty was also seen amongst the Arts participants in the section of questions involving the use of language in society. This section saw the responses of the Arts sample suggest that this group feels more strongly about the importance of upholding the use of Galician in society than do their Science counterparts.

A degree of language disloyalty was noted, and more strongly amongst the Arts sample in the opinion phrases regarding 'My Use of Language'. This section saw many of the Arts participants state they feel more comfortable using Galician than Castilian, although this was not the case amongst the Science participants. As was noted earlier, since there is no purely linguistic difference between the two groups, such a response would have sociolinguistic as opposed to purely linguistic motivations. This supports the hypothesis in that it shows a difference in the use of language for identity purposes between these two groups.

9.6 Support and confidence in Galician

A high level of support for and confidence in the continuation of the use of Galician despite a lack of political support was seen amongst both samples, although the responses of the Arts group appeared to state this support was more extensive than amongst the Science group. Furthermore, the questions on 'national' identity showed that although large proportions of both groups feel Galician and are proud of this

identity, the Arts participants see themselves as more strongly Galician than do the Science sample, and they are prouder of their Galician identity than are the Science group. When this information is linked to the fact that the Arts sample use Galician more extensively than do the Science sample, further findings from the MSG can be seen to be reflected in the findings of this current study. The MSG found a positive correlation between feeling Galician and speaking Galician, and this was also the case in this study.¹⁵⁵

9.7 Secondary diglossia

The existence of a secondary diglossia as noted by Green was also seen in the results of this study, particularly amongst the Science sample, many of whom expressed the view that even in informal situations it is better to use the normative variety of Galician. This suggests the existence of a perception of a ‘high’ Galician and a ‘low’ Galician.¹⁵⁶ Linked to this is the fact as described above that, aside from with Administration, a continuation of the traditional diglossic situation with Castilian placed above Galician was noted. If Galician is split by speakers into two levels (high and low), both of these can be seen to exist below Castilian in a state of double overlapping diglossia. The Arts sample, on the other hand, showed more extensive support for all varieties of Galician, not just the normative variety, and there was also a stronger percentage of Arts than Science participants who declared themselves to be in favour of orthographic differentiation of Galician from Castilian. Such opinions show a tendency towards language loyalty, as both would help uphold the linguistic and cultural differences

¹⁵⁵ González González 2008 p59.

¹⁵⁶ Green in Parry *et al* p165.

between Galician and Castilian to help guard against linguistic and cultural assimilation of the two.

9.8 Section conclusion

All human beings have been seen to use language to establish and manipulate the identity they display to others, and all human beings have been seen to decode the identity signals displayed by others through their use of language to interpret their identities. This process can be seen across all speech communities, regardless of the language spoken. As pointed out by Álvarez Torres et al, in a region with such a specific sociolinguistic context as Galicia which affects language choices to such a great extent, it is unsurprising that these language-identity choices play an even more important role here than they do in many other places and amongst other speech communities.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, when looking closely at the expression of identity through language use by participants of an age group ‘que crecieron nun contexto histórico social e cultural que comeza a valorar a lingua propia e empregala como elemento identificativo e distintivo’ it is to be expected that language would be seen and used as a particularly important method of expressing one’s identity.¹⁵⁸

Having analysed the responses generated in the primary research phase of this thesis, and coupled this with the information found in the secondary research it can be seen that the hypothesis of this work is supported by statistical data. There is a significant difference in the use of language between Arts students and graduates and Science students and graduates. Since there is no purely linguistic reason for this to be the case,

¹⁵⁷ Álvarez Torres et al p166.

¹⁵⁸ Álvarez Torres et al p169.

it can therefore be concluded that such differences have an extra-linguistic motivation. Following Chambers' above-cited statement, these sociolinguistic differences can be seen to be motivated by the establishment and communication of identity. Although both sample groups have communicated themselves to hold positive attitudes towards the use of Galician both by themselves and the rest of society, and to believe in the cultural value and importance of Galician, the Arts sample showed time and time again to hold such strong pro-Galician views that they are willing to take their views one step further, and to manipulate their use of language, demonstrating degrees of language loyalty and language disloyalty. That is to say that they use language in a slightly different way, and to hold slightly different views (or merely to *express* slightly different views) when compared with their Science counterparts, in order to safeguard Galician and its associated culture from linguistic and cultural assimilation into the more economically dominant Castilian, and to manipulate the linguistic identity that they display to others in order that they might be seen as part of a Galician-speaking speech and cultural community. Therefore it can be seen that language is used to a considerable extent as an expression of identity by university-educated, young adult Galicians.

Since humans use language to express what they perceive to be the most socially desirable version of themselves, in accordance with their perception of the identity that would be most appropriate for the situation they find themselves in at any given time, the differences between the identity displayed by Arts participants and that displayed by Science participants can be read as an expression of the identity each group views to be the most socially desirable identity respectively. On the whole, those who study Arts

subjects manipulated their use of language to express a slightly more Galicianised identity than did their Science counterparts, who on average manipulated their language to express a slightly less Galicianised identity. This provides us with a snapshot view of what each group considers to be the most desirable identity: for Arts students and graduates it is most socially desirable to be seen as having a particularly Galician identity, that is to say as a speaker of Galician, as a participating member of Galician culture, and as someone with pro-Galician opinions. For Science students and graduates the most socially desirable identity is slightly less overtly Galician, and slightly more Castilianised. This group tends to use Galician less, and to hold slightly more moderate pro-Galician views than their Arts counterparts.

It can be seen then, that one sociolinguistic phenomenon noted to take place across our species, the manipulation of a speaker's language use for the manipulation of the identity a speaker displays is of particular importance in Galicia and amongst this specific population (university-educated 18 to 25 year olds). Furthermore, the statistically significant differences in the use of language and the related opinions by the two groups within this population (Arts students and graduates and Science students and graduates) show a significant difference in the identity displayed by these groups by the manipulation of language use.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Deconstruction and Analysis of Pilot Work: Part One – Interviews

As is explained in section 6.4, before creating the final questionnaire for use in the generation of data for analysis within this thesis, it was necessary first to carry out a series of stages of pilot work. The first step of this was to carry out several preliminary interviews.

Pilot Interviews and Analysis

This section will contain the questions asked in the pilot interviews with a short deconstruction, and notes about what was found out and how this affects the progress of my research.

In order to break the ice a little, and to get participants used to being tape recorded I began the interviews with a few simple questions based on their personal details.

¿Cuántos años tienes?

I also asked this question to check on certain participants' ages, as I was not entirely sure of the exact ages of some interviewees. For reasons of politeness I did not ask the two members of university academic staff how old they are, although I was able to age them both to being mid-thirties to early-forties. The nine remaining participants were all aged between 20 and 31 years, with the average age of participants being 24.2 years.

¿Qué haces? / ¿Qué estudias?

Si ya no estudias, ¿hasta qué nivel educativo has estudiado?

I asked these questions to allow me to group participants into sciences or arts, humanities and law. Of the eleven participants, three were from sciences and eight were from arts, with participants doing courses and jobs ranging from studying English Philology to working as pharmacists.

As it turned out, I did not need to ask the second part of this question as all participants were either still studying, or had jobs which require a university degree, meaning I knew those who were no longer studying were graduates. These questions were more relevant when I was collecting responses from strangers.

¿Dónde vives (durante el semestre)?

Nine of my participants live in Santiago during term-time (at least), and two live elsewhere: one in Birmingham and one in Cambridge.

¿De dónde eres?

This question was asked in order to ascertain whether participants were from rural or urban backgrounds to see if this affects their usage of and affinity to Galician. Although this is not the main focus of my research it may prove useful later on. Ten of my eleven participants were from Galician towns and villages, and their origins vary from Vigo to Fisterra to Foz. One participant had spent her childhood in Venezuela, but had Galician grandparents, and her family had returned to Galicia six years ago.

¿De dónde son tus padres?

I asked this question in order to see whether having Galician parents affects a speaker's identity and language usage. Eight of my participants stated that both of their parents are from Galicia, and the remaining three all had one Galician parents (in all three cases the mother), and one non-Galician parent (two from other regions in Spain, and one from Venezuela).

¿Cuántas lenguas hablas y cuáles son?

Of the eleven participants, all eleven stated they spoke Galician and Castilian. Ten said they also spoke English, five stated they spoke some French, five said they spoke Portuguese, four said they spoke some German, three said they knew some Italian and one said she knew some Russian. The languages that participants speak other than Castilian and Galician is largely irrelevant at this stage, as a very limited level of German is unlikely to have much impact on a person's linguistic choices and their use of language to portray their identity. However, this question was asked as a way of introducing the topic of language as a transitional question. It also serves on a more obvious level to check which languages participants were able to speak, without asking as direct a question as 'Do you know how to speak Galician?' or 'Can you speak Galician?'. This style of question would almost certainly suggest that the socially desirable answer would be a positive one, whether or not this is true. It may seem ridiculous to feel the need to ask if educated young adult Galicians are able to speak Galician, given their schooling and the language planning measures in place,

but I decided to include this question as within my personal life two years ago I met a young woman aged 21, who had lived since birth in Santiago, but was attending the same Galician language course as me, as she considered herself unable to speak Galician. As all participants stated they are able to speak Galician, and given the use of Galician in the administration of the Galician Universities, I was able to ascertain that any Galician of the age group of my sampling universe who is unable to speak Galician (to the extent that they feel the need to attend a basic course in Galician) is part of a very small minority. Furthermore, as participants were under no obligation to fill in my questionnaire I needed to persuade them to do so, so I needed the questionnaire to have as few questions as possible so it didn't appear extremely long. This means that any irrelevant questions which make the questionnaire seem unnecessarily long had to be removed. For this reason I decided to remove this question from any further stages of pilot work, as I deemed it unnecessary. It will therefore be necessary to introduce the topic of language using a different transition question or phrase.

¿Cuál es tu lengua materna?

I included this question to see whether a person's mother tongue affects the way they feel about their identity as a Galician and the linguistic choices they make. This question also serves to show which language participants will claim to be their mother tongue, which is relevant when taken with later questions. Of the eleven participants, six stated their mother tongue was Galician, three that it was Castilian, and two that both Galician and Castilian were their mother tongues.

¿Qué lengua hablabas cuando empezaste a hablar como niño/a?

This question may appear to be a repetition of the previous question. I do not believe the two are synonymous, however, as some speakers who spoke one language as a young, pre-school child later began to speak a different language, which they now consider to be their mother tongue. When this is the case, this is often an ideological rather than purely linguistic statement. I mainly wanted to ask this question to see whether speakers who, for all intents and purposes, started to speak Galician as their L2, now consider it to be their L1, relegating what linguists would label their true L1 to L2 status (or indeed vice versa). Similarly I thought it would be interesting to see whether those who grew up around both languages in a bilingual household stated

Galician, Castilian or both as their mother tongue as this statement too could be considered an expression of a desired identity.

¿A qué edad empezaste a hablar el gallego / el castellano?

This question did not form my original set of questions, so does not appear in all of the interviews, however, I decided to start asking this question when I noticed there was sometimes a difference between the language participants stated as their mother tongue and that which they stated they first spoke as children. Finding out the age that someone started with their second language is important for the purposes of classifying them as a *neofalante* or a *paleofalante*, which is the topic of a question later on in the interview, and can help in the analysis of their answer to this question.

When analyzing the responses given in the interviews to these three questions I found exactly what I had suspected I might find: that some people now consider (or declare that they consider) their mother tongue to be a language different to the one they used when they first learned to speak. One participant claimed his mother tongue was Galician, but then revealed that he spoke only Castilian until he was four or five years old. Another claimed his mother tongue was Galician, but then stated that he learned both languages from his parents at the same time, as one is Galician, but the other is from Extremadura. A third participant had previously stated her mother tongue to be Galician, *and* the first language she learned to speak as Galician, yet when asked this third question had declared that she learnt both languages from the same age. Clearly, when asking participants to refer back to their early childhood it is natural that some will make mistakes, but amongst at least some participants this decision to declare themselves to be a mother tongue Galician-speaker must be viewed as an ideological statement. The wish to be seen as a mother tongue or first-language speaker of Galician means that some participants will state themselves to be such, when a linguist may take a different stance and say that according to academic convention, a person's 'mother tongue' is the one they originally learned to speak in, and that one cannot pick and choose one's mother tongue or first language according to what one views to be socially desirable. This echoes the phenomenon previously seen as part of this thesis, labelled by Salvador as 'language disloyalty',¹⁵⁹ and also the aforementioned concept of Social Identity Theory, as described by Meyerhoff, which

¹⁵⁹ Salvador p38

sees language used as a potent symbol of identity.¹⁶⁰ Given the theory behind this phenomenon, and the fact that it took place in three out of just eleven participants, it is likely that this phenomenon will also be seen when these questions are asked to a much larger group of people.

¿Qué lengua hablas con tus amigos?

¿Qué lengua hablas en casa?

¿Qué lengua hablas con tu madre?

¿Qué lengua hablas con tus abuelos?

¿Qué lengua hablas con tus hermanos?

¿Qué lengua usas más en el trabajo / en la universidad para los trabajos?

¿Qué lengua usas con el jefe / los profesores?

This series of questions was designed to see in what circumstances participants used which language, to see what sort of social standing they gave to the language. The responses to this question were used when comparing them with the results seen in the 1996 study carried out by Rodríguez Neira. See section 7.

¿Algunas veces hablas gallego?

¿Algunas veces hablas castellano?

These two questions were included specifically for those who had responded that they primarily spoke just one or the other language in the previous set of questions. For this reason it was not always necessary to ask this question, and sometimes I had to modify the question somewhat, adding information to the question such as ‘do you ever speak Galician *outside the home*?’ in order to not just repeat the information stated in the responses to the previous questions. Clearly this will not be possible in the final printed questionnaire, showing that these questions are not appropriate in their current form. Since, having looked at the results gained in the interview stage, I decided to reproduce the earlier study as conducted by Rodríguez Neira, I no longer needed to ask these questions in this style as they were included in the same section as when I asked participants in what situations they do or do not use Galician.

¿Si alguien te habla en castellano, qué lengua usas para responderle?

¿Si alguien te habla en gallego, qué lengua usas para responderle?

I asked these two questions in order to ascertain participants’ general linguistic choices in various situations. I later decided in some interviews to modify these questions to include the fact that the interlocutor was Galician to see if this changed the answers I received.

¹⁶⁰ Meyerhoff pp70-71

¿En qué lengua te encuentras más cómodo/a? ¿Por qué?

I asked this question on a face-value basis, to see which language participants felt more comfortable in. In hindsight, instead of asking such a general question, it may have been better to provide participants with a list of situations to state how they feel more comfortable talking, in order to elicit more precise information. This could possibly form a separate question, or the two could be included together as one question.

Mucha gente piensa que hay una diferencia entre los que hablan gallego durante toda la vida y los que decidieron cambiar del castellano al gallego más tarde. ¿Tú también crees que hay una diferencia entre estos dos grupos, o son todos iguales como hablantes del gallego?

This question ties up with the earlier questions of participants' first and second language. Having read in work by Iglesias and Ramallo dating from 2003, that *neofalantes* and *paleofalantes* often display different opinions of this issue, to the extent that *paleofalantes* may often display a degree of hostility towards *neofalantes*,¹⁶¹ I decided to ask this question in order to see if and to what extent this is still the case.

I classified participants into *paleofalantes* and *neofalantes*, according to whether they spoke Galician before school age or not. Those who did not, I classified as *neofalantes*, regardless of which language they stated to be their mother tongue. I found that this phenomenon did seem to be represented in the results from the interviews, as four out of six *paleofalantes* who study or work in *letras* stated that there was a difference between how Galician is used by *paleofalantes*, and how it is used by *neofalantes*. Out of four *neofalantes*, three claimed they did not believe there was a difference. The six participants who stated they believed there was a difference described the differences mostly from a linguistic perspective, saying that *neofalantes* tend to speak more normatively, make more mistakes and to use a different pronunciation. I did not encounter any hostility towards *neofalantes* from *paleofalantes*, but it must be taken into account that my sampling group was small, and all were friends of mine, who allowed me to interview them in informal situations such as in their homes or in cafés. This context probably reduced the likelihood of coming across high degrees of militant hostility, which may not be the case in the

¹⁶¹ Iglesias Álvarez et al pp117-132

more formal situation of a questionnaire completed by strangers in a more formal setting. It should be noted that participants were not classified in this way in the analysis of the final questionnaire as I found it was introducing a further element into the work which could not be adequately explored within the scope of this thesis.

¿Es importante hablar el gallego? ¿Por qué?

I included this question in the interviews purely to see if participants thought that speaking Galician was important. I expected that almost all participants would respond positively to this question, given the importance placed on Galician language in the education system and contemporary politics. The second part of the question is really the more important part, as it allowed me to see why participants thought Galician was important: was it for cultural reasons, ideological reasons, or a combination of the two? All eleven participants replied that speaking Galician is important. One stated she felt it was important for cultural reasons, but understood that it may be more economically logical to speak other languages, and another stated he believed it was important, but no more important than any other language. The remaining nine all expressed feelings of attachment to the language for cultural reasons. Two also said that it is important to speak Galician because it is the official language of the region. This suggests at this point, that there whether one studies or works within sciences or arts, humanities and law does not appear to influence one's emotional attachment to Galician.

¿Qué lengua les vas a enseñar a tus hijos? ¿Por qué?

I asked this question as another method of finding the value that participants place on Castilian, Galician and other languages. O'Rourke's work on the value of Irish and Galician on the language market suggested that although most Galicians are positive in their wish to transmit Galician to their children for cultural reasons, that almost all of them also saw the economic motives to pass on Spanish, as a majority language.¹⁶² In order to build on these findings I decided to ask a similar question in a more open style. That is to say that instead of suggesting participants choose from, for example, Galician, Castilian, both or other, I left the options open to the participant. When analyzing the results I found that the question may have been phrased better if I had asked what language they would teach them as a mother tongue, as I found many participants said they thought their children should learn as many languages as

¹⁶² O'Rourke pp581-586

possible. I found I had to specify to some participants that I wanted to know about the children's first language, which would be impossible in a questionnaire, so this question needs to be clearer. I found four participants from letras and one from sciences stated they would teach their children Galician as a mother tongue. One letras student replied she would teach her child Castilian, and the remaining five stated they would teach them all languages possible, or both.

¿Es importante que los niños gallegos aprendan hablar el castellano? ¿Por qué?

This question is linked to the question above, and is designed to help show the value that participants place on the majority language. The ten participants I asked this question to all replied that it is important for Galician children to learn Spanish, stating what could be considered mostly economic reasons, such as the importance of Spanish in the world.

¿Te consideras gallego/a?

¿Te consideras español/a?

These questions introduce the topic of identity into the interview. They can be taken together as a pair and the responses of both contrasted against the other answers given in the interview in order to get a more in-depth view of how each participant's identity matches the linguistic choices they have stated themselves to have. As each was a spoken interview participants tended to answer more than just 'sí' or 'no' to these questions so giving more information within their answers, including degrees of the depth of their sentiments, although in a written questionnaire participants may be more inclined to write more closed answers. For this reason I thought it would be a good idea to pilot some manner of asking the degree to which participants feel Galician and / or Spanish, such as a scale.

I found that all eleven participants stated they considered themselves to be Galician, but that only seven also stated they considered themselves to be Spanish. Of these, all three science participants, and four letras participants said they felt they were both, but the remaining four letras participants stated they were Galician only, and not Spanish at all.

¿Te consideras más gallego/a o más español/a, o los dos igualmente?

This question was not always necessary as by this point some participants had already explained the degree of depth of their sentiment of identity of Galician and Spanish

respectively. This question became superfluous when I adapted the interview questions into a questionnaire, as I decided to provide participants with a series of phrases to which they could show their level of agreement using a Likert scale.

¿Es posible ser gallego y español a la vez?

I mainly asked this question to those who had stated they are either Galician or Spanish, and not both at once, to see if they believed it was possible to have both identities at once, just not in their own particular case, or if they believed that membership of the identity group of one of these meant one could then not also be a part of the other.

I found that all three science participants answered that yes, it is possible to be Spanish and Galician at once, but that only four letras participants stated this (these four participants are not the same four participants who claimed they were both Spanish and Galician – there was some movement between these two groups). Two letras participants claimed that a person can only really be both Spanish and Galician on paper, and two claimed that if they were to feel they were both Spanish and Galician that this may mean they did not feel as Galician as they did, as if feeling Spanish would dilute their sense of Galician-ness in some way.

¿Cómo definirías a un gallego?

This question formed my original set of questions, although I soon realised that this question was somewhat strangely phrased. I soon omitted this question in favour of the following questions stated below.

¿Qué significa ser gallego?

As mentioned above, this question was added part-way through the interview process as a better phrasing of the previously-stated question. I asked this question in order to find out what participants believed were the most defining characteristics of a Galician identity.

¿Cuál es para ti lo que mejor define la identidad gallega?

This question was added very late to the interview process at the suggestion of a member of the academic staff at Birmingham University, and was in time only for the final interview. The reason it was included was that it seemed to be a better-worded

version of the previous question, although after just one interview it is very difficult to tell for sure.

Taking all three of these questions together, I found responses ranging from a need to identify and love Galician language, land and culture, to being suspicious and distrustful.

¿Cómo sabes si alguien es gallego o no?

This formed part of my original set of questions, but by the third interview I could see that due to its wording, this was somewhat of a redundant question. I had intended the question to elicit similar responses to the previous set of questions, which all relate to the particular features that participants thought as specifically Galician, but it generated responses of little worth to my research, such as one participant who replied ‘I would ask him’. After the third interview I decided to stop asking this question, and it will not be included in the questionnaire.

¿Crees que se habla insuficiente, suficiente o demasiado gallego en las escuelas?

I included this question as I believe it shows participants’ ideological views regarding the use of Galician in the current education system, and therefore shows the importance they place on the choice of *which* language is being used at any one time, and if this is important at all. No participant replied that Galician is spoken too much in schools. Six letras participants and one from science replied it is used insufficiently, and two participants from sciences and one from letras said they thought it is used sufficiently. One participant, a teacher himself, appeared unable to give a clear answer.

Si tienes que hablar en una situación muy formal, por ejemplo si tienes que dar una exposición de trabajo, ¿cambiarías tu lengua para hacerla más apropiada a la situación? ¿Por qué? ¿Cómo?

This question also formed my original set of questions, but when I began carrying out the interviews I found the question to be poorly-expressed, and that it generated responses that were too vague to be of real worth for my research. I had meant the question to ask participants about the situations in which they felt more comfortable in one language or another, but the wording did not really get this message clearly across to participants. I stopped asking this question early in the interview process, but I believed I could elicit this information in a better way by providing participants

with a list of situations and choices of languages that they might use in these given situations, as mentioned above. I asked this question in two interviews and found that participants stated they would use a more formal register, that is to say with fewer regionalisms, or would switch languages completely according to the main language of the audience. These responses are largely irrelevant due to their vagueness, which was caused by the poor phrasing of the question. For this reason I abandoned this question after two interviews. In hindsight I think this question is a little pointless, as it is natural that speakers would choose a more formal register for a more formal situation, particularly by the time they reach university.

¿Existen algunos estereotipos sobre los gallegos? ¿Cuáles son?

I asked this question to create a small opposition to the previous questions regarding the features that are seen to make up Galician identity. This question also functions to show if and to what extent young Galicians believe the features they stated that form a Galician identity and similar or different to those in the stereotypes of Galicians that they are aware of, or that they perceive exist.

Alongside the descriptions of Galicians that participants provided as responses to an earlier group of questions, they stated that the stereotypes relating to Galicians involve being stupid (tonto), having an image of being country bumpkins, being hard workers, being doubtful and indecisive, answering questions with questions, a feeling of homesickness, being kind (amable), sweet.

¿Por qué crees que son esos [los estereotipos]?

This question was asked in order to elicit more information from the participant about their perceptions of the creation and perpetuation of stereotypes of Galicians, and particularly to see if participants thought Galicians adhered to those stereotypes or not, and if not why they thought these stereotypes existed, and where they originated from. These two questions are not directly linked to linguistic choices, but they involve the concept of a Galician identity, which it is necessary to explore in order to see if and how this identity affects linguistic choices made. That said, this second question in particular, elicited some very extended responses, which I imagine the majority of participants in a written questionnaire would be reluctant to do. For this reason this second question on stereotypes can probably be omitted from the

questionnaire stage of research, now that a range of responses have been seen from speakers in and close to my final sampling universe.

I found that responses to these questions ranged from the idea of these stereotypes having been created for reasons of propaganda as far back as the Catholic Monarchs, to their being real, to their having been created through immigration, to their being modern constructions of the television-age.

¿Sueles leer en gallego?

I asked this question in order to see if participants are in the habit of reading. Similar questions based on the use of Galician in films, music, newspapers and the television appear later in the interview. For the questionnaire stage I thought it would probably have made more sense to have all of these questions together. Also, I thought it would probably have been more useful to ask if and then how much participants read in Galician, as opposed to just if they do or not. Nine participants stated they do read in Galician, although this information is not of much use to me without knowing how much they read, showing this question needs rewording.

¿Qué tipo de lectura lees?

This question did not form the original list of questions that I used when conducting the interviews, although it was suggested to me by a member of the academic staff at the University of Birmingham. This was quite late on during the interview process, so I only managed to ask this question in one interview. Although this is not directly related to the issue of identity and linguistic choices, the type of reading that participants do in Galician would be interesting to find out, as it would show what type of written Galician they choose to expose themselves to. This then affects how much exposure they get to written styles of Galician, much of which are inevitably very different to oral styles, and some of which would appear using the normative variety. The amount of exposure to various types and usages of Galician may affect one's linguistic choices, and of course, it is often one's choice to expose oneself to reading material in Galicia. Asking this question in the questionnaire stage would allow me to see if this is the case, although, as with most questionnaires, it would be difficult to see which came first – the choice to read in Galician which then affect one's usage of Galician, or the fact that one chooses to use Galician to a relatively

large extent in more situations than just orally, which then affects ones choices regarding reading material.

¿Estás orgulloso/a de ser gallego/a?

I asked this question purely to see if participants would say that they are proud to be Galician, although in hindsight it is probably a very biased question that would be likely to elicit just one answer in the majority of cases. I believe this question would be less biased if it were written as a statement ('I am proud to be Galician) and participants were then allowed to choose from options such 'strongly agree' and 'slightly disagree'.

Para ser gallego 'de verdad', ¿es más importante haber nacido en Galicia o hablar en gallego u otra cosa?

I asked this question to see what characteristics participants thought were most important for a person to be a 'real' Galician, and what importance the ability to use or the actual use of Galician language had, compared with other characteristics. I found that all three science participants stated the most important part of being a true Galician is to feel Galician, whilst letras participants placed much more emphasis on the need to speak Galician as well as feeling Galician and loving and identifying with Galician culture.

Si yo viniera a Galicia, ¿yo me podría hacer gallega?

This question did not form my original set of interview questions, although I started to ask this question to provide participants with a more concrete example to allow them to think more easily about the previous question: the characteristics that are most important for someone to be a 'true' Galician, and how important having a Galician family and upbringing was to the concept of being a 'real' Galician.

All ten participants who I asked this question stated that it would be possible for someone born and raised outside Galicia to become Galician, although two letras participants claimed that to do so the person would have to feel Galician and speak Galician.

¿Es importante que la gente sepa que eres gallego/a, o no te importa?

I asked this question to see whether people want others to know they are Galician, i.e. if it is an aspect of their identity that they are eager that people are aware of, or if they do not see this as important to them. Like the earlier question about being proud of being Galician, I think this question would be better asked in the form of a statement that participants are requested to show how far they agree with.

¿Sabes cuando salieron las últimas normas para el uso del gallego?

I asked this question to allow me to see if and how closely participants follow linguistic politics in Galicia, to see if this affects their usage of Galician or the future they predict for the language. I found that most participants were vaguely aware that the norms had changed within the past few years, but very few were actually sure of when the most recent norms were published. This means I could discount this question from the questionnaire, as responses given to other questions varied, whether or not participants were sure of when the latest norms came out.

¿Hablar en gallego non-normativo significa hablar mal?

This question was included to see whether participants are in favour of the norms on an oral basis. In hindsight this is probably somewhat of a leading question, as it seems to suggest that the most socially acceptable response is to answer in the negative. I aimed to slightly modify this question to make it less biased for the questionnaire. From looking at the responses I believed it would be more helpful to specify the context being questioned about, that is to say oral or written usage, and in a formal or informal context.

Cuando hablas en gallego, ¿te importa si hablas según las normas del gallego, o no?

I asked this question to see what importance participants place on the use of the Galician norms when speaking. In some interviews I followed this question with one about whether they write using the norms or not. All participants except two stated that when speaking they tend to use their own variety in informal situations. I think this question could be considered quite ambiguous, so I will phrase the question slightly differently when I plan the questionnaire.

¿Es mejor hablar en tu propia variedad de gallego, es decir el gallego que aprendiste en casa, o es mejor hablar según las normas, incluso si esto significa hablar con palabras o con formas distintas a las que existen en tu propia variedad tradicional?

This question was also designed to see the value that participants place on their own variety of Galician compared to the normative variety, following the ideas of O'Rourke, of the difference between the cultural value of a minority variety (in this case the traditional variety of Galician) and the more economic value of a majority variety (normative Galician). I feel this question is somewhat long-winded and I found that when I did not cut the question short myself, participants would often do this for me. Again, I think I should have specified whether this was a formal or an informal situation, as responses may differ.

¿En qué lengua piensas que deberían estar los nombres de los pueblos, las ciudades, las calles de Galicia – sólo en gallego, sólo en castellano, en los dos, o depende de donde están las cosas?

Although there is already a law stating that all toponyms should be in Galician, I decided to ask this question to see what participants think about this fact, or whether they would prefer toponyms to be in both languages, or even just in Castilian. I did not find any participants who stated that toponyms should be in Castilian, although three stated they ought to be in both Galician and Castilian, and one said he thought that each place should hold some kind of referendum to decide which language to use when naming the place.

Mucha gente cree que las normas del gallego son demasiado ‘españolizantes’, es decir que son demasiado ‘españolas’. ¿Qué crees de esta opinión?

I asked this question to gather information about participants' opinions of the official Galician norms, as I thought that the answers given this question may allow me to read a little deeper into each participants's thought-processes and attitudes towards the norms themselves and also towards the idea of Galicia as part (or not) of Spain, and Galicia's (and Galician's) relationship to Spain and Spanish. I found that all science participants stated they did not think the norms were too Spanish, but three out of eight letras participants thought they were.

Cuando escribes en gallego, ¿sueles usar la ‘ñ’?

¿A veces usas la nh?

I included this question as a more specific example of participants' thoughts on the Galician norms. This issue is particularly appropriate for this sort of study as the usage of the ñ is seen by some Galician-speakers as a direct and clearly visible sign that the norms follow a strongly Castilian grammatical framework, and in my own personal experience I have noticed that most graffiti on the walls around Santiago

usually makes use of *nh* to express the sound of the letter ‘ñ’. At first I only asked the first question of the two but during the interview process I noticed that some participants did not fully understand this question (such as one participant who replied that no, he did not use ñ in the words that don’t have an ñ in them), so I began to add the second part to the question in order to ask the question in a more precise manner.

En tu opinión, ¿cuál es el futuro del gallego?

¿Es diferente al futuro que te gustaría que tuviese el gallego?

This set of questions was asked to see what state of health participants believe Galician to be in, and to see if this is a purely personal notion that varies from one individual to another, or to see if a participant’s mother tongue or the amount they use Galician on an everyday basis affects the future that speakers predict for the language.

Participants’ opinions regarding the future of Galician seemed to vary from a very dark future for the language to its strong continuation of use. Overall there seemed to be a more pessimistic view of the language’s future from the side of the *letras* participants, although with such a small sampling group it is difficult to tell at this stage. Almost all participants seemed to wish for the continuation of use of Galician, although one participant stated that if people don’t use Galician then they don’t deserve to have it, as if the language is a precious gift that one has to be grateful for and to make use of, or they run the risk of losing it.

¿Escuchas música o ves películas en gallego?

I asked this question in order to see if and to what extent speakers use Galician in their everyday life, other than when they speak it. I wanted to see if participants make use of Galician within their free time. I first linked these two pastimes together but it soon became very clear that a response of ‘sí’ is almost meaningless here, as it could refer to music, films or both. It soon became apparent that I needed to split these two pastimes into two questions, which I also did in the questionnaire. In the interviews I often asked participants to elaborate on their answers to include how much and how often they listen to music or watch films in Galician, which I would not be able to do with the question as it stands, even if it was split into two separate questions. For this reason I believed I should provide the participants with a choice of how often they do these things, ranging from never to always. The same is true about the following question regarding the newspaper.

¿Lees el periódico en gallego?

I included this question for the same reason as the above questions about music and films in Galician: to see whether participants read Galician-language press. As above, however, I think it would have been more useful to ask participants how often they read Galician newspapers, instead of asking a closed question that elicits a yes / no response.

¿Qué periódico lees si lees un periódico en gallego?***¿Piensas que debería haber más prensa en gallego?***

Following the advice of a member of the academic staff at the University of Birmingham, I included these two questions in the final interview I carried out, in exactly the format suggested to me. The reason these questions were suggested to me was that the first question would potentially allow me to categorise participants according to the newspaper they read, and that the second would allow me to see if participants wanted more press in Galician. After adding these questions into just one interview, however, I decided to immediately remove them from my list of questions. I believed the first question to be irrelevant, as although at times it *is* possible to read into a person's ideological views by their choice of newspaper that this is certainly not the aim of an unbiased sociolinguistic thesis researching the link between identity and linguistic choice. Furthermore, it does not take into account the fact that as young people, participants may not be the one that buys the newspapers in their household, they may simply read the newspaper their parents or grandparents buy, or indeed they may only read free newspapers. This sort of categorisation and assumptions of one's ideological values has no place in what is aiming to be an unbiased piece of sociolinguistic research. Moreover, I believed the second question to be a very leading question, suggesting that the only socially acceptable answer would be to answer in the affirmative. A more appropriate method to ask this question would be to ask participants how far they agree with it when written as a statement.

¿Ves la televisión en gallego?

I included this question for the same reason as I included the questions on if participants use Galician-language music, films, and newspapers in everyday life, and therefore to see in what contexts they use Galician. Just as in the above questions, however, I believe it would have been more useful to ask participants how much they watch television in Galician, rather than simply if they do or not.

¿Qué opinión tienes del TVG?

Also following the advice of a member of the academic staff at the University of Birmingham, I included this question in the list of questions I used in interviews. The question was intended to find out what participants think about the Galician-language television channel TVG. The only participant to answer this question explained that he believes that the high level of state manipulation of the channel that took place for a long period has caused a significant amount of damage to the channel, and that TVG has not fulfilled its role of inspiring pride in the Galician public regarding their language and culture. After testing this question out in one interview I decided that I thought this question and the answers it was likely to elicit were a little irrelevant to a thesis on this exact theme, as one's opinion of a television channel has little bearing on the linguistic choices one makes when writing or speaking.

¿Piensas que los creadores de la lengua son los hablantes o los académicos?

Again, this question was included following advice from a member of Birmingham's academic staff, and was used in just one interview. The reason for this is that despite the fact that two opposing options are provided for the participant, so this cannot be considered a completely leading question as perhaps some earlier questions could be, I believe that the most socially-acceptable answer to this question of 'speakers' is somewhat obvious. The only participant who answered this question before it was removed from the list of questions used in interviews replied that languages evolve according to how they are used by speakers, and that the role of academics is just to regulate these changes. I do not believe that many participants at all would be tempted to respond with 'academics', as this is simply not the case in any world language, other than those purposely created, such as Esperanto. I feel this would be even more obvious to educated, young Galician-speakers, who will probably have all been taught in obligatory linguistics classes how the Galician norms came to be, and the concept of linguistic evolution. It is for this reason that I do not believe this question would have been useful or appropriate in the questionnaire stage of this thesis so it was not used.

APPENDIX 1.1**Interview Transcripts**

The following are a series of transcripts of interviews carried out by myself in March 2009. These are the preliminary interviews used within the methodology stage of this thesis. Nine are with young Galician speakers, all of whom are university students or graduates, and two are with members of Galician-speaking university academic staff. Any errors in the language appearing in the transcription of Spanish and Galician are mine alone. As far as possible I have tried to represent the exact speech that participants actually used. This is particularly noticeable in the non-normative usages of Galician in certain interviews. My own speech is represented in bold font, and that of participants appears in a regular font.

Interview A
02/03/2009

¿Cuántos años tienes? 21

¿Qué estudias? Eh, Filología inglesa

¿Dónde vives durante el semestre, aquí en Santiago, verdad? Sí (laughter)

¿Y de dónde eres? De O Grove

¿Y de dónde son tus padres? Eh, mi madre de O Grove y mi padre de Portonovo.

¿De Galicia entonces? Sí.

¿Cuántas lenguas hablas y cuáles son? Eh... **De cualquier nivel.** Cuatro. Gallego, español, inglés y un poco de alemán.

Vale. ¿Cuál es tu lengua materna? Eh, gallego.

¿Y qué lengua hablabas cuando empezaste a hablar como niña? Gallego.

Gallego. ¿Y cuándo empezaste con el español? Eh, al mismo tiempo. Hablaba los dos.

¿Eh, qué lengua hablas con tus amigos? Gallego.

¿En casa? Gallego.

¿Con tu madre? Gallego. (Laughter.)

¿Con tus abuelos? Gallego.

¿Con tu hermano? Gallego.

Vale. (Laughter.) ¿Qué lengua usas más en la universidad para los trabajos? Inglés.

Inglés. Claro. (Laughter). Muy bien.

¿Eh, qué lengua usas con los profesores? Gallego. O inglés.

¿Si alguien te habla en castellano, qué lengua usas para responderle? (Pause). Eh, depende. Si sé que no es gallego le hablo en español, pero si es gallego le hablo en gallego.

Si alguien te habla en gallego, ¿le respondes en gallego, verdad? Sí.

¿En qué lengua te encuentras más cómoda? En gallego.

¿Y eso, por qué? Porque es la que siempre hablaba en mi casa, la que estoy acostumbrada a hablar desde pequeña.

Mucha gente piensa que hay una diferencia entre los que hablan gallego durante toda la vida y los que decidieron cambiar del castellano al gallego más tarde.

¿Tú también crees que hay una diferencia entre estos dos grupos, o son todos iguales como hablantes del gallego? Eh, probablemente hay una diferencia en el sentido de que si hablas gallego desde pequeño tienes más expresiones de tu zona, que si al principio, si cuando eres pequeño te hablan en español y hablas en español, después aprendes más el gallego normalizado y no tanto el de tu zona.

¿Tú crees que es importante hablar el gallego? Sí.

¿Por qué? Porque es un símbolo de identidad nacional. Es... sí: un símbolo de identidad nacional.

¿Qué lengua les vas a enseñar a tus hijos? Gallego

¿Por qué? Bueno. Gallego, español, inglés, alemán, francés, chino... (laughter), en lo que pueda. Eh porque creo que es importante hablar gallego para estar más en contacto con la cultura y tener una conciencia social.

¿Y tú crees que es importante que los niños gallegos aprendan hablar el castellano? Eh, sí, pero no tendría que ser obligatorio, en el sentido de que...tenido en cuenta que estamos en Galicia, la lengua usada debería ser el gallego y no el español. Pero está bien que se aprendan otras lenguas, igual que yo aprendo inglés. No sé.

¿Y por qué está bien? Porque te abre las fronteras. Es...no sé. Simplemente cuando conoces una lengua te es más fácil conocer las culturas de otros países, entonces si estás interesado en eso es más práctico. Si quieres trabajar en el extranjero, viajar, o cualquier cosa.

¿Te consideras gallega? Sí.
Sí. (Laughter)

¿Te consideras española? No. No.

¿Es posible ser gallego y español a la vez? Eh, hay gente que dice que sí. Y, no sé. Yo creo que son distintas formas de ver la nacionalidad gallega, es como si yo fuese gallega y española probablemente no me sentiría tan gallega como me siento siendo sólo gallega. Es como, no sé. Ser español implica más poder central en Madrid y esas cosas y realmente yo no quiero que tenga nada que ver con un murciano. Somos distintos.

¿Cómo definirías a un gallego? Después de las elecciones ayer – imbécil. (Laughter) [Referring to the elections of 01/03/2009 when the Partido Popular won the Autonomic Elections in Galicia.] Eh, eh no sé. Digamos que es desconfiado y a la vez alguien que no defiende a sus derechos.

¿Cómo sabes si alguien que conoces, eh, la primera vez es gallego o no? Eh, por el acento.

Entonces, por como habla. Como habla, sí.

¿Crees que se habla insuficiente, suficiente o demasiado gallego en las escuelas?
Insuficiente. Sí.

¿Mucho, o no? Mucho porque todo depende del colegio a que vayas, y de lo que quiera el profesor

Si tienes que hablar en una situación muy formal, por ejemplo si tienes que dar una exposición de trabajo, ¿adaptarías tu lengua para hacerla más apropiada a la situación? Eh sí. Utilizaría un registro más formal. Si puedo hablar en gallego pero sin utilizar expresiones coloquiales o expresiones de mi zona, o la gheada, o el seseo.

¿Eh, existen algunos estereotipos sobre los gallegos? Sí. Muchos.

¿Sí? ¿Cuáles son? Eh, tontos. No sé. Eh, desconfiados. Eh, no sé. Tontos más que nada. (Laughter)

¿Por qué crees que son esos? Porque, digamos que desde los reyes católicos hay ese..., como hicieron una campaña de desprestigio por los restos de reinos que había periféricos, entonces lo que hicieron fue desprestigiarlos y la gente aquí quedaba como tonta, vulgar, que aquí sólo había vacas y que ellos trajeron la civilización y estás cosas.

¿Tú sueles leer en gallego? Sí.

¿Estás orgullosa de ser gallega? Sí.

Para ser gallego de verdad, ¿es más importante haber nacido en Galicia o hablar en gallego? Eh, supongo que hablar en gallego, porque hay gente que nace aquí y que no tiene nada de gallega. Y sin embargo hay gente que viene de fuera, tengo, o tuve una profesora de alemán que hablaba gallego perfecto, y habla gallego todo el tiempo y creo que es bastante gallega. A parte de ser alemana. (Laughter.)

¿Es importante para ti, que la gente sepa que eres gallega, o no te importa? Eh, sí. Es importante si la gente es española, y no sé. Es como reivindicar algo que normalmente la gente esconde.

¿Sabes cuando salieron las últimas normas para el uso del gallego? 2001?
Vale. (Laughter)

¿Hablar en gallego non-normativo significa hablar mal? No. No.

¿Tú, cuando hablas en gallego, te importa si hablas según las nuevas normas del gallego, o no? Eh no, no me importa, aunque no es que intente seguir cada nueva, cada nueva norma que introduzcan pero intento hablar correctamente.

¿Entonces hay un gallego correcto y no correcto? No, pero en el sentido de que hay variantes del gallego que están muy influidos por el español en algunas cosas - formas verbales e intento evitarlo.

¿Y, tú crees es mejor hablar en tu propia variedad de gallego, es decir el gallego que aprendiste en casa, o crees que es mejor hablar según las normas, incluso si esto significa hablar con palabras o con formas distintas a las que existen en tu propia variedad tradicional? Creo que es importante hablar la variedad que hablas en tu casa porque el gallego no es una lengua prefabricada que se inventa en la Academia, es la lengua del pueblo y supongo que la variedad tiene que representar a tu cultura y entonces hay que respetarlo.

¿En qué lengua piensas que deberían estar los nombres de los pueblos, las ciudades, las calles etc. de Galicia – sólo en gallego, sólo en castellano, en los dos, o depende de donde están las cosas? Eh sólo en gallego. Y de hecho hay una ley para eso y en algunos sitios no se respeta como A Coruña, *La* Coruña. (Laughter.)

¿Y crees que está mal eso, o no? Sí porque hay una ley que explícitamente dice los topónimos sólo se pueden usar... sólo existen en gallego y entonces el anterior alcalde de Coruña sacó una ley de la gorra diciendo que podían... las ciudades también podían llamarse por su nombre histórico, que podría ser en latín, en la lenguas romanos y él escogió la época de Franco – La Coruña.

Pero, ¿tú crees que el hecho de que hay está ley, que existe está ley está bien?
¿Cual? ¿De los topónimos en gallego? Sí. Sí.

Mucha gente cree que las normas del gallego son demasiado ‘españolizantes’, es decir que son demasiado españoles. ¿Qué crees de esta opinión? Eh, que todo depende porque... yo no creo que no demasiado españolizantes, pero una persona reintegracionista o que cree que el portugués es gallego, yo creo que el gallego y el portugués precisamente se diferencian por las distintas evoluciones históricas y si no no serían lenguas distintas y que si no, hablaríamos portugués y no gallego. No sé

Tú, cuando escribes en gallego, ¿sueles usar la ‘ñ’? Sí.

En tu opinión, ¿cuál es el futuro del gallego? Pues... todo depende. Pero va... va menos por una parte y por otra... hay ciertas sectores en que avanzamos y hay que mantenerlo, pero lo veo muy negro. (Laughter)

¿Entonces Es diferente al futuro que te gustaría que tuviese el gallego? Sí.
¿Y qué te gustaría? Esperaría que dentro de unos años los niños hablasen en gallego, y no sólo español como pasa ahora, y se crece hablando gallego y estas cosas.

¿Escuchas música o ves películas en gallego? Sí. **¿Mucho o no mucho?** No mucho pero simplemente por el hecho de que hay menos.

¿Lees el periódico en gallego? Sí. Pero hay pocos periódicos en gallego.

¿Ves la televisión en gallego? Sí.

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Interview B
02/03/2009

¿Cuántos años tienes? 29.

¿Qué haces? Trabajo.

¿De qué? En un laboratorio farmacéutico.

Ah vale. ¿Y dónde vives? En Santiago.

¿Pero de dónde eres? De Ferrol.

¿De dónde son tus padres? Pues mis padres son los dos de Ferrol.

¿Cuántas lenguas hablas y cuáles son, de cualquier nivel? ¿De cualquier nivel, aunque sea muy bajo, muy bajo, muy bajo? **Sí, sí.** A ver. Hablo castellano, hablo gallego, el inglés, y muy poquito, muy poquito de francés.

Vale. ¿Y cuál es tu lengua materna? Mi lengua materna es el gallego. Sí. En mi casa se habla gallego siempre siempre.

Cuando empezaste a hablar como niño, ¿hablabas en gallego? Sí. Bueno, que yo me acuerde, sí.

¿Qué lengua hablas con tus amigos? En castellano, porque todos hablan en castellano.

¿Y en casa? En gallego.

Es verdad, ya me dijiste. (Laughter.) ¿Con tu madre? ¿Con mi madre? En gallego.

¿Con tus abuelos? Bueno, abuelos ya no tengo ninguno, pero hablaban en gallego. Hablaban gallego.

¿Y con tus hermanos? Con mi hermana – sólo tengo una. Hablo en castellano. Ella no habla gallego.

¿Y eso? Pues no lo sé. Porque, ni...ni siquiera con mis padres. Desde que yo me acuerde habla...o sea habló una...es que no....Desde que yo me acuerde nunca en la vida la escuchaba en gallego. Con nadie además, ¿eh? Es un poco rara, ¿eh?

¿Qué lengua usas más en el trabajo? El castellano.

¿Qué lengua usas con el jefe? El castellano también. ¿También? Sí.

¿Algunas veces hablas gallego fuera de casa? Sí. Con la gente que generalmente me habla en gallego, yo siempre le contesto en gallego. Yo, ¿qué sé? En una tienda, o vas a comprar algo, o a lo mejor con clientes en el trabajo, normalmente hablo en castellano. Pero si me hablan en gallego ya me sale el gallego.

¿Y en qué lengua te encuentras más cómodo? Pues en cualquiera de las dos.

Mucha gente piensa que hay una diferencia entre los que hablan gallego durante toda la vida y los que decidieron cambiar del castellano al gallego más tarde.

¿Tú también crees que hay una diferencia entre estos dos grupos, o son todos iguales como hablantes del gallego? Bueno yo creo que hay una diferencia. A ver, los que cambiaron el castellano por el gallego, Dios, hay que entender que la lengua materna nunca fue el gallego. Entonces siempre hablaban en castellano, y no sé el motivo por el cual... bueno, aquí en Galicia puedo... puedo saber cual es el motivo porque cualquier cambia al gallego, ¿eh? La ideología política, lógicamente. Pero...pero bueno. Sí que hay una diferencia. Que está muy bien, ¿eh? Pero...pero bueno. Sí, encuentro una diferencia.

¿Tú crees que es importante hablar en gallego? Yo sí.

¿Por qué? Porque, sí, es la lengua propia de nuestra región. Entonces, no imponerla, pero hay que protegerla, no sé. Sí.

¿Qué lengua les vas a enseñar a tus hijos? Yo, todas la que pueda. (Laughter) Te lo digo en serio. Castellano, gallego, inglés, si les puedo llevar una más, más. Bueno la cosa es quiero aprenderlos.

¿Es importante que los niños gallegos aprendan hablar el castellano? Sí.

¿Por qué? Imagínate que mañana, xa, tienen que saber hablar bien las dos lenguas, manejarse bien en las dos lenguas, vivir en las dos lenguas. Porque no siempre van a tener porque vivir en Galicia. Si tienen que ir a trabajar a lo que sea, me da igual, con el gallego en Madrid, realmente no haces gran cosa.

Muy bien, eh, ¿te consideras gallego? Sí.

¿Te consideras español? Sí.

¿También? Sí.

Entonces, ¿te consideras más gallego o más español, o los dos igualmente? Yo los dos igual.

Entonces, ¿es posible ser gallego y español a la vez? Mmm. Sí. Por lo menos porque los soy yo. (Laughter)

¿Cómo definirías a un gallego? Uff, no sé. Un gallego es muy distinto a... a...es muy complicado definirlo. Somo muy peculiares. (Laughter). No, no, es muy complicado definirlo.

¿Cómo sabes si alguien es gallego o no? ¿Cómo sé si alguien es gallego o no?

Porque se nota bastante en el acento, eh. Aunque a un gallego, yo no se lo noto. Yo no se lo noto. Muchas veces por las expresiones, por la forma un poco de ser. Un poco de todo, pero bueno.

¿Crees que se habla insuficiente, suficiente o demasiado gallego en las escuelas?

Pregunta complicada... Si se habla insuficiente, suficiente... yo creo que ahora mismo no es que se hable demasiado pero en detrimento del castellano, sí que se habla más el gallego. Cuando yo estudié se hablaba poco gallego porque sólo teníamos dos horas de gallego en todas, todas la semanas, y ahora prácticamente... mi sobrina pequerita que tiene seis años habla en todas las asignaturas en que... que dan clase habla en gallego. Es un poco extensivo. Habría que hablar en castellano e en inglés porque, hombre, yo considero que son importantes.

Si tienes que hablar en una situación muy formal, por ejemplo si tienes que dar una exposición de trabajo, ¿adaptarías tu lengua para hacerla más apropiada a la situación? Eh sí. Depende del público que tenga. O sea si son gallegofalantes, galegofalantes seguramente, no, o sea seguro que sí, que yo haría la exposición en gallego. Si son castellanparlantes, pues la daría en castellano. Yo...yo...yo lo uso un poco por la educación. Si a mi me hablan en gallego yo les hablo en gallego, si me hablan es castellano respondo en castellano. Y si estoy en un grupo y unos me hablan en gallego y otros castellano pues yo con cada uno más o menos...(trails off)

¿Existen algunos estereotipos sobre los gallegos? Sí, seguro.

¿Cuáles son? No sé. (Pause) Sí, sé. Pero tampoco no sé.... A ver. Se dice que los gallegos nunca saben si suben o bajan, que respondemos una pregunta con otra pregunta, eh somos muy, bueno sobre todo la morriña, sabes, aunque al final y al cabo yo creo que de toda España de los que más emigraron de su tierra, yo creo que la morriña, esa palabra se inventó por eso, pero bueno sí. Existen muchos estereotipos, ¿eh? Sí, sí.

¿Por qué crees que son esos? Yo creo porque somos un poco, bueno un poco no, pero porque somos distintos. Pero, pero somos un poco los que te dije antes. Somos un poco peculiar en el respeto al resto de lo que es la...la...gente de España. Los catalanes también tienen sus peculiaridades, los andaluces también, pero con los gallegos siempre se nota, siempre llama la atención, por su acento sobre todo. Pero bueno.

¿Sueles leer en gallego? Mmm, sí.

¿Estás orgulloso de ser gallego? Yo, sí.

¿Sí? Sí.

Para ser gallego de verdad, ¿es más importante haber nacido en Galicia o hablar en gallego? Las dos y ninguna de las dos. Yo creo que tienes que sentirte gallego, no es por haber nacido aquí. Tú pudieras ser perfectamente gallega, te vienes a vivir aquí y yo te consideraría perfectamente gallega. **¿De verdad?** (Laughter) Sí, sí, es así de fácil.

¿Crees que es importante que la gente sepa que eres gallego, o no te importa? No me importa. Se nota, por el acento. (Laughter)

¿Sabes cuando salieron las últimas normas para el uso del gallego? No.

¿Hablar en gallego non-normativo significa hablar mal? No.

¿Y tú, cuando hablas en gallego, te importa si hablas según las nuevas normas del gallego, o no? No. No me importa. No. De hecho, seguramente no lo haga, porque a ver, yo cuando estudiaba el gallego, bueno la normativa del gallego ha cambiado bastante. Bueno, yo cuando empecé, yo cuando estudiaba, la cosa que te enseñaba en casa era como para hablar en casa, luego en el colegio te enseñaban otro, y cuando salías del colegio el gallego...y bueno ya eres un poco bilingüe por la lengua materna. Y luego, va cambiando la normativa, y a mí no me llegaba a mi casa, o sea y no me la sé, y no la voy a estudiar, con lo cual yo no considero que sea ser mal-hablado, pero bueno.

¿Tú crees que es mejor hablar en tu propia variedad de gallego, es decir el gallego que aprendiste en casa, o que es mejor hablar según las normas, incluso si esto significa hablar con palabras o con formas distintas a las que existen en tu propia variedad tradicional? Yo creo que si vas a hablar en una manera formal, como me preguntabas antes, como en...una charla o algo, o si vas a salir en la radio, en la televisión o lo que sea, pues a lo mejor hay que hablar en un gallego más...más formal. Y luego si es para hablar con cualquiera persona normal, más o menos, yo creo que cada uno se expresa por su idioma, o sea una manera en la que puede...que conoce. Muchas veces, muchas veces en Galicia hay muchos... dialectos no, pero muchas variedades del gallego, y entonces una palabra que se usa en Vigo, vienes aquí arriba y no significa nada, y exactamente al revés y entonces, bueno, pero bueno, al final sigue hablándose la gente...

¿Entonces, el gallego formal es el gallego normativo? (Long pause) Uff, si el gallego formal es el gallego normativo, eh, es, voy a decir que sí, pero un sí entre comillas.

Vale. ¿Y en qué lengua piensas que deberían estar los nombres de los pueblos, las ciudades, las calles de Galicia – sólo en gallego, sólo en castellano, en los dos, o depende de donde están las cosas? En los dos. Sí.

Mucha gente cree que las normas del gallego son demasiado ‘españolizantes’, es decir que son demasiado españolas. ¿Qué crees de esta opinión? Bueno. A ver. Ehh, son muy españolizantes porque vivimos en España. Al final es lógico que al final van escogiendo cosas del castellano, pero igual hay muchas palabras inglesas que se adoptaron por el castellano, como sándwich, por ejemplo. (Laughter). A ver. Sin llegar a... sin llegar un poco a cargarte al gallego por decirlo así, yo creo que la mezcla... no está mal. Para mí el idioma... El gallego y el portugués vienen por la misma raíz pero ahora son completamente distintos.

Cuando escribes en gallego, ¿sueles usar la ‘ñ’? La ñ? Sí... Sí. Sí. Sí.

En tu opinión, ¿cuál es el futuro del gallego? Yo creo que el gallego tiene futuro porque se sigue hablando. Se sigue hablando en las ciudades cada vez menos, pero en los pueblos se sigue hablando yo creo que igualmente que antes, y bueno. Depende de la zona. En Ferrol, en Ferrol, nunca se hablaba mucho el gallego, en Coruña tampoco, pero Lugo sí, Ourense sí. Santiago, bueno, Santiago es un poco variante pero, variable pero si, se sigue hablando.

¿Escuchas música o ves películas en gallego? Escucho la radio en gallego, y leo libros en gallego, y música, bueno, menos pero también.

¿Lees el periódico en gallego? Sí, pero tampoco hay tantas ediciones en gallego. De los largos periódicos, los periódicos naciones no sacan ediciones en gallego, un artículo, alguna, por ejemplo la parte de Santiago... No tenemos..no hay realmente periódicos con edición en gallego. Hay un par de ellos, pero...

¿Ves la televisión en gallego? Sí. Sí, la verdad es menos que antes, pero la verdad es sí.

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Interview C
03/03/2009

How old are you? 23.

What do you study? I studied English Philology and now I'm doing my PhD, also in English.

Where do you live during the term? In Santiago.

And where are you from? Finisterrae.

Where are your parents from? Well my dad was born also there and my mom is from Santiago.

How many languages do you speak and what are they? Well my mother tongue is Galician and I also speak Spanish, obviously (laughter). English, French, German, and a little bit of Italian and of Russian.

So when you first learned to speak you spoke in Galician? Yes, Galician mainly.

How old were you when you started with Castilian? Maybe about three years old.

Ok. What language do you speak with your friends? Galician.

At home? Galician.

With your mom? Galician.

With your grandparents? Galician.

What language do you use more at uni? Well all my essays are in English so... If it's not in English I can use both.

Spanish and Galician? Yes.

And how do you normally talk to the professors here? In Galician.

So if someone talks to you in Castilian, what language do you use with them?
Well it depends. If that person is from Galicia I talk to him or her in Galician because I know he or she will understand me. If that person is from Madrid or from wherever in Spain then I speak to those people in Spanish.

Ok, and so if they speak to you in Galician? I answer in Galician.

Which language do you feel more comfortable in? Galician.

Ok. Well in the research that I've done I've found many people think there is a difference between those people who have spoken Galician their whole lives and

those who changed to Galician from Castilian later on. Do you think there is a difference between these groups? I think there is a difference.

So what would you say the differences are? Because usually when people start speaking that language later they usually place the pronouns in the wrong order, they find it more difficult and they speak normative Galician.

Ok. Do you think it is important to speak Galician? Yes. For many reasons. It's the...it's one of the official languages here. You should know it because eh...if you are in this country then you should be proficient in both languages. Then eh...what else? Well if you feel you are Galician then you should know the language and because Galician is eh...doesn't have the same eh...well it's not...the status I guess is the same officially but Galician doesn't have as many speakers as Spanish has. Spanish is not as endangered as Galician is, so...

And what language are you going to teach your children? Loads of languages. As many as I can. Not just Galician. (Laughter).

And what language for their mother tongue? I dunno. Maybe English. No I guess Galician, or...

Do you think it's important that Galician children learn Castilian? Of course. If there are living here they should know..., they need to be proficient in both Castilian and Galician.

Do you think of yourself as Galician? Yes.

Spanish? Not as much. (Laughter.) Officially I am both.

So you feel more Galician? Yes.

Do you think it's possible to be both Galician and Spanish at the same time? Theoretically, yes. (Laughter.)

What about in real life? Well I dunno. It just depends on your feelings I suppose. I feel more Galician than Spanish. But a lot of people don't feel as Galician as I do. I dunno. It's a personal question I guess.

What does it mean to be Galician? I dunno. It's loads of different things that you could consider, but it's also a personal question because what for me might be a Galician might change, you know. It's not something that you can define like a dog or something. For me, a Galician, you have to consider yourself a Galician. You have to love your language, your country, and above all your language I think and I dunno.

How do you know if someone is Galician? I would ask him.

Do you think they speak not enough, enough or too much Galician in schools? Well it depends on the school. Generally I think Galician should be more spoken in schools. Some schools, they don't stick to the rules and they teach more Spanish than

Galician but also 50% of the subjects should be taught in Galician at least, but there are many schools which don't follow the rules, they just ignore it.

And do you think that's bad? Yes of course because Spanish had an empire, it is spoken in South America and many other countries so Spanish is not going to disappear, but Galician... what will happen? So...

Are there any stereotypes of Galicians? I think so. I think there are still stereotypes.

What are they? Yeah, that we are usually, eh... they call us *paletos* here, we are kind of people from the countryside, with little educations. Yeah, Galician people are usually, well, they are usually associated with the countryside. Galicians were typically peasants but this is changing. Fortunately now these stereotypes are disappearing.

Ok. Why do you think these are the stereotypes? Because people are narrow-minded. (Laughter.)

Do you often read in Galician? Now I don't read as much in Galician. I used to read in Galician more than I do now. I read more in English. As a child I read in Spanish and English.

Are you proud to be Galician? Yes.

To be a real Galician, is it more important to have been born here, to speak Galician, or something else? To speak Galician. There are people who were born in Galicia and they say that they aren't Galician.

Is it important to you that people know you are Galician? It's important.

Do you know when the latest norms for Galician came out? 2003. I think.

Does speaking in non-normative Galician mean you are speaking badly? Of course not.

When you speak in Galician, does it matter to you if you speak according to the norms or not? It depends on the person I'm talking to. If I am giving a lecture or something like that I try to stick to the norms and speak the standard variety. If I speak with my friends I don't care about the norms. It's just the way I speak.

Do you think it's better to speak your own variety of Galician, the one you learnt at home, or is it better to speak normative Galician even if it has slightly different forms to your own variety? Which do you think is the 'best' way to speak Galician? You should always have a norm, but that's for the written standard, for when you have to give a lecture or something like that, but varieties exist in all languages so you can't make varieties disappear because that makes a language richer. My variety or other varieties should exist. The think is we might use words in Spanish or other languages and that has to disappear. Some words in Spanish keep kicking into Galician and then you use more words in Spanish than in Galician and that is not positive because then Galician will merge with Spanish and in the future

might even disappear. The regional accents or regional varieties are good but you should be careful with the words that you use in Castilian within Galician.

What language do you think names of villages, cities, streets etc in Galicia in Galicia should be in: Galician, Castilian, both or does it depends? I think they should be in Galician because this is the way they were. Yeah.

Ok. Many people think the Galician norms are too *españolizantes*. What do you think about this opinion? Yes, so there are some things might be more similar to Spanish, because there were some forms in Galician which were more similar to Portuguese, eh...that now are closer to Spanish. To a certain extent, yes.

Would you say this bothers you at all? It's not something that particularly bothers me. It's a question that academics have to decide.

Would you ever choose to use a more Portuguese style form or word than one of these more Spanish ones? I stick to the norm. Whatever they say goes.

So do you use the ñ? Yes.

What do you think the future of Galician will be? The future of Galician...eh...I think in the future we'll have to make more effort to make Galician known by all social groups and get everybody to be able to write properly in Galician because at the faculty there are loads of teachers that can't write properly in Galician. They still write *Ola* with *hache*. I find that ridiculous because if I ever write an essay in Spanish with orthographical mistakes I can fail the essay but in Galician with mistakes nobody cares so I think things must change and also young speakers should speak more Galician and know the language more than they do because...eh...the thing is there are not many young people speaking Galician. I think that should change because the younger generations are the ones who lead the change and Galician should be more known. Older people speak Galician but they are going to die soon...in a shorter period, so, yeah, the future is in our hands. If not I think Galician will merge with Spanish and it will disappear in the end because you won't differentiate between the two languages. That's what happened with Astur-Leonés.

Do you listen to music or watch films in Galician? Yes but not as much.

Do you read the paper in Galician? Sometimes.

Do you watch the TV in Galician? I don't watch TV! (Laughter.) But I usually watch it in Spanish, Galician, English, whatever. (Laughter.)

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Interview D**03/03/2009**

¿Qué haces? Yo soy profesora de la titulación de Filología Clásica y en concreto hace varios años que explico literatura latina.

¿Dónde vives? Eh, normalmente en Santiago, aquí en esta ciudad, pero suelo pasar los fines de semana en el rural, en la costa sur.

¿De dónde eres? Yo nací, es un poco complicado, nací en Ribeiro, ¿sabes? En Ourense, en la zona de Ourense. Pero me creí en Vigo. Mi madre era de esa zona, de Ourense, pero mi padre era de Navarra, de Pamplona.

¿Cuántas lenguas hablas, de cualquier nivel? Bueno pues hablo bastantes, es la verdad. Normalmente galego, castelán, eh... hablo alemán, francés, italiano, y algo inglés.

Vale. Bastantes. (Laughter) ¿Cuál sería tu lengua materna? Buena pregunta. El castellano.

¿Qué lengua hablabas cuando empezaste a hablar como niña? En castellano.

Y, ¿con cuantos años empezaste con el gallego? A ver, es que esta es la historia. De pasivo fue desde siempre, porque además a nosotros nos crió en casa, o sea, ayudaba a mi madre una tía, de ella, de mi madre que realmente no sabía hablar castellano. Era galegoparlante, entonces bueno. Por la otra parte teníamos la parte de mi padre que era castellanoparlante y que además, bueno, eso con acento navarro. Y digamos que yo tomé consciencia y empecé a soltarme, yo creo que con doce años o así.

¿Qué lengua sueles hablar con tus amigos? Yo creo que más galego.

¿En casa? Con mi pareja, galego.

¿Con tu madre? No vive ya, pero antes, en castellano, sí. Eso es la verdad. Hablaba castellano con mis padres, sí, y con mis hermanos.

¿Y aquí en el trabajo? Galego, normalmente.

¿Y das las clases en gallego? Sí.

¿Si alguien te habla en castellano, pero un gallego, qué lengua usas para responderle? Depende de muchísimos factores. Eh quizás le hablo en castellano también.

¿Y si habla en gallego? En gallego.

¿En qué lengua te encuentras más cómoda? Actualmente creo que las dos igual, sinceramente.

He leído en muchos libros que mucha gente piensa que hay una diferencia entre los que hablan gallego durante toda la vida y los que decidieron cambiar del castellano al gallego más tarde. Los neofalantes, sí. **Sí. ¿Tú también crees que hay una diferencia entre estos dos grupos?** No yo creo que se exagera, esa diferencia, que se exagera. Incluso muchas veces, pero es una teoría muy particular, he pensado mucho en eso (laughter). Creo que se exagera también por parte de los galegoparlantes de toda la vida. Porque de alguna manera sienten también que es su patrimonio y que el neofalante en vez de generar una simpatía por decir ‘qué bien, pues es uno de nosotros’ genera una desconfianza. Eh, no es bien recibido. Eso yo creo particularmente que es la idea. Y por lo tanto creo que se exagera esa diferencia.

¿Y crees que es importante hablar el gallego? Uff. Buena pregunta. Supongo que en lo práctico te podría decir no. No lo necesitas para nada. No vas a prosperar socialmente, no vas a, a ser más rico ni más famoso, ni vas a acceder por ejemplo un conocimiento que sólo puedes acceder en esa lengua. Por lo tanto probablemente no sea nada útil, pero sigo creyendo en su importancia sentimental, probablemente, y en, bueno soy filólogo también entonces creo sinceramente en la importancia de mantener una lengua que además hasta ahora no era un fósil para nada, o sea que era una lengua que estaba viva, ¿no? Luego a mí particularmente me recuerda mucho, pues eso, a gente querida, a mis abuelos, me liga también a una parte de mí. Esos son todos factores sentimentales. (Laughter.)

¿Y tenéis hijos? No, vamos a tenerlos.

¿Qué lengua les vas a enseñar? En galego. Yo creo que es una cosa que mi pareja y yo, la verdad estoy de diez semanas embarazada (laughter). **Jo. Enhorabuena entonces.** Gracias. Estoy contentísima. Pero sí, yo creo que entre nosotros, sí... es la lengua en que nos conocimos, en la que... sí sí. Es una cosa en que hemos pensado, sí, sí. Y eso sí. Va a ser su lengua materna.

¿Crees que es importante que los niños gallegos aprendan hablar el castellano? Sí pero es fácil. (Laughter) Lo tienen muy fácil. Yo precisamente, si, si me gustaría que su lengua materna fuera el gallego es porque creo que el castellano le va a aprender de todas maneras y por el... por todo. Porque vivimos en Galicia. Sí que es fácil. Pero sí, por supuesto creo que es importante, es una lengua muy hablada, es una lengua de una cultura importante, sí. Sí.

¿Te consideras gallega? (Long pause). Sí.

¿Y española? Sí.

¿También? ¿Entonces, es posible ser las dos cosas a la vez? Yo creo que sí. Yo creo que... hasta que... es posible ser mucho más. A ver, reconozco que mi experiencia es muy particular, pero, eh, bueno, yo siempre he vivido esa presencia también por vía de mi padre, sobre todo, que fue una persona muy importante para mí, y en la presencia, bueno, de Navarra pero tampoco es que hiciera mucho ejercicio de Navarra, no, pero, digamos que mi familia de Pamplona, siempre ha estado ahí. Y creo que eso me ha condicionado bastante, incluso a veces de tener la sensación de que no eres todo... a ver... no dramatizo, eh, que no te veían como galega cien por cien. Luego también es verdad que yo empecé desde pequeña en un colegio alemán

y fui a Alemania siendo muy jovencita, muy pequeña, y entonces creo que tengo la personalidad un poco fragmentada. Por supuesto no me considero alemana, ¿ves? Yo me considero gallega, me considero española, y creo que se puede ser las dos cosas, no me considero alemana pero reconozco que hay muchísimas cosas que cuando voy a Alemania, lo siento muy familiar y lo siento como algo muy natural, ¿sabes? Entonces, bueno. Creo que se puede ser muchas cosas. Sí, sí, sinceramente.

¿Crees que se habla insuficiente, suficiente o demasiado gallego en las escuelas?
Insuficiente.

¿Existen algunos estereotipos sobre los gallegos ¿Si existen? ¡Sí! (Laughter) Creo que nos existe el estereotipo de que somos gente un poco atrasada. Existe el estereotipo de ser gente muy trabajadora, efectivamente, pero, digamos... bueno un poco puesto al día, conservadora, (laughter) y un poco sí...pero creo que también existe el estereotipo de que somos gente, pues eso, como muy dulce y en ese sentido creo que hay unos estereotipos que llevan siglos funcionando y que no han cambiado demasiado. O sea yo por la profesión que tengo a veces si salgo vas a lo mejor pues eso a un curso... pues eso en concreto fui a un curso en Valladolid, yo no creo que tenga demasiado acento, y sin embargo ellos me lo detectaron, ¿no? y entonces la cosa era eii la galeguiña suave y tal. Eso funciona. O sea es... es la sensación de que nunca nos vamos a enfrentar directamente, sino que siempre vamos con algún subterfugio o no diciendo las cosas claras, creo que si, que esos existen como estereotipos.

¿Por qué crees que son esos, los estereotipos? Bueno, yo creo que en parte viene, bueno, de una motivación histórica, o sea históricamente el...el gallego era bueno,, pues, el trabajador inmigrante en España y ocupando pues puestos bastante básicos, o sea lo típico... mira, ya incluso en el teatro Barroco pero no só... mi sorpresa, porque no solamente en español sino en Portugal. La figura del criado era gallego. Pues yo estuve, estuve en Lisboa, tengo unos amigos que tenía una compañía teatral y me invitaron a ver la representación y era una obra del dieciocho. Era una comedia que respectaba las tres unidades dramáticas y tal y bueno, claro, todos excelentes actores muy bien y cuando aparece el criado, en vez de hablar en portugués estándar con su nasalación, con todo, se ponía a hablar en gallego y yo me dije '¡qué!' (Laughter). Y claro, era un miñopo, o sea de la zona del Miño, gallego, y...y... era el criado. Y entonces, y eso en la tradición literaria castellana también sucedía, no como, igual que las gallegas solían... también ser identificadas con la prostitución. De esta base, de esta posición digamos servil o más miserable que se ocupa durante mucho tiempo y que no ha sido muy transformada y luego bueno hombre, conservadorismo, parece que, la política, la estamos mereciendo la imagen, y eso... yo creo que son un poco... la mezcla y sobre todo yo creo que es una cuestión muy importante en la que llevo pensado muchísimo, el hecho de que, claro, el gallego, la lengua, nunca haya siempre sido asociada a un estatus, pues más humilde económicamente, pues nunca haya sido, nunca haya habido una burguesía gallega, o sea la burguesía gallega era de habla castellana, no como en Catalunya además, y nunca se ha identificado la lengua con una idea de prosperidad económica, ni de progreso. De nuevo siguen influyendo todos esos tópicos.

¿Sueles leer en gallego? Sí. ¿Más que en castellano? No. Menos.

¿Estás orgullosa de ser gallega? Yo, sí.

¿Es importante para ti que la gente sepa que eres gallega, o no te importa? No. Creo que lo fue más de lo que es. Hoy en día lo veo más o menos igual.

¿Sabes cuando salieron las últimas normas para el uso del gallego? Las normas... las normas no te podría decir. Pero, a ver, casi casi, porque hice una traducción y la publicaron en 2005 y la había empezado a hacer con las normas antiguas y la tuve que cambiar, entonces digo que en 2004.

¿Hablar en gallego non-normativo significa hablar mal? No. En absoluto.

¿Cuando hablas en gallego, te importa si hablas según las nuevas normas del gallego, o no? No. A ver, básicamente porque las normas las considero más una cuestión de escritura. Y por lo tanto no, no me parece tan dramático, no.

¿Crees que es mejor hablar en tu propia variedad de gallego, es decir el gallego que aprendiste en casa, o es mejor hablar según las normas? Depende qué nivel. A un nivel institucional, a un nivel público, cuanto más normativo y correcto desde este punto de vista mejor. Pero en casa cada quien lo que quiera.

¿En qué lengua piensas que deberían estar los nombres de los pueblos, las ciudades, las calles de Galicia – en gallego, en castellano, en los dos, o depende? Yo creo que en galego.

Mucha gente cree que las normas del gallego son demasiado ‘españolizantes’.

¿Qué crees de esto? Dios mío. Es que es una polémica que odio. (Laughter.) No. A ver. Estas últimas de hecho ya han llegado a un consenso con el portugués, ¿no? Por lo tanto, bueno, creo que llegan a un cierto nivel de...de equilibrio. Probablemente no son satisfactorias para todos pero la cuestión tener es unas normas. Yo sinceramente...son unos de los aspectos que casi lo que menos me preocupa... Supongo que tendría que preocuparme pero cuando ves también que en realidad se abandona tanto el propio...es ejercicio del habla, ¿no? No sé si es una cuestión tan prioritaria.

Cuando escribes en gallego, ¿usas la ‘ñ’? Sí.

En tu opinión, ¿cuál es el futuro del gallego? Mi opinión es que es escaso recorrido. Todo de lo que estoy viendo, que efectivamente en las ciudades, es que se impone abrumadoramente el castellano y... En esta ciudad no, Santiago es un poco excepcional. Quizás, bueno su carácter también es más burocrático, más ligado a las instituciones, sobre todo la xunta, la universidad pero en las ciudades donde hay mas vitalidad, en Vigo que yo conozco bastante bien uff, pero realmente creo que tiene un escaso futuro. Eh...Bueno es una cuestión de voluntad política que yo creo que hasta ahora no la ha habido. (Laughter.) Que es exactamente la idea de hoy. (Laughter.) Porque.. a ver la propia comparación con otras, con otra casuística, realmente yo nunca hubiera soñado que en Euzkadi existiera esa implantación. Tienen una lengua tan arcaica, complicada, y poco hablada en principio como el euskera y están logrando lo que aquí se está perdiendo, en cambio.

¿Escuchas música o ves películas en gallego? No. Música no, no, no, no, no. Sólo escucho música clásica, básicamente. Y películas... casi nunca.

¿Lees el periódico en gallego? A veces compro ese *Xornal* que tiene más cosas bilingües, pero no, porque tengo que confesar que lo que más leo es *El País* que está en castellano.

¿Ves la televisión en gallego? La televisión la pongo poco. Es que mi pareja trabaja en la televisión. (Laughter). Curiosamente. No no, no mucho, es la verdad.

¿Qué podría hacer para hacerme más gallega? ¿Si yo viniera...? Ya se nota que eres un poco. (Laughter)

¿Es posible hacerte gallego si naciste fuera? Sí. Yo tengo una cuñada que es inglesa que también es gallega. (Laughter).

¿Qué hay que hacer? Pues mira. Te casas con un gallego y tienes hijos. Yo creo que mi cuñada sobre todo a parte de tener la niña aquí, la niña a pesar de que se cría en Vigo en un ambiente muy castellano, eh... bueno es una niña muy lista y en el colegio, bueno la verdad es que tiene un gallego excelente, excelente, y... y... y incluso bueno, a mí me escribe poesía en gallego, sí. A mi cuñada, a pesar de, bueno cuando puede se marcha de vacaciones a Inglaterra o a Suecia, su madre es sueca, yo la veo perfectamente integrada en la vida de aquí. La parte sentimental es importante. (Laughter).

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Interview D

04/03/2009

¿Cuántos años tienes? 22

¿Qué estudias? Dereito.

¿Dónde vives durante el semestre? En Santiago de Compostela.

¿De dónde eres? De Foz.

¿De dónde son tus padres? De Foz.

¿Cuántas lenguas hablas? Eh, galego, castellano, eh inglés, e entendo o portugués.

Vale, muy bien. ¿Y cuál es tu lengua materna? Galego.

¿Y, a qué edad empezaste a hablar el español? Non sei, desde colegio. Cinco anos creo. Non sei. Tampouco tiña... non se acuerda moi... Supoño con cinco anos ou por aí.

¿Qué lengua hablas con tus amigos? Galego.

¿En casa? Galego.

¿Con tu madre? Galego.

¿Con tus abuelos? Galego.

¿Tienes hermanos? [Shakes head]. **No tienes.**

¿Qué lengua usas más para los trabajos en la universidad? Sempre galego. Excepto se teño que entregar algo para una asignatura como inglés ou algo así.

Ya. ¿Qué usas con los profesores? Galego.

Y los profes, ¿qué usan? Maioritariamente castellano.

¿Y dan las clases en castellano? Un 90% das clases que tuve na carreira foron en castellano. De feito acórdome só de dous profesores que falan en galego.

¿Si alguien te habla en castellano, qué lengua usas para responderle? Galego normalmente excepto que vexa que non entende nada ou que teño especial interese en que me entenda.

¿En qué lengua te encuentras más cómodo? En galego.

¿Y eso? ¿Sabes por qué? Porque e a lengua materna, na que me criei. Ó pensar en galego....

He leído en unos libros que mucha gente piensa que hay una diferencia entre los que hablan gallego durante toda la vida y los que cambiaron del castellano al gallego después. ¿Tú también crees que hay una diferencia entre estos dos grupos, o son todos iguales? Lingüística solamente ó principio porque realmente lo que no que tú te criaches é o que mellor falas pero conozco a moita xente que se cambiou, realmente a diferencia non se nota. De feito a miña nai ó principio, cando era moi nova, non sei ata os seis anos o así, falaba castellano, porque na casa, na igrexa la educaba en castellano, e cambiouse polo galego con...cando empezou a andar coas amigas e todo, fala galego perfectamente. É a súa lingua materna.

Vale. Es su lengua materna, entonces ¿dijiste? Si, por que na casa se falaba o galego, e só se usaba o castellano para dirixirse a ela.

¿Es importante hablar el gallego? Si.

¿Por qué? Porque é a nosa lingua, é parte da nosa cultura.

Muy bien. ¿Qué lengua les vas a enseñar a tus hijos? Galego. Como lingua materna. Y después si... si na miña vida aprendo máis linguas evidentemente todo o que puedo darlles en coñecemento, vamos.

¿Es importante que los niños gallegos aprendan hablar el castellano? Creo que é importante. É a lingua vehicular moi importante hoxe en día, sobre todo no marco estatal. Con Sudamérica tamén é fundamental pero como tamén considéroo importante que aprendan o inglés. Non creo que sea importante que se eduque a un neno en castelán.

¿Te consideras gallego? Por supuesto.

¿Y español? No.

¿Para nada? Considero que estou no Estado español e non creo que... non pretendo independencia para Galicia. Pero nin estou de acordo en como esta estruturada España hoxe en día, nin con España como nación. Non me sinto para nada español.

¿Tú crees que es posible ser gallego y español a la vez? Si.

¿Pero para ti no? Para min non, pero si que creo que é posible. Hai moita xente que se considera galego e español.

¿Qué significa ser gallego? (Long pause) Realmente ser galego significa estar integrado dentro dunha cultura, na cultura galega evidentemente, e identificarse coas persoas desa cultura. Supoño que o que máis caracteriza unha nacionalidá dende o punto de vista sentimental e o sentimento de identidá é que tú identifies como algo... entón quizá... ser galego significa identificarte con unhas normas culturais ou forma de vida que si que hai aquí.

¿Si yo viniera vivir aquí para toda la vida, podría ser gallega o no, siendo inglesa? Si.

¿Crees que se habla insuficiente, suficiente o demasiado gallego en las escuelas?

A miña experiencia vital é que se fala moito, suficiente, en Foz, no meu colegio. Pero creo que a nivel general se fala insuficiente.

¿Existen algunos estereotipos sobre los gallegos? Si.

¿Cuáles son? Existe o estereotipo que xa é máis pasado... de paletino, personas do campo, personas reservadas que non dicen se suben ou se baixan... supoño que serán eses, fundamentalmente. Depois está o estereotipo que nos ponen en Sudamérica...

¿Y eso, qué es?

Que somos tontos.

¿Por qué crees que son esos? Supoño que moitos estereotipos teñen una base real. Galicia sempre foi unha comunidá moi labrega e para xente de cidade a xente do campo sempre lle pareceu mais paleta, digamos. E despois moitos estereotipos dependen de criterios máis políticos é dicir ó ser unha comunidá que foi máis o menos conquistada o dominada si que lle resulte máis fácil ós dominadores que os dominados se sintan mal consigo mesmo, e eso consiguense a través de estereotipos. Do autoodio, queres ser como os que veñen de fóra e arrepinteste do que eres.

¿Sueles leer en gallego? Si. Menos que debería, realmente.

¿Estás orgulloso de ser gallego? Si

Para ser gallego de verdad, ¿es más importante haber nacido en Galicia o hablar en gallego, u otras cosas? Falar galego. E non sólo falar galego, senón sentirse galego. Eu creo que a lingua é moi importante, pero como comunidá, pero como individuo ti podes sentirte galego e ir falando en castellano e ser máis gallego que o máis gallego.

¿Es importante que la gente sepa que eres gallego, o no te importa? Si e no. A mí é igual a xente sepa ou no, que... como todo o mundo gústache que sepan como eres, non sei, vamos a ver se tratan conmigo, non porque eu lle lo diga senón porque é algo evidente, pero non é algo que eu considere que é moi importante, non levo unha chapa que diga 'son galego'.

¿Sabes cuando salieron las últimas normas para el uso del gallego? No.

¿Hablar en gallego non-normativo significa hablar mal? No.

¿Y escribir un ensayo en gallego non-normativo? Eso xa teño máis dudas. Por que o galego normativo é a lingua vehicular precisamente usase para ensaios e cousas así. Evidentemente unha persona de calquera parte do mundo na que haxa unha lingua estándar non vai falar esa lingua estándar con perfección. Pero cando escribe si que ten que intentar escribir con máis corrección. Un ensaio, algo máis serio, máis de investigación si que se debe escribir con máis corrección.

¿Cuando hablas en gallego, te importa si hablas según las nuevas normas del gallego, o no? No

¿Es mejor hablar en tu propia variedad de gallego, es decir el gallego que aprendiste en casa, o es mejor hablar según las normas, incluso si esto significa hablar con palabras o con formas distintas a las que existen en tu propia variedad tradicional? Si. Creo que é mellor falar a miña propia variedade de gallego. E non estas encorsetado nunhas normas. Esta moi determinado por como é a variedade de gallego oficial, pódese determinando sitio o e formar unha especie de lingua estándar que non se fala en ningún sitio. Creo que foi o que se fixo aquí, que non se colleu o gallego de ningún lado senón que se xuntou o de diferentes zonas, enonces para falar eso tes que renunciar a túa forma de falar normal. Por exemplo en España, unha persona de Valladolid pode falar perfectamente o castellano por que esa variedade estrapolouse as demais parte do estado. Pero un gallego non, tería que adaptarse casi como para aprender a falar inglés.

¿En qué lengua piensas que deberían estar los nombres de los pueblos, las ciudades, las calles de Galicia – sólo en gallego, sólo en castellano, en los dos, o depende de donde están las cosas? Aquí en Galicia en gallego. Non me importa que una persona de Alicante, falando con un tipo de Alicante dixera ‘o sí, estuve en La Coruña’. Pero aquí é A Coruña, como eu non digo estuve en New York, senón estuve en Nueva York.

Mucha gente cree que las normas del gallego son demasiado ‘españolizantes’, es decir que son demasiado españolas. ¿Qué crees de esta opinión? Creo que no. Creo que polo que sei das normas, que non é moito. Creo que reflexan ben o gallego medio que fala un gallego medio.

Cuando escribes en gallego, ¿sueles usar la ‘ñ’? Si.
¿Y el guión? Como en Come-lo? – no. Nunca. O guión nunca.

En tu opinión, ¿cuál es el futuro del gallego? É difícil. Non sei. Non sei qué dicirche. Vexo o futuro bastante negro. Bastante difícil. Porque digamos que somos a parte débil. Polo que dicen moitas encuestas hai moita menos xente novas que fala en gallego, pero non sei se é verdá. pero si que vexo un futuro bastante difícil aínda que bueno, supoño si que está arraigado na xente dependendo das zonas, por exemplo na miña zona fálase moito o gallego e personas da miña idade falan en gallego, pero bueno. espero que lle vaia ben...

¿Escuchas música o ves películas en gallego? Vexo películas en gallego, as que están traducidas na galega, pero é bastante difícil de conseguir películas en gallego. Música escoito. Escoitei máis da que escoito agora, tampouco escoito moita música en español por exemplo. A maior parte da música que escoito é en inglés.

¿Lees el periódico en gallego? Si, leo a semanario *A Nosa Terra*, *De Luns a Venres*... Pero revistas no, en castellano.

¿Ves la televisión en gallego? Poucas veces.

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Interview E
04/03/2009

¿Cuántos años tienes? 20

¿Qué estudias? Estudio enfermería aquí en Santiago.

¿Dónde vives? Eh, resido aquí en Santiago pero son de Foz.

¿De dónde son tus padres? De...da provincia de Lugo, de Foz.

¿Cuántas lenguas hablas y cuáles son? Dúas. Pues, galego e castelán.

¿Cuál es tu lengua materna? Galego.

Entonces, cuando empezaste a hablar como niño, ¿empezaste en gallego? En castellano.

¿Hasta qué edad? Mm, catro o cinco anos.

¿Qué lengua hablas con tus amigos? Depende.

¿De qué? De...pues da confianza que tiña con eles, e do tempo que fai desde que os coñezo. Falo en galego e en castelán, según... tamén según me falen.

¿Y en casa? En casa, galego.

¿Con tu madre? Con todos.

¿Tus abuelos, tus hermanos...? Si. Con Todos.

¿Qué lengua usas más en la universidad? Galego.

¿También para los trabajos? Gallego.

¿Qué lengua usas con los profesores? Coa maioría galego tamén.

¿Si alguien te habla en castellano, qué lengua usas para responderle? Eh depende si.

¿De qué? Se é unha rapaza case sempre en castelán, si. (Laughter)

¿Y eso? Non o sei, non o sei, pero é así. **¿Te sale...?** Si, sáleme sólo e non sei por qué. Si vexo que é alguén con que vou ter confianza ou que vou falar más a menudo case sempre en galego.

¿Y si te habla en gallego? En galego, si.

¿En qué lengua te encuentras más cómodo? En galego.

Mucha gente piensa que hay una diferencia entre los que hablan gallego durante toda la vida y los que cambiaron del castellano al gallego más tarde. ¿Tú también crees que hay una diferencia entre estos dos grupos, o son todos iguales como hablantes del gallego? Eh, pues non sei. Non sei qué opinar. (Pause.) Home eu creo que non.

¿Y crees que es importante hablar el gallego? Si estás en Galicia, si. Cando... si, claro.

¿Y esto, qué tiene que ver, estar en Galicia? Porque si estás en Galicia, pues home, si estuvieras noutra comunidá ou en calquer outro sitio pues vale igual porque... home, si estás nun sitio onde se fale o galego por supuesto fala galego. Pero sempre está ben falar galego porque é a túa lingua materna, está ben conserva-la no idioma.

¿Qué lengua les vas a enseñar a tus hijos? Pues galego, é que tampouco pensei en eso. Pues non sei. Supoño que galego pero non o sei, depende. Non o sei.

¿Es importante que los niños gallegos aprendan hablar el castellano? Si... home castelán van a aprender a falar quera que non porque en... na nosa sociedade na que vivimos fálanse as dúas linguas, nesta comunidá polo menos, si.

¿Te consideras gallego? Si.

¿Te consideras español? Si.

Los dos a la vez? Primeiro galego e después español.

¿Es posible ser gallego y español a la vez? Si. Creo que si.

Para ti, qué significa ser gallego? Pues... pues... ter unha bandeira, ter unha lingua... eh pues ter unha historia... e non sei. Sentirse orgulloso dela por exemplo.

¿Crees que se habla insuficiente, suficiente o demasiado gallego en las escuelas? Eh... suficiente. Non... Demasiado non. Insuficiente creo que tampouco pero depende do ámbito, porque no ámbito rural case sempre se fala galego. Se e un ámbito urbano eu creo que se domina más o castelán.

¿Existen algunos estereotipos sobre los gallegos? Si.

¿Cuáles son? Clichés. (Laughter). Tópicos, non? Clichés. *Typical topics.* (Laughter.) Pero en gallego, si, si.

¿Cuáles? Eh no acento, por ejemplo. Sempre nos caracterizan polo acento, eh... pues non o sei. Con marisco. (Laughter.) Si. Sempre nos idealizan así, pues como aldeanos, como gañanes, como incultos... A maioría das veces si, eu polo menos...

¿Por qué crees que son esos? Eso pola televisión.

¿Entonces antes de la televisión, no había estereotipos? Eh...a ver. Déixame pensar en eso. Eh... Si. Supoño que si. Pero non sei. É a impresión que ten a xente de nosoutros...de nós.

¿Sueles leer en gallego? No...é que...si, si, si, si.

¿Estás orgulloso de ser gallego? Si. Xa mo dixo no anuncio de Gadis, si, si.

Para ser gallego de verdad, ¿es más importante haber nacido en Galicia o hablar en gallego u otra cosa? Home, si que é importante, pero non sei...a ver. Ser galego é un sentimento que se leva dentro. Calquera pode ser galego.

¿Yo? ¿Qué tendría que hacer para hacerme gallega? Pois.... Non sei. (Laughter.) Em... home vivir aquí axuda pero unha persona que leve varios anos en Inglaterra pues te consideraría inglesa a parte de ser española, pero galego e tamén inglés. Por eso da dobre nacionalidá, ya, todo eso.

¿Es importante que la gente sepa que eres gallego, o no te importa? Si. Estando aquí en Galician todos van a saber que si que son galego. Sólo por conocerme, por oírme falar, en...no, pues, notros sitios si, non me importaría.

¿Sabes cuando salieron las últimas normas para el uso del gallego? Cámbianos cada pouco, así que non sei, ando perdido, cambian cada pouco.

¿Cuando hablas en gallego, te importa si hablas según las nuevas normas del gallego, o no? Falo según a miña zona, pero a veces intento falar más normativo. A veces por facer a coña e outras porque me gusta.

¿Es mejor hablar en tu propia variedad de gallego, es decir el gallego que aprendiste en casa...? Si, si, non me sinto avergonzado por isto. Porque coñezo a xente que fala coa súa propia variedade e tampouco importa. Non vexo por qué me tería que importar a min.

¿En qué lengua piensas que deberían estar los nombres de los pueblos, las ciudades, las calles de Galicia? Eso en galego, si, por suposto.

Mucha gente cree que las normas del gallego son demasiado ‘españolizantes’, es decir que son demasiado españolas. ¿Qué crees de esta opinión? No, creo que non. No, porque... eu creo que este incluso que en galego hai palabras que son demasiado galeguizadas, algunhas, non sei. Non me acordo de ningunha pero hai algunha que me chamou moito a atención.

Quando escribes en gallego, ¿sueles usar la ‘ñ’? Nas palabras que non levan ñ? No.

En vez de España con ñ, España con nh. Eso si. Utilizo la ñ. Aprendino así.

En tu opinión, ¿cuál es el futuro del gallego? Eh... é que non me acordo de como foi a evolución desde fai anos e non sei que evolución será...

Futuro Social. ¿Crees que va a seguir o no? Si. Si. Esperemos que siga. Non creo que se perda esa lingua.

¿Escuchas música en gallego? Casi nada.

¿Ves películas en gallego? En galego gústame velas, si.

¿Lees el periódico en gallego? Si. A veces. Aquí non, pero en casa temos *La Voz*, pero non me importa ler en galego.

¿Ves la televisión en gallego? Si, si, eso si.

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Interview F:
06/03/2009

¿Cuántos años tienes? 21.

¿Qué estudias? Estudio historia pero estudié tres años ingeniería de caminos, canales y puertos.

¿Dónde vives durante el semestre? En Santiago de Compostela.

¿De dónde eres? De Venezuela.

¿De dónde son tus padres? Mi padre es venezolano y mi madre es gallega.

¿Y dónde vives cuando no estás en Santiago? En O Grove, Pontevedra.

¿Y cuándo viniste a Galicia? Hace seis años.

¿Cuántas lenguas hablas y cuáles son? Castellano, gallego... sí. Castellano y gallego. E inglés. (Laughter.)

¿Cuál es tu lengua materna? Eh, castellano. Español.

¿Y a qué edad empezaste con el gallego? Con quince años.

Aquí en Galicia, entonces. ¿Qué lengua hablas con tus amigos? Eh, castellano.

¿Qué lengua hablas en casa? Castellano.

¿Qué lengua hablas con tu madre? Castellano.

¿A veces hablas gallego? Con mi abuela.

¿Qué lengua hablas con tus abuelos de Galicia? Ellos me hablan en gallego pero yo les contesto en castellano.

¿Y con los de Venezuela? Castellano.

¿Qué lengua usas más en la universidad? Depende de cómo me hablen. Pero yo español.

¿Y en los trabajos? Español.

¿Qué lengua usas con tus profes? Eh, castellano también.

¿Algunas veces hablas gallego? Sí.

¿Cuándo? Cuando no hay nadie... es que como lo aprendí desde hace seis años y tengo un acento diferente me da vergüenza y entonces cuando no hay nadie conocido y me habla en gallego puedo contestar en gallego.

¿Con tus amigos, no? No, no, nunca. (Laughter.)

Entonces, si alguien te habla en gallego, le respondes en gallego, ¿pero sólo cuando no lo conoces...? Sí.

¿Tú crees que es importante hablar gallego? Sí. Creo que es superimportante.

¿Por qué? Porque... es la lengua oficial de Galicia, junto con el castellano. Tiene la misma importancia que el castellano y si estás dentro de Galicia...hay que hablarla.

¿En qué lengua te encuentras más cómoda? ¿Para hablar? En español.

¿Y para escribir? Eh...puedo tomar apuntes en gallego y no encuentro ningún problema. Para leer también me da igual y para ver la televisión.

¿Y qué lengua les vas a enseñar a tus hijos? En principio los dos. Bueno si vivo en Galicia... (Laughter)

¿Y como lengua materna? Eh... español.

¿Es importante que los niños gallegos aprendan hablar el castellano? Hombre, claro.

¿Por qué? Porque... el gallego... está restringido a Galicia y si ellos...si mañana quieren salir a...a Madrid, ya te digo al resto de... del Estado Español, o a... otro país...a Sudamérica o a lo que sea...pues, es importante.

¿Crees que hay una diferencia entre los que hablan gallego durante toda la vida y los que cambiaron del castellano al gallego más tarde? Si, por supuesto, sí. Los que lo habla durante toda la vida lo tiene más dominado, tiene más altura de escribir, tiene más altura de hablar, y los que lo han aprendido, no. No. Y además lo que lo hemos aprendido no tenemos...como un gallego autóctono de pueblo. ¿Sabes? Y lo que hemos aprendido es el normativo, lo que nos enseñaron en el colegio, entonces... Si.

¿Te consideras gallega? Sí.

¿Española? Si, también.

¿Venezolana? Sí.

¿Cuál te sientes más? Me considero más venezolana y también me considero española y dentro de española soy gallega. Creo que...no sé.

Entonces, ¿es posible ser gallega y española y venezolana a la vez? Sí. Sí.

¿Qué significa ser gallego? Identificarte con la cultura, con la lengua, tener un pasado aquí, tener un presente... tener una familia aquí. O no tenerla porque también puedes venir de fuera y asentarte aquí y querer la tierra que es Galicia en la que vives, simplemente identificarte con el sitio en que estás, que es Galicia, y quererlo,

respetarlo, querer hablar su lengua y... participar en la cultura.

Y si yo hiciera todas esas cosas, ¿yo podría hacerme gallega? Yo creo que sí, con el paso... hombre con el paso de tiempo. Sí, sí, sí.

Entonces, ¿no tiene nada que ver con la sangre? (Pause) No. Puede que... un gallego de nacionalidad... gallego de sangre, claro, es más gallego de sangre por supuesto que mi padre, que es gallego de adopción, entre comillas, pero mi padre si pasa veinte años aquí siendo venezolano, si está trabajando, está compartiendo, está esforzándose para que Galicia se cambie para lo mejor, está... aprendiendo su idioma, compartiendo de su comida, de su... su costumbre, yo creo que al final se convierte un poco en un gallego. Sí, sí, claro que sí. Y es así que los gallegos se convierten en venezolanos, y se identifican con todo eso, sí.

¿Crees que se habla insuficiente, suficiente o demasiado gallego en las escuelas? Eh, cuando yo estudiaba... cuando yo estaba en el instituto se hablaba suficiente. Sí, suficiente. Se hablaba bastante, sí, el gallego.

Cuando viniste a España, ¿ya sabías algo del gallego? Bueno, siempre me resultó eh... bastante fácil de aprender. Además siempre venía todos los veranos, entonces....

¿Existen algunos estereotipos sobre los gallegos? Sí.

¿Cuáles son? Pues que son tontos, y que son gente de pueblo y que son gente reservada. Para mí son los tres más importantes y son los que más he oído.

¿Por qué crees que son esos? Supongo que por historia. Por... ¿Sabes? Está... por costumbre. El gallego siempre fue muy trabajador, muy gente de pueblo y por eso siempre le consideraron muy... tontillo muy tal, cosa que no...no es verdad. Es muy trabajador pero evidentemente no es tonto, y muy reservado, muy de su casa, y todo eso se va asentando y al final queda así. El gallego es trabajador, es de su casa, no hace nada, es tonto, y sí.

¿Sueles leer en gallego? Sí, claro.

¿Estás orgullosa de ser gallega? Sí.

Para ser gallego de verdad, ¿es más importante haber nacido en Galicia o hablar en gallego, u otra cosa...? Sí, creo que es importante para ser gallego... eh... sí claro. Claro... Exponer todo que... todo lo que sabes de esa lengua, claro, mostrar que eres gallego, no puedes...sí. Yo no lo hablo porque me da vergüenza (Laughter) pero sí que es importante.

¿Es importante que la gente sepa que eres gallega, o no te importa? (Long pause) Estoy indiferente.

¿Hablar en gallego non-normativo significa hablar mal? Eh... no. Pero significa hablar peor.

¿Cuando hablas en gallego, te importa si hablas según las normas? A mí me gusta hablar según las normas, pero como siempre están cambiando y como también he adoptado algunas cosas de O Grove entonces hago una mezcla, y al final me sale lo que me sale pero me gusta, sí, cuando hablo en gallego usualmente hablo gallego normativo.

¿Es mejor hablar en tu propia variedad de gallego o es mejor hablar según las normas? Sí, pero, eh, es importante sí, pero, me parece más importante unificarlo y hacer un...sí. Como todas las lenguas es importante, como castellano, como inglés, como italiano, es decir cada uno tiene sus variedades, cada uno tiene sus propias palabras, y sus propios modismos, al final... tiene sus propias expresiones pero hay algo unificado y si sabes hablar bien hablas de acuerdo con ese, cuando haces un trabajo lo haces de acuerdo con eso. Yo creo que es más importante hablar un buen gallego que hablar según tu propia...

¿En qué lengua piensas que deberían estar los nombres de los pueblos, las ciudades, las calles de Galicia? En los dos.

Mucha gente cree que las normas del gallego son demasiado ‘españolizantes’, es decir que son demasiado españolas. ¿Qué crees de esta opinión? Siempre están evolucionando, entonces... No.

Cuando escribes en gallego, ¿sueles usar la ‘ñ’, o usas nh? Uso la ñ, sí.

En tu opinión, ¿cuál es el futuro del gallego? (Pause) Supongo que depende de los gallegos. Creo que hay muchísima gente joven ahora que está interesado en defender el gallego, creo que hay muchísima gente joven que.... Defiende su idioma, defiende su lengua, y creo que cada vez va creciendo. Creo que crece, crece, crece, y bueno. Que se habla cada vez más, que, bueno, es la lengua de Galicia.

¿Escuchas música en gallego? No.

¿Ves películas en gallego? No.

¿Lees el periódico en gallego? Si, de vez en cuando, pero más en castellano.

¿Ves la televisión en gallego? No, no suelo, no.

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Interview G:
06/03/2009

¿Cuántos años tienes? 28

¿Qué haces? Soy médico.

¿Dónde vives? En Santiago de Compostela.

¿De dónde eres? Soy de aquí.

¿De dónde son tus padres? Mi madre nació en un pueblo cerca de aquí a doce kilómetros y mi padre nació en un pueblo que está a veinticinco, treinta kilómetros pero ellos llevan viviendo aquí desde que eran jovencitos.

¿Cuántas lenguas hablas y cuáles son? Español bien, gallego más o menos bien, inglés de vez en cuando (laughter). **Hablas bien, hablas bien.** Y portugués – lo intento también.

¿Cuál es tu lengua materna? El castellano.

¿Qué lengua hablabas cuando empezaste a hablar como niña? Castellano.

¿Cuándo empezaste a hablar el gallego? Eh, yo creo que a parte de los tres, cuatro años yo empecé a hablar un poco del gallego, en casa y sobre todo con los abuelos.

¿Qué lengua hablas con tus amigos? Castellano.

¿En casa? Castellano.

¿Con tu madre? Castellano.

¿Con tus abuelos? A veces gallego.

¿Qué lengua usas más en el trabajo? Eh yo creo que casi uso la mitad del tiempo castellano y la mitad del tiempo gallego.

¿Para los trabajos? Usualmente castellano.

¿Qué lengua usas con el jefe? Castellano. Mi jefe es de Madrid... (laughter.)

¿En la facultad, qué usabas? Castellano.

¿Y los profes también? No, había algunos que hablaban en castellano, pero yo creo que eran pocos.

¿Y para los trabajos en la universidad? Castellano.

¿Algunas veces hablas gallego? Con los pacientes. Con los pacientes sí, bastante.

¿Si alguien te habla en castellano, qué lengua usas para responderle? Castellano.

¿Y si te habla en gallego...? Intento responder en gallego.

¿Por? Porque...sobre todo con los pacientes, yo creo que lo entienden mejor, sobre todo la gente que habla casi sólo gallego y se sientan más cómodos hablando en la lengua que ellos dominan y que le hablen en la lengua que utilizan. De hecho mucha gente en la consulta me habla en gallego y si yo respondo en castellano ellos me preguntan oi, ¿le importa si sigo hablando en gallego? Porque piensen que a lo mejor yo no sé o que no quiero y entonces cambio, y hablo gallego con ellos. Me doy cuenta y lo cambio.

¿En qué lengua te encuentras más cómoda? En castellano.

¿Por qué? Porque es la que utiliza desde pequeña, y la verdad, el gallego lo empezaba a usar mucho más...hablado...desde que trabajo en el hospital. Cuando era adolescente, cuando estaba en la facultad y en el instituto no hablaba apenas gallego, salvo con mis abuelos de vez en cuando, pero casi no lo hablaba. Escribía porque tenía clases de gallego, pero no lo utilizaba.

Mucha gente piensa que hay una diferencia entre los que hablan gallego durante toda la vida y los que decidieron cambiar del castellano al gallego más tarde.

¿Tú también crees que hay una diferencia? No, no. Quizá, hombre, quizá con unos sí. En mi caso no. Yo empezaba con el gallego más tarde y yo creo que hablo igual de mal el gallego eh... ahora que si lo hubiera empezado a hablar antes o... o hablo un gallego non-normativo. Sin embargo mucha gente que lo empezó a utilizar tarde sí que es cierto que habla ese gallego que se han inventado ahora que ya es diferente al gallego que yo estudié porque cuando yo estudiaba en el instituto había unas normas y creo que han cambiado un montón. Entonces sí que la gente que empieza a hablar ahora a lo mejor habla un gallego más normativo, menos popular. Yo sin embargo empecé tarde y hablo un gallego popular, mezclado, a veces con palabras en castellano o con cosas que no son correctas o... pero bueno. Puede ser que hay una diferencia.

¿Es importante hablar el gallego? Sí. Em...me parece importante simple que es un arma más de la que disponemos. Me parece importante tener dos armas, tener tanto el castellano como el gallego porque llegas mejor a las personas hablándoles en la lengua que ellos dominan.

¿Qué lengua les vas a enseñar a tus hijos? Intentaré enseñarles las dos, aunque muy probablemente hable casi todo el tiempo en castellano porque es mi lengua, en la que me siento mucho más cómoda.

¿Es importante que los niños gallegos aprendan hablar el castellano? Sí. Mucho.

¿Por qué? Porque el gallego se habla en Galicia. El castellano se habla en España y en muchos otros sitios del mundo. Tienen que saber... eh me parece bien que sepan su lengua pero me parece mucho mejor que además sepan lenguas que les van a servir para comunicarse con muchas otras personas.

¿Te consideras gallega? Sí.

¿Te consideras española? También. Las dos a la vez.

¿Es posible ser gallego y español a la vez? Sí.

¿Qué significa ser gallego? Eh, no lo sé... así... cómo decirlo... pero bueno. Es una forma de ser, una forma de vivir. Yo creo que somos un poco diferentes al resto... igual cada comunidad es distinta. Para mí, no sé. Tengo sentimiento de pertenencia a la tierra, me gusta... hablar con gente que habla en la misma manera que yo, me hace sentir... mira... no lo sé. Es una cosa que es difícil a explicar pero sí que tengo sentimiento de gallega y me siento orgullosa de todo lo que pasa en mi tierra y vivo como mío las cosas que pasan en mi tierra aunque no me pasen a mí, vamos. Pero sí que es cierto que cuando en las noticias, al resto de España igual no pones mucho interés, pero cuando sale algo que ocurre en Galicia estoy más pendiente porque da la sensación de que te toca más de cerca. Sí. Me siento muy gallega, no sé.

¿Crees que se habla insuficiente, suficiente o demasiado gallego en las escuelas? Bueno, no sé como es ahora, porque... cuando yo era pequeña yo creo que se hablaba suficiente o incluso a veces poco, pero igual eso era la mía, era una escuela bastante castellano-parlante, había muchas monjas y muchas de las monjas no eran gallegas. Entonces claro, en muchas clases ellas no me hablaban en gallego en absoluto. Ahora creo que se habla más. Yo creo que se habla suficiente. Tampoco creo que haya que hablar todo en gallego en el colegio.

¿Existen algunos estereotipos sobre los gallegos? Sí. (Laughter.)

¿Cuáles son? Que los gallegos somos indecisos, que siempre respondemos con una pregunta, que somos tontos, o que somos un poco... inocentes, yo creo que es el estereotipo del gallego bonachón, un poco tontito, o... pueblerino.

¿Por qué crees que son esos? Yo creo que son cosas del pasado que se quedaron. Galicia realmente fue una... una comunidad autónoma que dentro de España tardó más en desarrollar... eh no tenemos una economía tan cierta como Cataluña, no somos tan internacionales, no viene tanta gente de fuera, no hay tanta mezcla de culturas, entonces todavía es una comunidad muy... de localidades pequeñas, de pueblos pequeños, no hay ciudades muy grandes. No hay mucha gente de fuera y... yo creo que esos estereotipos se mantuvieron más que en otras partes. Entonces... pues quizá nos costó avanzar y a entrar en la modernidad. También es una comunidad que geográficamente está más mal comunicada con el resto de España, pues por la dificultad de las carreteras, por las montañas. Estamos incluso mejor comunicados con Portugal que con el resto de España. Yo creo que se hizo que Galicia igual tardase un poco más en modernizarse pero ahí estamos.

¿Sueles leer en gallego? No. Ya no. En el instituto leía porque tenía la asignatura de gallega y teníamos la lectura obligatoria en gallego pero ahora no.

Para ser gallego de verdad, ¿crees que es más importante haber nacido en Galicia o hablar en gallego u otra cosa? No, no necesariamente. Yo creo que... hay gente que ha nacido aquí que no se sienta gallega en absoluto, y hay gente que, como

yo, por ejemplo...no hablo gallego todo el tiempo, lo hablo poco, ahora más, pero lo hablo poco, y me siento gallega igual. O sea que hay gente que puede no haber nacido aquí y ser gallega, y adaptarse a las costumbres, participar de la cultura, de la lengua, de las costumbres, y, y... ser bastante gallega. Y gente que eso, que no...que no habla gallega también puede ser bastante gallega.

Si yo viniera aquí, yo me podría ser gallega, o ¿seguiría siendo inglesa?

Probablemente serías una mezcla porque también es cierto que a la gente, creo yo que le cuesta un pocito ver la gente...la gente de fuera sigue siendo gente de fuera. No es como, eso, en otras ciudades. Cuando estuve en Boston veías tanta mezcla que no sabías quien era de donde. Cado uno era de un sitio y realmente poca gente era realmente nacida ahí en Boston. La gente era de otros sitios. Pero aquí la gente suele ser de aquí. No hay tampoco muchas personas que vengan de otras partes de España a vivir en Galicia, u otras partes del mundo. Hay algo de...de inmigración, pero no hay mucha. La mayoría de la gente que está es la que...la que ha nacido aquí, la que pertenece de aquí por alguna razón. Entonces, yo... mi punto de visita personal es que una persona que viene de fuera sí que puede ser gallega eh... participando de esas cosas de la cultura, pero sí es cierto que quizá para la gente, le puede resultar un poco difícil verla como gallega gallega, porque siempre es... bueno, la que vino de fuera, lleva muchos años aquí, pero sigue siendo la...la inglesa.

¿Es importante que la gente sepa que eres gallega? Eh, no sé si es importante. A mí... me gusta que se...que se sepa pero bueno, tampoco tengo una necesidad. Todo el mundo me lo nota cuando voy fuera, por el acento...todo el mundo sabe que soy gallega y no me molesta. Al revés...me gusta.

¿Sabes cuando salieron las últimas normas para el uso del gallego? Ni idea. Ni idea. Sólo sé que...una amiga mía es profesora, y un día me...me comentó algunas, algunas de las normas de...de la nueva normativa y no se parecía en nada al gallego que yo estudié. Y la verdad es que eso me disgustó un poco. Parece que están inventado una lengua y no hace falta inventarla. Ya existía, ya estaba ahí y no hace falta que...que... se dan tantos vueltos y tantos cambios.

¿Hablar en gallego non-normativo significa hablar mal? Eh...no. Yo creo no. Yo creo que la mayoría de la gente no sabe como es el gallego normativo. Entonces porque hay que decir que 90% de la población habla mal y sólo un 10% que habla ese gallego que ahora dicen que está bien pero a lo mejor dentro de diez años ya no está bien y entonces, no. A mí me parece también bonito, escuchar las particularidades de cada zona, y ver como en la provincia de Lugo dicen las cosas de una forma y terminan los verbos de alguna manera y en cambio las zonas de costa se dice en otra... con el seseo, la gheada. Me parece bonito. Sí.

¿Cuando hablas en gallego, te importa si hablas según las normas del gallego, o no? No. En absoluto. Como tampoco me las sé no me importa.

¿Crees que es mejor hablar en tu propia variedad de gallego, el gallego de tu casa, o crees que es mejor hablar según las normas? Yo creo que...eh hablar según las normas es muy complicado. Yo creo que es mejor hablar lo que uno pueda y lo que uno sepa, con las particularidades, hombre, intentando hablar el gallego que la gente entienda, pero sí. Yo no creo que haya que hablar en gallego normativo, que sea

tan importante... que pueda hablar perfecto. Yo creo que la variedad de cada uno, hombre, siempre que no sea una cosa que la gente no entienda, sí. Yo creo que se puede hablar el gallego de tu forma personal, igual que se habla el castellano de forma personal.

¿En qué lengua piensas que deberían estar los nombres de los pueblos, las ciudades, las calles de Galicia? Yo creo que en las dos. En gallego y en castellano. Tampoco quiero que se pierda el castellano en Galicia.

Mucha gente cree que las normas del gallego son demasiado ‘españolizantes’, es decir que son demasiado españoles. ¿Qué crees de esta opinión? La verdad es que no las conozco mucho, pero a mí, la impresión que me da es que las normas del nuevo gallego son un poco ‘portugués-izantes’ o como se diga porque cada vez que escucho el gallego normativo nuevo se me parece más al portugués. Galicia antes era Galicia, ahora es Galiza, gracias era gracias, ahora es grazas, es que son terminaciones que me recuerdan más al gallego-portugués que al castellano. Pero no lo sé, ¿eh? No conozco las normas.

Cuando escribes en gallego, ¿sueles usar la ‘ñ’? Sí. La nh, hombre, la uso en las palabras que conocí con nh, unha o... o cosas así. Pero cuando es ñ uso ñ.

En tu opinión, ¿cuál es el futuro del gallego? Eh, yo creo que depende mucho de la política. Porque cada partido político promueve más el uso más del gallego o menos. Yo espero que sea... que siga siendo la lengua oficial de Galicia, co-oficial con el castellano, y que no se pierda ni una ni otra y creo que imponer una lengua es perjudicial cuando lo bonito es aprovechar de la riqueza, de que la suerte que tienes en tener dos lenguas co-oficiales en tu país o en tu comunidad, así que... espero que el futuro del gallego sea que siga siendo co-oficial en Galicia, igual en importancia con el castellano.

¿Escuchas música en gallego? Poca. Alguna vez sí, pero no mucha.

¿Ves películas en gallego? Sí. Todo depende de la programación... Realmente no tengo ningún problema por ver la televisión en gallego. De hecho me gusta mucho el doblaje... el doblaje de la televisión en gallego es buenísimo.

¿Lees el periódico en gallego? No leo mucho el periódico, hay que decirlo. No soy consciente de si estoy leyendo en castellano o en gallego. Leer es leer. No soy consciente. A veces no me doy cuenta. No creo que lea mucho mucho en gallego pero...

¿Ves la televisión en gallego? Sí.

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Interview H:
07/03/2009

¿Cuántos años tienes? 31

¿Qué haces? Profesor en el instituto.

¿De qué? De historia.

¿Dónde vives? En Santiago, lo que pasa es me voy moviendo. Muevo de un instituto al otro, pero siempre resido en Santiago.

¿Eres de aquí, de Santiago? Soy, sí.

¿De dónde son tus padres? Mi madre es del norte de Lugo y mi padre es de la provincia de Pontevedra, de una de las aldeas pequeñas.

¿Cuántas lenguas hablas y cuáles son? Pues mayormente el gallego y el castellano. Y después sé un poco de inglés, bueno, sí, el inglés más o menos, lo conozco un poco, y el portugués también es relativamente fácil, pero hablar hablar, solo gallego y castellano.

¿Cuál es tu lengua materna? Eh...es una buena pregunta. Castellano y gallego. Los dos.

¿Qué lengua hablabas cuando empezaste a hablar como niño? Pues creo que castellano. Pero yo siempre hablé castellano y lo mezclé con gallego. Mis padres siempre hablan en gallego, a mí me hablaban en castellano, mi familia... la gente mayor siempre habla gallego y como estaba mucho con la gente mayor pues... hablaba lo que aquí se llama castrapo, una mezcla de los dos idiomas, en realidad, pero mayormente la base era como castellana.

¿Qué lengua hablas con tus amigos? Pues depende, pero con mis amigos de toda la vida - castellano.

¿Qué lengua hablas en casa? Con mis padres, con mi familia en gallego. Con mis abuelos, mis hermanos...

¿Qué lengua usas más en el trabajo? Gallego.

¿Das las clases en gallego? Sí.

¿Qué lengua usas con los otros profesores? Gallego también. En general siempre ahora siempre hablo en gallego excepto con mis amigos, porque los conocí hablando en castellano, en el instituto hablábamos castellano, bueno con algunos no, con algunos hablo en gallego, pero en general sí, siempre hablo en castellano excepto con los amigos, con ellos hablo en castellano. O cuando voy fuera por ahí donde se habla castellano siempre hablo en castellano.

¿Cómo hablas al jefe? En gallego.

¿Si alguien te habla en castellano, qué lengua usas para responderle? Depende.

¿De qué? Depende... Es una respuesta muy gallega, esa. Depende de la situación y el contexto. No sé, por lo general, si es una situación así... pues... cotidiana, de hablar con alguien cualquiera pues en gallego, pero si es algo más concreto y si quieres una especie de comprensión de esa persona, ves que esa persona no entiende el gallego, o no lo entiende bien pues hablas en castellano, pero por lo general en... así cotidianamente en gallego. No, por ejemplo, en tu caso...

¿En qué lengua te encuentras más cómodo? No sé, bastante... En gallego quizás. Pero... en las dos, las dos, en gallego quizás, pero en las dos. Yo soy una de las personas que son completamente bilingües en Galicia, es decir que como aprendí las dos desde pequeño, mezclados, muy... entonces... puedo hablar perfectamente o pasar a un registro a otro en un segundo y no encuentro ningún problema, entonces.... Me encuentro cómodo en las dos. Depende del contexto, en algunos contextos prefiero hablar en castellano, con mis amigos me encuentro más cómodo... y en otros ámbitos donde hablo gallego pues me encuentro más cómodo en gallego, claro. Me siento incómodo hablando con mis padres en castellano o hablando gallego con mis amigos con los que siempre hablo en castellano en toda la vida... eso... es un poco... (trails off).

¿Crees que es importante hablar en gallego? Pues no lo sé. Es, no lo sé. Supongo que sí. Es importante hablar cualquier cosa. Es importante hablar para comunicarse, la lengua es casi indiferente... es casi un secundaria. Si hay ganas de entenderse... no es tan importante una cosa como otra. Eso sí, estamos en una situación en donde hay... en una situación digamos diglosica extraña, bueno... uff... da un cierto carácter de defender al patrimonio pero por la demás tampoco creo que sea algo tan especialmente importante la lengua... la lengua vale para comunicarnos y... (trails off).

¿Qué lengua les vas a enseñar a tus hijos? Si tuviera hijos... las dos supongo, pero en principio el gallego. Obviamente el castellano lo van a aprender, es decir no tienen, no van a tener ningún problema, bueno, ya lo ves, está en el aire, todas las películas, la televisión, todas están en castellano, es más complicado... es más fácil que un tipo, un niño gallegohablante aprenda castellano que al revés, los que son castellano hablantes, en las ciudades por ejemplo les cuesta mucho más aprender el gallego porque no lo escuchan, ni lo ven en ningún sitio, mientras que un niño en una aldea incluso, que hable siempre en gallego enciende la televisión o lee el periódico y ya están en castellano, entonces.... Eh... No es fácil llegar a ese bilingüismo por lo cual yo creo que sería más importante aprender el gallego, porque el castellano ya lo aprenderán por solos, pero bueno, as dúas.

¿Es importante que los niños gallegos aprendan hablar el castellano? Sí. Claro, importante, es... es útil. Claro. Útil y Castellano, inglés, sí, sí, es importante que la gente aprenda otros idiomas, tres o cuatro, o no, tampoco pasa nada si sólo sabes uno y eres ... yo creo que lo importante es que la gente sea feliz, básicamente, pero si alguien quiere hablar muchos idiomas y es útil, estupendo, cuantos más, mejor, ¿no? Es algo que no cuesta. A mí no me cuesta nada hablar dos o tres, entonces yo creo que es algo fácil, lo puede hacer cualquiera...

¿Te consideras gallego? Sí, claro.

¿Español? Emm... menos pero también depende, es que español es un poco de un rollo, a lo mejor me cortas, pero es que es concepto que yo tengo un poco (sucks air through teeth) porque el problema es que hay mucha gente que se apropia al concepto de español y que considera que el español es sólo él que habla castellano él que... bueno, es concepto más nacionalista, ¿no? Y consideran que... Yo considero... Yo soy español si consideramos que España es la península ibérica, es un conjunto de pueblos con diferentes tradiciones, pero que viven en conjuntos en una... en un pasado histórico y culturalmente muy semejante, en ese ámbito sí que me considero español. Y además que cuando dicen... hay mucha gente dice que España está hablando de no pues tiene que ser así así ... con los toros y tal y cual, hablo en una forma muy simple y con ese concepto no me siento cómodo, me siento más cómodo como gallego entonces. Es que si digo que soy gallego a español depende de la visión que tiene una persona de España. Si es una cosa amplia, en la que coja todo el mundo, sí. Si es una visión de España cerrada, donde sólo coja una forma de pensar, no.

¿Qué significa ser gallego? Nada. No significa nada. Significa lo mismo que ser alto, ser bajo. Al fondo no tiene ningún significado... es una cosa que te cae.

¿Crees que se habla insuficiente, suficiente o demasiado gallego en las escuelas? Pues mira... depende, es la respuesta más gallega... Depende de los ámbitos, las zonas. Hay escuelas donde se habla bastante gallego, escuelas rurales, pero es una cosa más curiosa porque en las escuelas rurales normalmente los alumnos hablan en gallego y los profesores hablan en castellano entre ellos aunque en el aula hablan en gallego mientras en los centros urbanos es al revés – los alumnos siempre hablan en castellano y los profesores hablan en gallego a los alumnos, y entre ellos bueno, castellano, gallego, depende. Y no, no creo que se... que se hable demasiado, yo te digo, como... es... cambia muchísimo según los institutos y los ámbitos entonces a veces algunos pueden decir bueno, aquí se habla suficiente gallego, y no tienen problema para aprender castellano, así que creo que es más problemática siempre al revés, en los sitios donde sólo se habla castellano, en esta ciudad, por ejemplo, que tienen más rechazo al... al gallego porque no lo ven nunca, ni lo escuchan nunca... les parece una cosa propia de... de las aldeas, ¿no? del rural, pero claro, yo creo que, bueno, que tanta política como hay ahora y tantas cosas están fomentando a una cierta... una cierta ... un cierto conflicto en principio inexistente pero supongo que con el tiempo va a haber más conflicto por las lenguas pero no sé. Bueno, es un rollo, esto, ¿no?

¿Existen algunos estereotipos sobre los gallegos? Pues supongo que sí. Los estereotipos existen sobre todo el mundo, ¿no? También hay estereotipos sobre los ingleses, sobre los mexicanos...

¿Y sobre los gallegos? Pues que somos un poco... yo creo que somos un poco bueno, indecisos, depende, que sí, y desconfiados, y bueno. Son los típicos. Después hay muchos otros en otros sitios, más bien así como de tontos, suele ser en Argentina pero también se dice en otras partes de España pero bueno, creo que lo más común es que somos un poco y lo que realmente se puede decir es que somos desconfiados y un poco indecisos, ¿no?, que no solemos decir las cosas muy claras, bueno. Siempre

escoltamos un poquito, ¿no?

¿Por qué crees que son esos, los estereotipos? Porque en parte son reales, y la otra parte, después la parte ya un poco más de tonto tiene que ver con la situación de la emigración, de la gente que iba o otros sitios, y... claro pues es como la emigración ahora, ¿no? La situación es un poco de... También tiene que ver con un tema lingüístico porque con el tema de la lengua, claro, se suponía que en España era unida con una lengua, castellano, ¿no? Y los gallegos que a lo mejor no sabían hablar bien el castellano, ¿no? Porque no lo escuchaban y tal, y entonces eso creara como que eran un poco tontos, ¿no? Porque no sabían hablar el castellano, entonces, ya crearon un estereotipo. Después hay la idea de que la gente es un poco cerrada, un poco más así y se dedicaba más a trabajar y entonces nos integraron poco a vivir. Supongo que vienen por ahí los estereotipos... negativos ¿no? Supongo, por ejemplo...

¿Sueles leer en gallego? Claro, sí.

¿Estás orgulloso de ser gallego? Sí. Bueno...sí... pero es como te dije antes. Sí porque es lo que soy pero tampoco no es una cuestión de estar más orgulloso que si hubiera sido asturiano, si hubiera sido venezolano. Claro. Uno tiene... es de un sitio, de una zona, y aquí me gusta, y tienes de defender, bueno defender, tienes que actuar en consecuencia con tu zona y intentar que ser lo mejor posible esto es lo que me tocó y sí, me gustaría mejorarla un poco pero vamos, no es un orgullo ooh es lo mejor, no considero que esta zona sea la mejor del mundo ni mucho menos, incluso creo que tiene muchos defectos, pero sí que... es la que vivo y la que tengo que mejorar, básicamente. ¿No?

Para ser gallego de verdad, ¿es más importante haber nacido en Galicia o hablar en gallego u otra cosa...? Es que tampoco, claro, ser gallego de verdad tampoco sé lo que es, bueno, para abrimme supongo que es la gente que es de aquí, bueno, la gente que siente más cómoda en plan gallego y tal es la gente más mayor, más de aldea, más... pero es algo que... ni tiene que ser nada. Naces aquí... bueno hay gente que viene de fuera y se adapta perfectamente entonces es...pero vamos, si dicen que es gallego de verdad pues estupendo, pues si no usa la lengua de una forma, no tiene estos estereotipos, este forma de ser que es un poco de aquí tampoco pasa nada, no... no es algo importante en general.

¿Es importante que la gente sepa que eres gallego, o no te importa? A veces, depende.

¿No te importa mucho? No, depende de los sitios y del momento. A veces sí, a veces no. Es decir sí, creo que sí. Cuando estoy por ahí fuera, en España, a veces sí, me gusta. Pero a veces no. Depende un poco de... cómo todo. Si te vale para algo pues siempre es más útil, ¿no? Pero vamos, normalmente siempre lo saben y simplemente yo digo sí que soy gallego, estudié tres años en Granada, estudié fuera y ahí me sentía gallego, estaba bien contento, y ellos estaban perfectamente contentos y feliz, y sí, si alguien me preguntaba si era gallego y si me gustaba mucho la tierra y si quería volver y de hecho siempre decía que sí.

¿Sabes cuando salieron las últimas normas para el uso del gallego? Pues ahora van a cambiar de novo, creo que en 2004.

¿Hablar en gallego non-normativo significa hablar mal? No. Lo que pasa es que... oí es un... No. Ni siquiera que hablar normativo significa hablar bien. No. Lo que conozco de mis padres de mis abuelos es un...es que el gallego es un idioma que está muy...muy social. Tuvo muchos problemas, ha mezclado mucho entonces es muy complicado porque sí que hay un idioma normativo pero con un acento muy extraño, muy... muy estándar. Y entonces lo que no está normativo está a lo mejor muy castellanizado en muchos sitios y al final el normativo también estaba bastante castellanizado y no creo que no es un idioma común que se usa, el normativo, y realmente se dice que es un idioma que tampoco... se habla cada vez menos, se habla cada vez menos gallego y está transformando en un especie de castellano cutre y entonces es un problema que sin embargo la mayoría de la gente que no usa un gallego digamos nacido y tal y cual no le gusta nada el normativo y, al revés, la gente que habla normativo no escapa de escuchar a la gente y como habla y adaptarse a la forma de hablar de la gente entonces se nota mucho, yo por ejemplo lo noto mucho cuando alguien habla un gallego aprendido y cuando alguien... alguien habla un gallego de... natural. Yo creo que también es por la falta del oído, del escuchar. Si lo escuchas es muy fácil que te adaptes a los idiomas.

¿Cuando hablas en gallego, te importa si hablas según las normas del gallego, o no? No.

Mucha gente cree que hay una diferencia entre los que hablan gallego durante toda la vida y los que cambiaron del castellano al gallego más tarde. ¿Tú también crees que hay una diferencia? No. Porque mira. Yo te digo una cosa. Eh...Es que...Hay demasiada...sí, hay mucha gente que lo piensa. No sé por qué siempre están dando vueltas a cosas muy tontas. Mis tíos están todos fuera de Galicia emigraron, ¿no? Se marcharon a Madrid, a Almería y a Canarias, ¿No? Ahora mismo. Y ahora mismo hablan en castellano y nadie comenta vaya ellos nacieron hablando gallego y tal y hablan en castellano, en Madrid se habla en castellano y tal y cual incluso, solo cuando ven a alguien de la aldea o con mi madre y tal y cual pues hablan en gallego de nuevo pero por lo general incluso ya piensan en castellano y entonces es una cosa que no... nadie le dé importancia hacia al revés y sin embargo aquí sí que sí mucha gente dice ah pues no, claro, hablaba antes... eso no es normal decir..., yo personalmente creo, desde mi punto de vista, que las lenguas son mucho más fluido de lo que la gente... ¿no? Entonces tú puedes nacer hablando castellano, a los quince años hablar gallego y después, a los cuarenta hablar checo o lo que te salga de las narices y el cerebro se adapta. El cerebro es más, es como todo es más voluble a la lenguas, en realidad lo que no se adapta es la sociedad, siempre hay bastantes...hay muchos estereotipos, siempre hay muchos problemas, ya lo sé, pero son todos estereotipos sociales. Nosotros, eh mentalmente creo yo, porque ya te digo, yo veo la gente que está fuera de su sitio y habla castellano y si hubiera ido a Alemania hablaría en alemán directamente pero bueno no me acuerdo de la pregunta pero bueno. Creo que la respuesta está...es que me lío mucho.

¿Es mejor hablar en tu propia variedad de gallego, o según las normas? Hombre, yo creo que es mejor hablar en tu propia variedad. Porque primero es más cómodo y segundo porque es que estandarizar según las normas es un poco estúpido – las lenguas no tienen normas, eh... nada tiene normas, es decir las cosas van flu...se fluyen, se mueven, et cetera entonces querer hacer las cosas estancas en algo que está

moviendo constantemente es estúpido entonces creo que hay que hablar ... eso sí yo también tengo la opinión en la escritura sí estoy a favor de la normativa por supuesto yo creo que se debería escribir más en normativo incluso un normativo más lusista, más próximo al portugués para hacerlo más puro, más aceptable a todo el mundo, ¿no? Y que tenga un poco de futuro, si no no tiene ningún futuro, el gallego. Pero lo que es hablando, yo creo que las lenguas se deberían hablar como realmente le sale y le parece más cómodo, no con... pesando con... (trails off)

¿Crees que las normas son españolizantes? Eh... No lo sé. Pues algunas sí, otras no. No creo que haya cien por cien pero a veces...es que... ya te digo, hay mucha polaridad, muchos problemas, hay unos grupos de personas que quieren que parezcan más portugués... El gallego que se habla es muy...está muy castellanizado entonces si tú pones unas normas que parecen más al portugués que es más lógico, más básico, unas normas más puras, como... más como el gallego que hablaban mis abuelos, o que hablaban mis vecinos, mis tíos, la gente mayor, mucha gente joven que habla gallego lo va a rechazar entonces, claro, tienes que jugar con eso. Si tú pones una norma que parece a la gente... agresiva va a decir que le den por culo, supongo que es por eso que son bastante españolizantes pero el gallego ahora mismo está muy castellanizado entonces, tiene que adaptarse a la realidad. Es como es.

¿En qué lengua piensas que deberían estar los nombres de los pueblos, las ciudades, las calles...? En la lengua... en el nombre que la gente quiera. Yo creo que la gente de cada pueblo debería decidir el nombre normal, pero también creo que se debería ser lo más habitual. Si hay sitios en donde quieren usar su nombre castellanizado, bueno los nombres históricos son los nombres en gallego, pero en sitios como Coruña, si quieren llamarla La Coruña, como el famoso tema polémico, pues yo creo que los coruñeses deberían llamarla así, no tienen por qué llamarla... Si hacen un referéndum, o consultan a un conjunto popular, y dicen bueno ¿qué nombre ponemos a la ciudad? ¿La Coruña? pues La Coruña. ¿Qué nombre ponemos al puente...queréis castellanizarlo? Antes sí, antes cambiaron los nombres, pero ahora por lo general los nombres están en gallego y para la mayoría de la gente son los nombres de toda la vida, ¿no?

Cuando escribes en gallego, ¿sueles usar la ‘ñ’? Sí. A veces, a veces no. Depende de como sale pero normalmente...

¿A veces usas la nh? A veces sí, si me da pero como escribo para mí normalmente escribo...es decir yo escribo, cuando escribo para mí escribo en cualquier manera. También pongo palabras en inglés, pongo palabras en... é decir...si son textos oficiales no, claro, entonces pongo la normativa oficial ¿no? pero también después tienes mucha... pues la gente es, es lo que te digo, es muy... es muy quisquillosa y tal y cual, dice no se escribe eso así, se escribe así, y entonces pah, haces la vida más fácil si pones la normativa oficial.

En tu opinión, ¿cuál es el futuro del gallego? Pues estuve hablando con un amigo mío completamente de eso. Yo, en mi opinión, es que le quedan pocos años. Pero claro, es una polémica actual, tampoco era el idioma mayoritario, ¿no? La generación de mayores de cincuenta años habla mayormente en gallego, pero la generación más joven, es decir la nuestra, la de la época del franquismo, la época de la democracia, de Fraga et cetera, habla cada vez menos gallego. Pero los que hablan gallego están cada

vez más convencidos, están más seguros del futuro del castellano. También es un idioma que posiblemente va a ser más minoritario aún, la mayoría va a hablar castellano y entonces, pues, va a durar, pero es una situación problemática, no va a tener pues... Poco a poco se va a ir desapareciendo supongo, y en el futuro a lo mejor cambiarán las cosas, pero en principio yo creo que en el año 2050 casi todos en la península ibérica van a hablar en catalán o en castellano.

¿Es diferente al futuro que te gustaría que tuviese el gallego? Pues no lo sé. En principio uno... puedes decir que sí. Podría decir que sí. Me gustaría que tuviera futuro pero a la vez lo que tenga que ser tiene que ser. Lo que no vas a hacer es obligar a la gente a... hablar contra su voluntad. Si la gente no quiere y se desaparece pues no puedes tampoco decir no, pues por narices. Si la gente quiere conservarlo, estupendo, si no, no lo merecemos no lo debemos tener.

¿Escuchas música en gallego? En verdad, no.

¿Ves películas en gallego? No las hay.

¿Lees el periódico en gallego? Sí, periódico hay uno, o dos, sí.

¿Ves la televisión en gallego? Eh, normalmente, hay una cadena sólo o sea que tampoco hay mucho. Debería porque sí que me gusta pero ahora misma como casi no veo la tele no... las canales no me funcionan pues no. Ahora mismo no.

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Interview I
13/03/2009

¿Cuántos años tienes? 23

¿Qué estudias? Arqueoloxía e antropoloxía na Universidade de Cambridge.

¿Dónde vives? En Cambridge.

¿De dónde eres? De Pontevedra.

¿De dónde son tus padres? Pois miña nai é de...é de Lalín e meu pai é de Cáceres en Estremadura.

¿Cuántas lenguas hablas y cuáles son? Falo galego, castelán, inglés, portugués eh... alemán, un pouco de italiano e un pouco de francés.

¿Cuál es tu lengua materna? Pois, o galego.

¿Qué lengua hablabas cuando empezaste a hablar como niño? Eh, pois en galego tamén, aínda que, beno, na miña casa sempre se falaba tamén castelán, meu pai...é, ou sexa... é de Estremadura e tamén falaba castelán. Con meu pai falaba en castelán e con miña nai falaba en galego.

¿Qué lengua hablas con tus amigos en Galicia? Galego. Agora falo... falo con todo o mundo en galego agora.

¿Qué lengua usabas más en la universidad de Santiago para los trabajos? Inglés (Laughter).

Claro, en Filología Inglesa... (Laughter) ¿Qué lengua usabas con los profesores? Tamén en galego, si.

¿Algunas veces hablas castellano? Eh...se é unha persoa que é de fóra de Galiza pois obviamente si. Non é cuestión de ser maleducado. Non coma os cataláns por exemplo que tamén coas persoas de fóra de Cataluña falan en catalán, aínda que non os entendan...Pero bueno. Aínda que, aínda que nalgúns casos, nalgúns casos...na cidade onde vivo, en Pontevedra, hai moita presión para falar en castelán ás veces, nalgúns contextos, hai determinados sitios en que te sentes un pouco estraño falando en galego porque todo o mundo, absolutamente todo o mundo fala en castelán e ás veces te miran de xeito... raro porque falas distinto, falas galego.

¿Si un gallego te habla en castellano, qué lengua usas para responderle? Pois sempre en galego.

¿En qué lengua te encuentras más cómodo? Pois se estou na Galiza síntome máis cómodo en galego, pero non teño problema, non teño problema en ningunha das dúas. Ademais, pois, ademais se queres unha resposta máis concreta direiche en galego porque é a lingua que uso máis habitualmente.

Mucha gente piensa que hay una diferencia entre los que hablan gallego durante toda la vida y los que decidieron cambiar del castellano al gallego más tarde.

¿Tú también crees que hay una diferencia? Eh... si que hai unha diferenza porque hai moita xente, bueno, unha cousa é te-lo galego como lingua materna e o galego como unha lingua que se se, que se sobrepón á... á lingua materna que era ás veces o castelán, e obviamente, pois, non vas te-la mesma...se cadra a mesma fluidez...o mesmo nivel de... de expresión, non? En termos sobre todo de fonética, pois si que se ven diferenzas.

¿Es importante hablar el gallego? Si, claro. É importante fala-lo galego porque é a...é a nosa lingua, a lingua da nosa cultura, e forma parte do noso patrimonio, si unha... si... non hai outro sitio no mundo no que se fale o galego, digamos, pois ninguén o vai defender por nós, é un deber que temos. Fala-lo galego e defendelo.

¿Qué lengua les vas a enseñar a tus hijos? Obviamente quero que aprendan a maior cantidade de linguas posíbel...a primeira, por suposto, será o galego, tamén teñen que aprende-lo castelán, inglés, alemán...

¿Te consideras gallego? Si, considérome galego, si.

¿Te consideras español? Considérome galego unicamente. Non, non me considero español.

¿Es posible ser gallego y español a la vez? É unha boa pregunta... eh... a ver. Se te refires ó sentimento pois eu diría que no meu caso non. No meu caso eu son galego unicamente pero se te refires a papeis, pois... os papeis din que son español.

¿Qué significa ser gallego? Ser galego...pois...significa...non necesariamente nacer na Galiza, eh... pero...do mesmo xeito que hai moita xente que se sente galega, sabes? Pois aínda que naceron noutros sitios, ou sexa hai moitos emigrantes galegos que aínda que...aínda que naceron aquí marcharon fóra e pois son galegos coma...coma... Pois ser galego significa...pois...si, falar. Falar galego é unha parte importante de ser galego pero tamén significa ama-la nosa terra, tomar parte das súas tradicións, non sei, eu creo que sobre todo é ama-la nosa terra. Ser galego significa fundamentalmente falar galego e ama-la nosa terra.

¿Crees que se habla insuficiente, suficiente o demasiado gallego en las escuelas? Nas escolas non se fala galego basicamente, eu diría iso. Algúns queren que non haxa unha imposición lingüística pero nas escolas, pero de que imposición lingüística falan se o único que se fala practicamente fóra das aulas é o castelán?... Home, depende do contexto, nun contexto rural pois obviamente, evidentemente fálase máis galego ca castelán pero mesmo alí xa non é tanto como era hai uns anos... Ahgora hai moitas escolas rurais galegas nas que se fala máis o castelán. Nas cidades, nas cidades o galego está... digamos que está un pouco... nas escolas na miña experiencia está un pouco institucionalizado. Non sei... eh falabas galego na clase porque o profesor che falaba en galego e a materia era en galego pero fóra da clase, no recreo todo o mundo falaba en castelán. Eu diría que o galego se fala pouco nas escolas. Pero depende do sitio.

¿Existen algunos estereotipos sobre los gallegos? Estereotipos...non sei se refires ós estereotipos que existen agora o ós que existían hai uns anos. Hai unos anos había o estereotipo do galego paleta que non facía máis ca traballar sen, sen protestar... non? Agora os estereotipos están a cambiar. Cambiaron bastante. Hai o estereotipo da simpatía dos gallegos e fóra a xente fala da...da indecisión que temos os gallegos, eh... que son máis amábeis tamén. Hai uns estereotipos sobre os gallegos e a nosa terra que teñen que ver co misterio, das meigas... Eu coido que estamos a mellorar: antes víannos como paletos pero cambiaron bastante. Os españois sempre rin un pouco do noso acento, pero non pasa nada... Nós tamén rimos do seu.

¿Por qué crees que son esos, los estereotipos? A ver...os esterotipos... pois como che comentaba...teñen un fundamento histórico, todo vén da época da doma e castración de Galiza polos reis católicos, no século quince cando substituíron a nobreza e...e o clero gallegos por casteláns, comezando deste xeito o dominio colonial sobre a nosa terra e a imposición do español, e toda a maquinaria propagandística conseguinte de descalificación artellada polos gobernantes casteláns da época do século de ouro que utilizaron os escritores de éxito da época para modificaren a visión que a xente tiña dos gallegos e, case que mellor, para inventaren unha visión dos gallegos como un pobo noxento, desagradábel, de...de pailáns e parvos. Todo é resultado da xenreira que os casteláns sempre nos tiveron. Un pobo non é dun xeito por natureza, esa forma de ser e o que a xente percibe é o resultado dunha construción cultural

¿Sueles leer en gallego? Pois si. Si leo en gallego si.

¿Estás orgulloso de ser gallego? Por suposto, por suposto.

Para ser gallego de verdad, entre comillas, ¿es más importante haber nacido en Galicia o hablar en gallego u otra cosa...? O importante é sentirse galego.

¿Es importante que la gente sepa que eres gallego, o no te importa? Home, se estou na Galiza pois obviamente xa se sabe pero se estou fóra claro que me gusta que a xente saiba que son galego, ou sexa non necesariamente español porque os españois... hai uns estereotipos tamén...cos que non me identifico en absoluto. Se estou en Inglaterra primeiro digo que son español, porque se non a xente non ten nin idea do que lles falo, pero logo sempre tento explicarlles que son galego, e o que isto conleve: que somos distintos, temos lingua propia, música distinta...

¿Sabes cuando salieron las últimas normas para el uso del gallego? 2003

¿Hablar en gallego non-normativo significa hablar mal? Eu coido que hai un erro...Hai xente que coida que o galego normativo é un invento pero eu non estou para nada de acordo con isto. O galego normativo é unha depuración do galego máis tradicional que se fala nas aldeas galegas. Ti se vas por exemplo a algunha aldea da zona central, por exemplo de Lugo, de Lalín, de Pontevedra, do centro de Galiza, ti decatara de que o galego que falan alí, especialmente as persoas máis maiores que viviron toda a vida na aldea e non recibiron tanta influencia da televisión e outros medios de comunicación en castelán... o galego destas persoas é practicamente idéntico ó galego normativo. Usan castelanismos, obviamente hai castelanismos, debido á gran presión exercida polo castelán durante séculos... pero ese galego é case

normativo...A diferenza, e o que pode levar a pensar que o galego normativo é un invento, é que no galego normativo se mesturaron características do bloque central, occidental e oriental (no canto de elixir unha variedade como a estándar, coma no inglés, co inglés do sueste de Inglaterra) pero isto é necesario para crear un estándar e fíxose noutras moitas linguas...Pero, en resumidas contas, non se pode dicir que falar nun galego non-normativo significa falar mal porque é practicamente o mesmo có galego tradicional, unicamente depurado do que non é galego. Falar mal é mesturar dous idiomas, neste caso galego e castelán, e iso é o que hai que evitar. Usar as características morfolóxicas, fonéticas e léxicas de cada zona entra dentro da riqueza dun idioma... e iso non é falar mal. Os que din que o galego normativo é un invento son os que non o coñecen ben. Sabes?

¿Cuando hablas en gallego, te importa si hablas según las nuevas normas del gallego, o no? Eu prefiro falar o máis correctamente posible. Do mesmo xeito que se falo en castelán intento falar correctamente. E todo depende por suposto do contexto no que deba falar. Nalgúns tento que o meu galego sexa o máis coidado posíbel, tanto en termos de fonética coma de léxico ou gramática. De todas formas a miña variedade do galego é practicamente o galego normativo. Hai castelanismos, si, en linguas tan próximas é normal e eu prefiro evita-los castelanismos cando falo. Cando falo en castelán ou en calquera outra lingua intento non usar palabras en galego, ou non mesturar inglés e alemán cando falo en calquera destas linguas. Parece lóxico, non si?

Cuando escribes en gallego, ¿sueles usar la ‘ñ’? (Laughter) Pois depende do contexto. Depende do contexto. Se escribo nun exame ou nun texto oficial si que uso o ñ, pero se escribo para min, se escribo para min prefiro usar o nh. É que o ñ é algo castelán, e é resultado da evolución histórica da lingua, que foi distinta á do galego. Por exemplo, se tomamos a palabra *caña*, sabes? *Cane*. Antes, en latín, era *canna*, con dous enes. Ese dobre ene en castelán deu lugar ó son representado polo ñ, que non é máis cá abreviatura deses dous enes, un pequeniño colocado sobre o outro máis grande. Pola contra, en galego iso non pasou... O resultado de *canna* en galego é “cana”. O que quero dicir con isto é que o son ñ en galego é resultado dun proceso distinto ó castelán, polo que non ten lóxica que usemos o mesmo grafema para un son que é resultado de procesos distintos en cada idioma.

¿En qué lengua piensas que deberían estar los nombres de los pueblos, las ciudades, las calles de Galicia...? En galego.

¿Crees que las normas son ‘españolizantes’? Si.

En tu opinión, ¿cuál es el futuro del gallego? Depende de nós, agora máis ca nunca, e do noso sentido da responsabilidade para connosco e cos nosos devanceiros. Pero se se dá marcha atrás no proceso normalizador... como algúns queren facer agora, véxoo mal.

¿Escuchas música en gallego? Si, si.

¿Mucho? Si, escoito bastante música en galego, si.

¿Ves películas en gallego? Si, o que pasa é que tampouco é que teñamos moitas

posibilidades de facelo, xa que agás no caso da TVG, os DVDs que teñen unha versión dobrada ó galego son escasos. .

¿Lees el periódico en gallego? Si, leo *A Nosa Terra*, de cando en vez, si que...si que leo o xornal en galego. Pero de novo o problema é que, se hai tan poucos xornais en galego como ocorre agora, é moi difícil podelos ler en galego.

¿Ves la televisión en gallego? Bueno, a verdade é que non vexo moita televisión...pero ás veces si, vexo algunhas cousas en galego.

Interview J

18/03/2009

¿Qué haces? Soy profesor en la universidad [Hispanic Studies].

¿Dónde vives? En Birmingham. (Laughter)

¿De dónde eres? De Santiago.

¿De dónde son tus padres? De Santiago.

¿Cuántas lenguas hablas y cuáles son? ¿Cuántas lenguas hablo? Español, gallego, un poco de inglés, muy poco de francés y algo de portugués.

¿Cuál es tu lengua materna? Em... probablemente... es difícil, hablaba gallego y español al mismo tiempo.

¿Qué lengua hablabas cuando empezaste a hablar como niño? Los dos.

¿Qué lengua hablas con tus amigos? Depende de mis amigos. Es una respuesta muy gallega, ¿no? Con algunos hablo en español, con otros hablo en gallego.

¿Y cómo sabes si les debería hablar en español o en gallego? Es la costumbre. No es ninguna decisión política o... es la costumbre.

¿Qué hablas en casa? Eh... español, fundamentalmente español con mi madre, fundamentalmente gallego con mi padre.

¿Y tus abuelos? Están muertos. Con mi abuelo hablaba gallego.

¿Con tus hermanos? En español normalmente.

¿Qué lengua usabas más en la universidad? Pues más o menos lo mismo porque hacía español y gallego al mismo tiempo, por lo cual. Me movi entre los dos.

¿Y para los trabajos? Eh... español para los trabajos de español, gallego para los trabajos de gallego.

¿Y con los profesores? ¿Igual? Lo mismo.

Y ahora, ¿qué usas más? Probablemente cuando estoy en Santiago uso más el español que el gallego, probablemente.

¿Algunas veces hablas gallego ahora? Cuando alguien me entiende sí. (Laughter.) Que son pocas veces.

¿Si un gallego te habla en castellano, qué lengua usas para responderle? Home... depende de si lo conozco o no. Si no lo conozco normalmente hablo en castellano.

¿Y si te habla en gallego? Hablo gallego.

¿En qué lengua te encuentras más cómodo? Me encuentro igual de cómodo en cualquiera de las dos.

Mucha gente piensa que hay una diferencia entre los neofalantes y los paleofalantes. ¿Tú también crees que hay una diferencia? Hay diferencias porque la gente que habla...que ha decidido hablar en gallego...muchas gente viene del sistema educativo, con lo cual por ejemplo cambian algunas...algunas cosas. Eh... y se habla de una manera pues quizás más académica o reglada. ¿No? Puede haber diferencias en pronunciación, decir... decir no-no-fa-go dicen noŋ-o-fa-go o pueden utilizar por ejemplo y en lugar de e, suena como más gallego urbano, pero... Hay diferencias pero me parece igual de bien que uno hable gallego sea neofalante o no.

¿Es importante hablar el gallego? Sí, claro. Creo que cuantas más lenguas hables, más importante. Sí.

¿Qué lengua les vas a enseñar a tus hijos? Complicado. Estando aquí en Inglaterra o sea mi...proyecto...mi proyecto vidal sería tener hijos trilingües. (Laughter.) Absolutamente. Ésta es mi intención. No sé hasta qué punto es posible. Pero sí, sería mi intención.

¿Es importante que los niños gallegos aprendan hablar el castellano? Como dije, creo que es importante que...aprender o conocer el mayor número de lenguas posibles.

¿Te consideras gallego? Absolutamente.

¿Te consideras español? No mucho. Me considero más español cuando estoy en el extranjero que cuando estoy en Galicia pero en términos de lo que identificarías como español o...o estereotipos de españoles no...no me considero demasiado.

¿Crees que es posible ser gallego y español a la vez? Eh...creo que la identidad es algo difuso, creo que sí, es posible sentirse eh...como miembro de comunidades de diferente amplitud. Creo que se puede, que uno puede sentirse.

¿Qué significa ser gallego? (Laughter) Dudar permanentemente. (Laughter) No sé. Creo que significa un vínculo de una comunidad de gente específica, una comunidad geográfica, es un vínculo afectivo. Eh... un vínculo identitario de un determinado grupo. Pero no creo que signifique mucho más. Creo que es un vínculo que...que haces, que estableces como una determinada comunidad que hace caso es la comunidad de gente que vive en Galicia. O que ha nacido en Galicia. O que vive aquí y se siente miembro de ese grupo.

¿Crees que se habla insuficiente, suficiente o demasiado gallego en las escuelas? Bueno...probablemente, probablemente debería hablarse más, sí, que lo que se habla en las escuelas.

¿Cuál es para ti lo que mejor define la identidad gallega? Eh... Uff. (Long pause). É difícil. Eh...creo que hay un...un sentimiento común en Galicia de una identidad diferenciada que manifiesta políticamente. ¿Cuál es el rasgo identificatorio de los gallegos? Creo que es la capacidad de supervivencia. Pero me llevaría mucho tiempo

elaborar sobre el tema. (Laughter.) Es la capacidad de supervivencia en... para...desde un punto de vista positivo y negativo.

¿Existen algunos estereotipos sobre los gallegos? Oh, sí.

¿Cuáles son? Pues, desde que...dudan para todo, que es un poco cierto, hasta que son incultos, desconfiados, eh... amables hasta un cierto punto. Hay diferentes estereotipos.

¿Por qué crees que son esos? ¿Por qué creo que son esos? Porque los estereotipos eh... son construcciones sociales que en muchos casos se hacen desde fuera del país. Si tú...un gallego que va a América, o que emigra a América... el estereotipo que se va a utilizar es del gallego sin educación, sin cultura et cetera, et cetera...Pero suele ocurrir con cierto tipo de emigración, ¿no? Es el tipo de gente que emigra. Se crean los estereotipos básicamente desde fuera que en muchos casos los propios gallegos aceptan como propios. Aceptan sin cuestionar esos estereotipos.

¿Sueles leer en gallego? Sí.

¿Qué tipo de lectura lees? Leo de todo.

¿Estás orgulloso de ser gallego? Absolutamente. Bueno. Sí aunque muchas veces no. (Laughter.) Es decir...en algunos casos...en algunos casos...bueno estoy de mal humor, o de mala leche con mis paísanos o compatriotas. Pero en general sí.

Para ser gallego de verdad, ¿es más importante haber nacido en Galicia o hablar en gallego u otra cosa...? Creo que es importante sentirse parte de esa comunidad. No es necesario... nacer en Galicia no es un requisito esencial, utilizar, conocer la lengua probablemente sí lo sea, pero tampoco creo que sea un requisito esencial. Pero un requisito esencial es sentirse miembro de esa comunidad.

Entonces, si yo fuera, ¿yo me podría hacer gallega? Sí. Todo depende de ti.

¿Y no importa que soy inglesa? Para mí no. Para otra gente puede ser. Para mí no. Yo creo que lo más importante es que se sienta miembro de esa comunidad. Y que...y que...se identifique de una manera con ciertas actitudes, o ciertos rasgos de esa comunidad.

¿Es importante, para ti, que la gente sepa que eres gallego? Sí.

¿Sabes cuando salieron las últimas normas para el uso del gallego? No estoy seguro ahora mismo pero sé que al principio eh... como seis o siete años hubo un cambio en las normas. Pero no estoy seguro.

¿Hablar en gallego non-normativo significa hablar mal? No.

¿Cuando hablas en gallego, te importa si hablas según las normas del gallego?
No.

¿Es mejor hablar en tu propia variedad de gallego, o es mejor hablar según las normas? Las normas para mí son una... son un estándar hasta cierto punto artificial entonces creo que cada uno debe hablar... Es como cualquier otra lengua. Es decir nadie habla español según las normas, nadie habla inglés según las normas, ¿no? Creo que el tema con el gallego se ha complicado muchísimo. La lengua oral es diferente a la lengua escrita.

¿En qué lengua piensas que deberían estar los nombres de los pueblos, las ciudades, las calles de Galicia? En gallego.

Mucha gente cree que las normas del gallego son demasiado ‘españolizantes’.
¿Qué crees de esta opinión? Ah...bueno es un eterno debate. Es decir...cual es...la realidad es que hay una enorme influencia del español en la población gallega, y...y...bueno. Es siempre difícil, siempre es un tema difícil, establecer unas...unas nuevas normas...Pero creo que acercar la lengua artificialmente al portugués por ejemplo, sería tan artificial como acercarla al español. las normas siempre tienen un nivel de artificio. Eh...españolizantes. Pues, en algunas cuestiones sí, son...o tienen el español, pero entiendo por qué. Porque la mayoría de la gente está en contacto con la lengua española.

Cuando escribes en gallego, ¿sueles usar la ‘ñ’? ¿La ñ? Sí.

En tu opinión, ¿cuál es el futuro del gallego? El futuro del gallego es lo que quiera la gente que vive en Galicia que sea. Si la gente en Galicia quiere que el gallego sobreviva el gallego sobrevivirá. Si la gente no quiere o no le interesa supongo que en un futuro lejano, o más o menos lejano, pues desaparecerá. Es decir...desde mi punto de vista el bilingüismo no es un fin, es parte de un proceso. Un proceso en que dos lenguas conviven. Supongo que una triunfará sobre la otra porque no es económico hablar dos lenguas. Entonces no sé...no sé qué puede pasar. Lo que creo es que... por lo menos ya ha logrado evitar el descenso que había, es decir que se ha establecido un poco la situación. No sé que lo que...lo que va a pasar, pero lo que va a pasar es lo que la gente quiere que pase.

¿Es diferente al futuro que te gustaría que tuviese el gallego? A mí me gustaría que la gente eh.... hablara... que el gallego se siguiese hablando. Si va a ocurrir o no depende de lo que la gente quiera.

¿Escuchas música en gallego? Eh, sí. Normalmente.

¿Ves películas en gallego? Siempre que puedo, que haya una película doblada o lo que sea, sí. Si hay películas de producción propia, sí, intento ver las películas de producción propia. Pero bueno, es que en el cine no hay demasiadas, pero sí, siempre intento verlas, sí.

¿Lees el periódico en gallego? Eh... no hay muchos periódicos en gallego. Si hay periódicos en gallego al mi alcance lo leo.

¿Qué periódico lees si lees un periódico en gallego? Pues normalmente *A Nosa Terra*.

¿Ves la televisión en gallego? Bueno... veo muy poco la televisión en España porque particularmente no me gusta la televisión española o gallega. La televisión gallega no es mejor que la televisión española pero si un programa me gusta...

¿Qué opinión tienes del TVG? Pues...Hay que tener en cuenta que TVG es una televisión con relativamente pocos medios, hacen lo que pueden, ha estado áltamente manipulada durante muchos años, probablemente seguirá estando manipulada. Creo que no ha cumplido su función en el sentido de dar motivos de orgullo, claramente, a la gente, creo que tuvo que plegar al estereotipo para pedir audiencia. Pero no creo que sea un televisión peor que ninguna de las televisiones que hay. A nivel...a nivel estatal simplemente ha estado muy manipulada y ha creado cierto daño, en ese sentido.

¿Piensas que debería haber más prensa en gallego? Sí, pero bueno, el problema es que es siempre una cuestión de oferta y demanda...¿no? Entonces, si no hay demanda, probablemente la gente no va...no va a crear impresas editoriales...

¿Piensas que los creadores de la lengua son los hablantes o los académicos? Las lenguas evolucionan según los hablantes, la lenguas son organismos vivos que evolucionan a como la gente habla, ¿no? Pues los académicos, lo que hacen es en alguna manera regular una serie de procesos que han ocurridos. Las lenguas son de los hablantes, no de los académicos.

APPENDIX 2

Deconstruction and Analysis of Pilot Work: Part One –Pilot Questionnaire

Using the information generated from the carrying out and analysis of the preliminary interviews, I created a questionnaire that I could use when generating data for the main research phase of this thesis. Since, as explained by Sudman and Bradburn, question wording can affect the data obtained from participants, I carried out a second stage of pilot work in the form of a pilot questionnaire (PQ).¹⁶³ See section 6.4.3.

The following section is a description of each question that appeared in the PQ, a deconstruction and explanation of its wording and the results each question generated. Also included are notes of any issues raised by each question in terms of wording or other methodological problems that became apparent at this stage.

1. ¿Cuántos años tienes?

Cantos anos tes?

As in the preliminary interview stage, some of the participants who completed the PQ were too old to be considered as valid participants for the final questionnaire stage as they are older than 30. Participants' ages in the sample group used in this stage of pilot work ranged from 21 to 34, and averaged at 27 years old, meaning that although some participants would be too old to be participants in the final questionnaire stage of this work, in terms of averages, this sample group can be considered of a similar age-group to those in my final sample group to allow them to be acceptable pilot participants.

2. ¿Qué estudias?

Que estudas?

Si ya no estudias, ¿hasta qué nivel educativo has estudiado?

Se xa non estudas, até que nivel educativo estudaches?

Three of the ten participants study or have studied arts subjects and five study or have studied sciences. Two of the ten participants are not university educated, meaning they would not be considered valid participants for the final sample group, although their level of education is acceptable for the needs of this stage of pilot work. The employment sector they work in has been used to code these two participants as arts or sciences. The participant working in politics has been coded as a social sciences

¹⁶³ Sudman and Bradburn p1

student would be, so arts, as has the police officer, as this career has strong links with law and social sciences. This means overall then, that five participants are from sciences backgrounds, and five are from arts.

**3. ¿Cuál es tu lengua materna? El gallego / El castellano / El gallego y el castellano / Otro - ¿Qué lengua?
Cal é a túa lingua materna? O galego / O castelán / O galego e o castelán / Outro - Que lingua?**

Two participants stated that their mother tongue was Galician only, six that it was both Galician and Castilian, and two that it was Castilian only. As described in the deconstruction of the interview stage of pilot work, I decided to ask this question in addition to the following questions to ascertain whether I could see any evidence of linguistic disloyalty. I provided participants with four choices: Galician, coded as 3, Galician and Castilian, coded as 2, Castilian, coded as 1 and other, which received a code of 0. Any participants stating their first language to be neither Galician nor Castilian were asked to specify what their first language was.

**4. ¿Qué lengua hablabas cuando empezaste a hablar? El gallego / El castellano / El gallego y el castellano / Otro - ¿Qué lengua?
Que lingua falabas cando empezaches a falar ? O galego / O castelán / O galego e o castelán / Outro - Que lingua?**

Three participants stated that the first language they spoke in was Galician, three that they learned to speak both Galician and Castilian at the same time, and four that they first spoke in Castilian. The same coding system as the previous question was used.

**5. ¿A qué edad empezaste a hablar el gallego?
A que idade empezaches a falar o galego?**

This question and question four are slight modifications of similar questions used in the pilot interview stage of work, in that they are now multiple choice in order to make answering the question a little easier for participants, which should encourage people to fill in the questionnaire as ticking a box requires less work than writing a word. Clearly, as seen above in the information cited of Oppenheim, since the choices provided in multiple choice questions can affect the responses given by participants, I had to be careful when deciding which languages to include as choices.¹⁶⁴ I decided to include these four choices as they seem to cover the full spectrum of languages that are mostly likely to have been learnt as first languages in Galicia, and also allow for other languages to be stated.

¹⁶⁴ Oppenheim p43

6. ¿A qué edad empezaste a hablar el castellano?

A que idade empezaches a falar o castelán?

Participants were asked to write in at what age they first spoke in Galician and when they first spoke in Castilian. Some participants answered not with a number, but with statements such as ‘from the age at which a person first learns to speak’, or ‘since I went to school’. Comments suggesting the participant learned a language as a pre-school child were considered to be age 1, and those referring to when they first entered formal schooling were considered as age 6. In fact, the exact age is not important, as when this sequence of four questions are taken together linguistic disloyalty can be seen, regardless of the exact ages stated by participants. One participant failed to answer these two questions. The answers given in this sequence are included in the table below:

| <i>Participant</i> | <i>Stated LI</i> | <i>1st lang. spoken</i> | <i>Age G</i> | <i>Age C</i> | <i>Linguistic disloyalty ?</i> | <i>PF or NF of Galician?</i> |
|--------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 6 | Yes (pro-C) | Paleo |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | No | Paleo |
| 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | No | Paleo |
| 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | Yes (pro-G) | Paleo |
| 5 | 2 | 1 | 10 | 1 | Yes (pro-G) | Neo |
| 6 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | No | Paleo |
| 7 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 2 | No | Neo |
| 8 | 1 | 2 | No response | No response | - | - |
| 9 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | No | Paleo |
| 10 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | No | Paleo |

Participants claiming to have first spoken Galician after they reached school age are considered to be neo-falantes of Galician (NF). The reasoning behind this choice is that, despite the high degree of mutual intelligibility of Castilian and Galician meaning that native speakers of Castilian in Galicia would have oral comprehension skills in Galician of a sufficient level as to consider them to be at least passive bilinguals, the suggestion of the fact that they did not produce Galician of their own accord until they reached an age at which they began to receive a high level of influence from outside the home means that from a purely linguistic viewpoint, Galician is not these speakers’ home language. Since academic convention states that the language used at home is the marker of native-language status, the argument would follow that anyone who, whilst passively bilingual in the language, does not actually produce Galician whilst living in this home-environment until outside influences greatly increase, cannot be truly considered a native speaker of Galician.

Any speaker claiming to have produced Galician before school age is categorised as a paleo-falante (PF).

Linguistic disloyalty follows the explanation given earlier in this thesis, according to the definition by Salvador. Briefly, this concept refers to the idea of a speaker's renouncing his true first language, and stating himself to be a mother tongue speaker of a different language. Participants are asked to state their first language, and then asked slightly differing questions on a similar theme to try and ascertain each participant's true first language in order to see whether linguistic disloyalty can be seen or not. Of the nine participants who answered the questions sufficiently for linguistic disloyalty to be seen, or not seen, three showed evidence of it. Two of these showed evidence of pro-Galician linguistic disloyalty (that is to say they state themselves to be native speakers of Galician, when perhaps a linguist may take a different view), and one participant shows herself to be pro-Castilian linguistically disloyal.

This stage of pilot work seems to have shown these four questions to work well as a means of both classifying participants as paleo- or neo-falantes of Galician, and detecting linguistic disloyalty. As explained in Appendix 1, it was decided to remove the grouping of participants as either PF or NF once the pilot work had taken place, as it was felt that this brought a further element to the work that could not be effectively explored within the limitations of this thesis.

**7. ¿Dónde vives?
Onde vives?**

**8. ¿De dónde eres?
De onde es?**

**9. ¿De dónde es tu madre?
De onde é a túa nai?**

**10. ¿De dónde es tu padre?
De onde é o teu pai?**

The coding of these four questions meant they were formed as if they were multiple choice, with two available choices for each one: Galicia and outside Galicia. Each answer of 'Galicia' was coded 2, and each answer of 'outside Galicia' was coded 1.

However, the question was not presented as multiple choice. In the final questionnaire stage I decided to present these questions as multiple choice, as that is how they were be coded numerically. In the final analysis phase I would then have been able to see if and how a participant's personal background affects their other answers. I had originally thought it might be useful to categorise participants in several ways, which is the reason why these questions are included in the PQ, but since this thesis is not endless in possible length, having already outlined one major category (sciences or arts) I decided that although further categorisation of participants (PF or NF, and rural or urban backgrounds for example) would also be interesting to look at, they must be left for other studies at a different time.

Of the ten participants, eight received the highest score, of eight, for these four questions when taken together. One received seven, and one received six.

11. Por favor, indica tu uso normal de la lengua: Siempre gallego / Más gallego que castellano / Tanto gallego como castellano / Más castellano que gallego / Siempre castellano

Por favor, indica o teu uso normal da lingua: Sempre galego / Máis galego que castelán / Tanto galego como castelán / Máis castelán que gallego / Sempre castelán

This series of questions closely follows a study from 1996 by Rodríguez Neira. One difference I have made is that, having seen in the interview stage that some speakers stated they spoke differently with their friends from school or university than they do with their old childhood friends (*amigos de sempre*), I asked these as two separate questions. I also included the question about writing essays, to see if this generated different responses than those given to the question about how participants write notes. Participants were given five choices for each question: always Galician, which was coded as 5, more Galician than Castilian, coded as 4, as much Galician as Castilian, 3, more Castilian than Galician, 2 and always Castilian, which received a coding of 1. Although true analysis of this pilot questionnaire will not take place, the responses given to this question have been entered into a table to give some idea of the answers generated.

| | Question | Responses: | Range | Mean | Mode |
|--------------|---|-------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| 11.01 | ¿Qué lengua usas habitualmente? Que lingua usas habitualmente? | | 1-5 | 2.5 | 2 |
| 11.02 | ¿Qué lengua usas con tus abuelos maternos? Que lingua usas cos teus avós maternos? | | 1-5 | 3.3 | 4 and 5 |
| 11.03 | ¿Qué lengua usas con tu madre? Que lingua usas coa túa nai? | | 1-5 | 2.7 | 2 |
| 11.04 | ¿Qué lengua usas en la compra diaria? Que lingua usas na compra diaria? | | 1-5 | 2 | 2 |
| 11.05 | ¿Qué lengua usas en confianza? Que lingua usas en confianza? | | 1-5 | 2.6 | 1 and 2 |
| 11.06 | ¿Qué lengua usas con tus amigos de clase? Que lingua usas cos teus amigos de clase? | | 1-5 | 2.4 | 1 and 2 |
| 11.07 | ¿Qué lengua usas con tus amigos de siempre? Que lingua usas cos teus amigos de sempre? | | 1-5 | 2.8 | 2 |
| 11.08 | ¿Qué lengua usas con los superiores? Que lingua usas cos superiores? | | 1-5 | 2.4 | 1 |
| 11.09 | ¿Qué lengua usas con la Administración? Que lingua usas coa Administración? | | 1-5 | 2.4 | 1 |
| 11.10 | ¿Qué lengua usas con el médico especialista? Que lingua usas co médico especialista? | | 1-5 | 2.7 | 1 |
| 11.11 | ¿Qué lengua usas en la lectura? Que lingua usas na lectura? | | 1-3 | 2.1 | 3 |
| 11.12 | ¿Qué lengua usas para escribir notas? Que lingua usas para escribir notas? | | 1-5 | 2 | 1 and 2 |
| 11.13 | ¿Qué lengua usas para escribir ensayos? Que lingua usas para escribir ensaios? | | 1-5 | 2.3 | 1 |
| 11.14 | ¿Qué lengua usas con un desconocido? Que lingua usas cun descoñecido? | | 1-5 | 2.3 | 2 |

12. ¿Cuánto lees en gallego? Siempre / Muchas veces / A veces / Pocas veces / Nunca

Canto les en galego? Sempre / Moitas veces / Ás veces / Poucas veces / Nunca

Si has contestado ‘nunca’, pasa directamente a la pregunta 13.

¿Qué tipo de lectura lees en gallego? Marca todas las respuestas que se apliquen
El periódico / Prosa narrativa / Revistas académicas / Páginas web / Poesía
/ Revistas normales / Prosa no narrativa / Otro ¿Qué?

Se respondiches ‘nunca’, pasa directamente á pregunta 13.

Que tipo de lectura les en galego? Marca todas as respostas que se apliquen
O xornal / Prosa narrativa / Revistas académicas / Páxinas web / Poesía /
Revistas normais / Prosa non narrativa / Outro - Que?

13. ¿Cuánto lees en castellano? Siempre / Muchas veces / A veces / Pocas veces / Nunca

Canto les en castelán? Sempre / Moitas veces / Ás veces / Poucas veces / Nunca

Si has contestado ‘nunca’, pasa directamente a la pregunta 14.

¿Qué tipo de lectura lees en castellano? Marca todas las respuestas que se apliquen

El periódico / Prosa narrativa / Revistas académicas / Páginas web / Poesía / Revistas normales / Prosa no narrativa / Otro ¿Qué?

Se respondiches ‘nunca’, pasa directamente á pregunta 14.

Que tipo de lectura les en castelan? Marca todas as respostas que se apliquen

O xornal / Prosa narrativa / Revistas académicas / Páxinas web / Poesía / Revistas normais / Prosa non narrativa / Outro Que?

I asked this set of questions to see how much written Galician participants choose to expose themselves to, compared with the amount of Castilian they are exposed to. Since texts in Galician are rarer than texts in Castilian, the choice to expose oneself to reading material in Galician can be considered a definite choice, and not just complete chance in a large majority of cases. The most extreme pro-Galician response to these questions would be to always read in Galician and to never read in Castilian, meaning both of these choices are coded as 10. The most extreme pro-Castilian (or anti-Galician) response would be to always read in Castilian and to never read in Galician, meaning these responses are coded 2. In both cases, reading ‘*a veces*’ in Galician and Castilian is coded as 6. This means reading *muchas veces* in Galician and *pocas veces* in Castilian are coded as 8, and *muchas veces* in Castilian and *pocas veces* in Galician are coded as 4. This is shown more clearly in the table below:

| | Siempre | Muchas veces | A veces | Pocas veces | Nunca |
|-----------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Galician | 10 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 2 |
| Castilian | 2 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 10 |

Each participant can then be given a code out of twenty, according to the amount they state they read in any given language. The actual amount of reading completed by each participant is not important, that it to say that it doesn’t matter if one participant reads for five hours a day and another only reads for half an hour a week – what matters is the relative amount of reading that they do in Galician compared to the amount they do in Castilian.

The following table shows what results can be gained from these answers, and by tracing the rows and columns to where they meet, the possible ways in which these results can be made up. The significance of each result is also briefly explained.

| | Galician 10 Always | Galician 8 Muchas veces | Galician 6 A veces | Galician 4 Pocas veces | Galician 2 Never |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|---|---|---|
| Castilian 2 Always | <i>Total: 12</i> Neutral | <i>Total: 10</i> Slightly pro- Castilian / Anti-Galician | <i>Total: 8</i> Pro-Castilian / Anti-Galician | <i>Total 6:</i> Quite strongly pro-Castilian / Anti-Galician | <i>Total: 4</i> Strongly pro- Castilian / Anti-Galician |
| Castilian 4 Muchas veces | <i>Total: 14</i> Slightly pro- Galician | <i>Total: 12</i> Neutral | <i>Total: 10</i> Slightly pro- Castilian / Anti-Galician | <i>Total: 8</i> Pro-Castilian / Anti-Galician | <i>Total 6:</i> Quite strongly pro-Castilian / Anti-Galician |
| Castilian 6 A veces | <i>Total: 16</i> Pro-Galician | <i>Total: 14</i> Slightly pro- Galician | <i>Total: 12</i> Neutral | <i>Total: 10</i> Slightly pro- Castilian / Anti-Galician | <i>Total: 8</i> Pro-Castilian / Anti-Galician |
| Castilian 8 Pocas veces | <i>Total: 18</i> Quite strongly pro-Galician | <i>Total: 16</i> Pro-Galician | <i>Total: 14</i> Slightly pro- Galician | <i>Total: 12</i> Neutral | <i>Total: 10</i> Slightly pro- Castilian / Anti-Galician |
| Castilian 10 Never | <i>Total: 20</i> Strongly pro- Galician | <i>Total: 18</i> Quite strongly pro-Galician | <i>Total: 16</i> Pro-Galician | <i>Total: 14</i> Slightly pro- Galician | <i>Total: 12</i> Neutral |

Following the advice of a member of the academic staff at the University of Birmingham, consulted during the interview stage of pilot work, I asked participants what type of reading material they choose in each language. A table of results of the responses gathered can be seen below:

| Participant | Amount Galician | Amount Castilian | Total /20 | Explanation | Material in Galician | Material in Castilian |
|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|--|--|---|
| 1 | 6 | 6 | 12 | <i>Total: 12</i> Neutral | Newspapers, Fiction Magazines, Websites | Newspapers, Fiction Magazines, Websites |
| 2 | 8 | 4 | 12 | <i>Total: 12</i> Neutral | Newspapers, Fiction | Newspapers, Fiction Non-fiction, Journals Magazines |
| 3 | 8 | 4 | 12 | <i>Total: 12</i> Neutral | Newspapers, Fiction Non-fiction | Newspapers, Fiction Non-fiction, Poetry Journals, Magazines Websites |
| 4 | 4 | 4 | 8 | <i>Total: 8</i> Pro-Castilian / Anti-Galician | Newspapers, Fiction Magazines, Comics | Newspapers, Fiction Magazines, Comics Websites, Journals |
| 5 | 4 | 2 | 6 | <i>Total 6:</i> Quite strongly pro-Castilian / Anti-Galician | Websites | Newspapers |
| 6 | 4 | 4 | 8 | <i>Total: 8</i> Pro-Castilian / Anti-Galician | Newspapers Websites | Newspapers Websites, Fiction Magazines, Journals |
| 7 | 4 | 8 | 12 | <i>Total: 12</i> Neutral | Newspapers, Poetry Websites | Newspapers, Poetry Websites, Magazines Journals |
| 8 | 4 | 4 | 8 | <i>Total: 8</i> Pro-Castilian / Anti-Galician | Fiction, Poetry | Fiction, Newspapers Non-fiction, Magazines |
| 9 | 6 | 4 | 10 | <i>Total: 10</i> Slightly pro-Castilian / Anti-Galician | Newspapers, Fiction Magazines, Websites | Newspapers Fiction, Magazines Websites, Non-fiction |
| 10 | 6 | 4 | 10 | <i>Total: 10</i> Slightly pro-Castilian / Anti-Galician | Newspapers Websites | Newspapers Websites, Comics |

Having entered the data into a table it can be seen that although some variation can be seen in the total amounts gained once the responses to questions 12 and 13 are coded, results do not differ vastly from one another, even between participants who I know from personal experience are strongly pro-Galician, compared to those who are quite blasé about the whole subject. The suggestion at this stage is that perhaps one's sociolinguistic opinions have less of an impact on one's choice of language when

reading than I had expected. It is not possible, however, at this early stage to draw any conclusions.

Furthermore, I decided after seeing the results of the PQ, to omit the questions about what kind of reading material one chooses in each language. Although it is true that the kind of written language that one exposes oneself too can have an impact on the way one sees and uses the language, I do not think it is a completely fair test to compare the material a participant chooses in each language, when one of these languages is Galician. Even with the best will in the world, it would be extremely difficult to always read in Galician, materials such as scientific academic journals, since very few are published at all in Galician. This means that one is forced to choose a different language to read this kind of materials in, whether that be English or Castilian, or another language that is more widely-spoken and more widely used for these kinds of materials than Galician. It is for this reason that I did not include these questions in the final questionnaire.

14. Indica hasta qué punto estás de acuerdo con las frases: Totalmente de acuerdo / De acuerdo / No estoy seguro / En desacuerdo / Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo

Indica ata que punto estás de acordo coas frases: Totalmente de acordo / De acordo / Non estou seguro / En desacordo / Definitivamente non estou de acordo

Using the information I had gathered in the interview stage of pilot work I compiled a list of statements that I could use to understand participants' opinions on various topics. I asked participants to indicate the degree to which they agreed with the statements, giving them five choices for each one: strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree and strongly disagree. I then coded each response with numbers from 1 to 5. In each case, the most extreme pro-Galician opinion of the statement was coded as 5, meaning that in some cases *strongly agree* is coded 5, and in other cases reverse coding is used, and *strongly disagree* is coded 5. The ways in which I have decided whether *strongly agree* or *strongly disagree* in each case should be consider pro- or anti-Galician is based on either my own knowledge, or the knowledge I gained in the interview stage. A short explanation of each is shown below:

Estoy más cómodo en gallego / Estou máis cómodo en galego

The most strongly pro-Galician response to this question would be *strongly agree*, since those who actually do feel more comfortable in Galician than Castilian would be expected to give this response, and those who do not feel more comfortable in Galician, but for extra-linguistic reasons wish they did, could be expected to use their linguistic disloyalty to influence them to also respond with *strongly agree*.

Estoy más cómodo en castellano / Estou máis cómodo en castelán

The inverse of the previous question is true here, meaning the most pro-Galician language response would be *strongly disagree*.

No es posible ser gallego y español a la vez***Non é posible ser galego e español á vez***

The most pro-Galician response to this statement would be *strongly agree*, since from my findings in the interview stage of research show that those holding the strongest pro-Galician views tend to think of themselves as Galicians only. As the pro-Galician views become diluted, so does the tendency to regard oneself as solely Galician and not at all Spanish.

Me considero gallego únicamente / Considérome galego unicamente

The most pro-Galician response to this statement would also be *strongly agree*, for the same reason as explained above.

Me considero español únicamente / Considérome español unicamente

The most pro-Galician response to this statement would be *strongly disagree*, for the reasoning explained in the explanations of the two preceding statements.

Me considero gallego y español / Considérome galego e español

Whilst this statement is not as black and white as the previous two statements, a true pro-Galician response would be *strongly disagree*, since, as stated above, those with the strongest pro-Galician views have a tendency to feel themselves to be solely Galician, and not Spanish at all.

Estoy orgulloso de ser gallego / Estou orgulloso de ser galego

The most pro-Galician response to this statement would clearly be *strongly agree*.

Hablar gallego es esencial para ser gallego***Falar galego é esencial para ser galego***

From the interview phase of pilot work I was able to see a hint of a tendency between the strength of a participant's pro-Galician views and their opinions on what makes a person Galician. For example, those with strong pro-Galician views tended to state that knowledge of and the use of Galician is essential to be a true Galician, whilst others who held less strong views did not seem to think that language was the be all and end all of Galician identity, favouring other traits instead. For this reason, the most strongly pro-Galician response to this statement would be *strongly agree*, as it seems to suggest that even if a person is born in Galicia to Galician parents, that if they do not speak Galician then they cannot be considered a true Galician. This follows the arguments used by the some of the most pro-Galician participants interviewed.

No es necesario hablar gallego para ser gallego

Non é necesario falar galego para ser galego

Since this statement is practically the inverse of the previous statement, it can be deduced that the most pro-Galician response would be *strongly disagree*, for the reasons stated above.

Para ser gallego es más importante sentirse gallego que hablar gallego

Para ser galego é máis importante sentirse galego que falar galego

This statement too follows the same reasoning as that used in the two statements directly above. For the same reasons, the most pro-Galician response could be expected to be *strongly disagree*.

Alguien que nació fuera de Galicia no puede ser gallego

Alguén que naceu fóra de Galicia non pode ser galego

Again following the same reasoning, it can be seen that the most pro-Galician response to this statement would be *strongly disagree*, as those holding the view that the most important defining characteristic of a Galician is the knowledge and use of language, would be inclined to believe that as long as a person knows and uses Galician can be a true Galician. On the other hand, the findings I made in the interview phase of pilot work seemed to suggest that those with less strong pro-Galician views seemed less inclined to think that language was a truly defining characteristic, believing that other characteristics are necessary to be a real Galician. Along this reasoning, a person who was born outside of Galicia could never be a real Galician, irrespective of their level or use of the Galician language.

Se habla suficiente gallego en las escuelas / Fálase suficiente galego nas escolas

The most pro-Galician response to this question would be *strongly disagree*, since a person with the most extreme pro-Galician views would think that not enough Galician is spoken in schools, unless Galician was the only language of instruction. Since this is not the case in the vast majority of schools, extreme pro-Galicians could be expected to strongly disagree with this statement.

***Es más importante que los niños gallegos aprendan el castellano que el gallego
É máis importante que os nenos galegos aprendan o castelán que o galego***

Similarly, a person with extreme pro-Galician views would strongly disagree with this statement, as they would believe that the cultural value of Galician outweighs the economic value of Castilian, believing that it is more important for Galician children to speak the language of their Autonomous Region than of the Spanish State. Some pro-Galician speakers may believe that children should learn both, and that both are equally important in their own right, but certainly the most extreme view would be that it is more important for children to learn Galician.

Quiero que mis hijos tengan el gallego como su lengua materna***Quero que os meus fillos teñan o galego como a súa lingua materna***

Those holding strong pro-Galician views could be expected to favour the continuation of use of their language as a mother tongue, especially by their own children, meaning that the most pro-Galician response to this statement would be *strongly agree*.

El futuro del gallego depende totalmente de la política***O futuro do galego depende totalmente da política***

Those with strong pro-Galician views were seen in the interview stage of pilot work to believe that although politics plays an important role in the future of Galician, that ultimately it is the speakers of the language who will decide whether Galician continues to be spoken in the future. Those who did not seem to hold such strong pro-Galician views appeared to rely more on politics, and less on the power of speakers to ensure the future of the language. For this reason I have coded the most pro-Galician response as *strongly disagree*.

Me gustaría que el gallego se siguiese hablando en el futuro***Gustaríame que o galego se siguese falando no futuro***

Clearly the most pro-Galician response to this statement would be *strongly agree*.

El gallego tiene poco futuro / O galego ten pouco futuro

The most pro-Galician response to this question would be *strongly disagree*, since those holding strong pro-Galician views would believe that the language is strong enough (or could be made strong enough) and important enough to have a future as a spoken language.

Hablar informalmente en un gallego no-normativo significa hablar mal
Falar informalmente nun galego non-normativo significa falar mal

From the work I carried out in the interview stage of pilot work, I was able to see a tendency that those with the most extreme pro-Galician views appeared to think that whilst the Galician norms are useful for formal situations, or for writing, that they are not necessary for use within informal situations. On the other hand, those with less strong views seemed to think that they still ought to be used, even in informal conversation. For this reason I have coded the most pro-Galician response as *strongly disagree*.

Las normas del gallego son demasiado españolas
As normas do galego son demasiado españolas

I was able to see from the preliminary research stage of work and the interview stage of pilot work that many people with extreme pro-Galician views seem to think that the Galician norms are too close to Spanish. This could be because they are pro-separatist (they believe that Galician should not be made more similar to either Castilian or Portuguese) or whether they are pro-Lusophone (by which I mean that they believe that the true or correct Galician is closer to Portuguese than the current official norms suggest). Either way, the most extreme pro-Galician response to this statement would be *strongly agree*.

En gallego se debería usar la ‘nh’ en vez de la ‘ñ’
En galego debería usarse a ‘nh’ en vez do ‘ñ’

As described in the main body of this thesis, the use of the ‘ñ’ is seen by many people as a particularly Spanish trait. It is for this reason that some Galician speakers reject its usage within the official Galician orthographic norms, above all those who wish to strengthen the link between Galician and Portuguese, and those who wish to separate Galician from both Castilian and Portuguese. In place of an ‘ñ’, many extreme pro-separatist and pro-Lusophone Galicians, for want of better descriptions, use ‘nh’, such as in the word *Espanha*. For this reason, the most extreme pro-Galician response to this statement would be *strongly agree*.

Hablo gallego a los de fuera de Galicia / Fálolle galego ós de fóra de Galicia

One of the findings I made in the interview phase of pilot work that reinforced some of my prior subject knowledge of Spanish linguistics was the fame of extreme pro-Catalan speakers, who are so pro-Catalan that they will often speak Catalan to people from outside the Autonomous Region, whether they understand them or not. Whilst the truth and fairness of such a statement can be negated, I decided to ask participants how far they would agree with the statement in their own context. The most pro-Galician response to this would be strongly agree, in the reasoning that someone with extreme pro-Galician views would probably wish to promote the use of Galician wherever possible, which could be extended to speaking Galician to non-Galicians.

Es importante hablar el gallego / É importante falar o galego

The most extreme pro-Galician response to this statement would clearly be *strongly agree*.

Si un gallego me habla en castellano, respondo en gallego***Se un galego me fala en castelán, respondo en galego***

The most extreme pro-Galician speaker could be expected to respond to this statement with *strongly agree*, following the reasoning that Galician should be promoted, therefore used wherever possible. Being faced with a Castilian-speaking Galician would be a situation in which a person with strong pro-Galician views may be inclined to speak Galician in order to promote the language's use, whilst a person with less strong views may simply respond in the language used by their interlocutor.

Los nombres de los lugares en Galicia deberían estar sólo en gallego***Os nomes dos lugares en Galicia deberían estar só en galego***

Since this statement favours the promotion of Galician only, and not the use of Castilian in Galicia, the most pro-Galician response could be taken to be *strongly agree*.

Los nombres de los lugares en Galicia deberían estar tanto en gallego como en castellano***Os nomes dos lugares en Galicia deberían estar tanto en galego como en castelán***

This statement favours neither the use of Galician nor of Castilian, which means that the most pro-Galician participant would probably be inclined to see it as somewhat anti-Galician. This means that the most pro-Galician response would be strongly disagree as true pro-Galician participants would wish to favour Galician, especially in uses such as in toponyms.

Questions that have been reverse coded are labelled with an asterisk next to the question number in the tables below. Questions were then grouped into similar fields so that averages could be taken for each participant's opinions towards the various categories. The categories used are *My Use of Language*, *'National' Identity*, *Language as an Essential Characteristic to be a Galician*, *Children and Language*, *The Future of Galician*, *The Galician Norms*, *The Use of Language in Society*. In the analysis stage of the final questionnaire, averages were taken for each participant in each of the categories to allow trends to be seen. At this stage however, an average has just been taken for the group as a whole, simply to show if and how this will work at a later stage of this thesis. The questions were not presented to the participants in an organised style as they are here, as this may affect their responses. Instead, they were presented in a random, jumbled style.

My Use of Language

| | Phrase | Responses: | Range | Mean | Mode |
|--------------------------|---|-------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| 14.01 | Estoy más cómodo en gallego Estou máis cómodo en galego | | 1-5 | 3.1 | 2 |
| 14.09* | Estoy más cómodo en castellano Estou máis cómodo en castelán | | 1-5 | 2.7 | 2 |
| Category average: | | | | | 2.9 |

'National' Identity

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|--|-----|-----|---------|
| 14.05 | Me considero gallego únicamente Considérome galego unicamente | | 1-5 | 2.5 | 2 |
| 14.18 | Alguien que nació fuera de Galicia no puede ser gallego Alguén que naceu fóra de Galicia non pode ser galego | | 1-5 | 2.9 | 2 |
| 14.19 | No es posible ser gallego y español a la vez Non é posible ser galego e español á vez | | 1-5 | 1.9 | 2 |
| 14.10* | Me considero español únicamente Considérome español unicamente | | 4-5 | 4.6 | 5 |
| 14.14 | Estoy orgulloso de ser gallego Estou orgulloso de ser galego | | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 14.26* | Me considero gallego y español Considérome galego e español | | 1-5 | 2.1 | 1 and 2 |
| Category average: | | | | | 3.2 |

Language as an Essential Characteristic to be a Galician

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--|--|-----|-----|---------|
| 14.02 | Hablar gallego es esencial para ser gallego Falar galego é esencial para ser galego | | 1-5 | 3 | 3 and 5 |
| 14.12* | No es necesario hablar gallego para ser gallego Non é necesario falar galego para ser galego | | 1-5 | 2.8 | 2 |
| 14.22* | Para ser gallego es más importante sentirse gallego que hablar gallego Para ser galego é máis importante sentirse galego que falar galego | | 1-4 | 2.3 | 2 |
| Category average: | | | | | 2.7 |

Children and Language

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|-----|-----|-----|
| 14.03* | Se habla suficiente gallego en las escuelas Fálase suficiente galego nas escolas□ | 1-5 | 2.9 | 3 |
| 14.16* | Es más importante que los niños gallegos aprendan el castellano que el gallego É máis importante que os nenos galegos aprendan o castelán que o galego | 3-5 | 4.1 | 4 |
| 14.28 | Quiero que mis hijos tengan el gallego como su lengua materna Quero que os meus fillos teñan o galego como a súa lingua materna | 2-5 | 3.8 | 5 |
| Category average: | | | | 3.6 |

The future of Galician

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|--|-----|-----|---------|
| 14.34* | El futuro del gallego depende totalmente de la política O futuro do galego depende totalmente da política | 1-5 | 3.3 | 4 |
| 14.31 | Me gustaría que el gallego se siguiese hablando en el futuro Gustaríame que o galego se siguese falando no futuro | 4-5 | 4.5 | 4 and 5 |
| 14.29* | El gallego tiene poco futuro O galego ten pouco futuro | 2-5 | 3.8 | 4 |
| Category average: | | | | 3.9 |

The Galician Norms

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|--|-----|-----|-----|
| 14.08* | Hablar informalmente en un gallego no-normativo significa hablar mal Falar informalmente nun galego non-normativo significa falar mal | 3-5 | 4.2 | 4 |
| 14.17 | Las normas del gallego son demasiado españolas As normas do galego son demasiado españolas | 2-4 | 2.8 | 2 |
| 14.33 | En gallego se debería usar la ‘nh’ en vez de la ‘ñ’□ En galego debería usarse o ‘nh’ en vez do ‘ñ’ | 1-5 | 2.4 | 2 |
| Category average: | | | | 3.1 |

The Use of Language in Society

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|-----|-----|---------|
| 14.20 | Hablo gallego a los de fuera de Galicia Fálolle galego ós de fóra de Galicia | 1-4 | 2.1 | 2 |
| 14.24 | Es importante hablar el gallego É importante falar o galego | 2-5 | 4.3 | 5 |
| 14.27 | Si un gallego me habla en castellano, respondo en gallego Se un galego me fala en castelán, respondo en galego | 1-5 | 2.1 | 2 |
| 14.30 | Los nombres de los lugares en Galicia deberían estar sólo en gallego Os nomes dos lugares en Galicia deberían estar só en galego | 2-5 | 3.5 | 3 |
| 14.35* | Los nombres de los lugares en Galicia deberían estar tanto en gallego como en castellano Os nomes dos lugares en Galicia deberían estar tanto en galego como en castelán | 2-5 | 3.6 | 3 and 5 |
| Category average: | | | | 3.1 |

Two more statements that I included in the list given to participants were:

Hay una diferencia ideológica entre los que hablan el gallego desde niños y los que empezaron a hablarlo más tarde

Hai unha diferenza ideolóxica entre os que falan o galego desde nenos e os que empezaron a falalo máis tarde

Hay una diferencia lingüística entre los que hablan el gallego desde niños y los que empezaron a hablarlo más tarde

Hai unha diferenza lingüística entre os que falan o galego desde nenos e os que empezaron a falalo máis tarde

I decided to separate these statements from the rest for the purposes of analysis since they are neither pro-Galician nor anti-Galician. They do, however, show participants' views towards neofalantes of the language. As explained earlier in this thesis, in a study published in 2003, Iglesias Álvarez and Ramallo found differing attitudes towards neofalantes by other neofalantes from those expressed by paleofalantes. Briefly, they found evidence of some intolerance and mistrust towards neofalantes by paleofalantes, both on an ideological and linguistic level. In the final analysis stage after the final questionnaire has been completed, I should have been able to analyse participants' responses to these two statements to see if I see the same tendencies. In both cases strongly agree is coded as 5. These statements were mixed into the list of other statements in order to not draw special attention to them, which may affect the results. The results seen when the responses of all ten pilot participants are put together are as follows:

| | | | | |
|--------------|--|-----|-----|---------|
| 14.07 | Hay una diferencia ideológica entre los que hablan el gallego desde niños y los que empezaron a hablarlo más tarde Hai unha diferenza ideolóxica entre os que falan o galego desde nenos e os que empezaron a falalo máis tarde | 1-4 | 2 | 1 |
| 14.25 | Hay una diferencia lingüística entre los que hablan el gallego desde niños y los que empezaron a hablarlo más tarde Hai unha diferenza lingüística entre os que falan o galego desde nenos e os que empezaron a falalo máis tarde | 2-5 | 3.8 | 3, 4, 5 |

In the end, however, as I had removed the PF / NF grouping of participants, I decided to also remove these statements, so they did not appear in the final questionnaire.

The results of some statements that appeared in the pilot questionnaire have not been analysed, however. Just as Oppenheim points out, often the weaknesses in the questionnaire are not realised until the results have to be interpreted, and this is a clear case of this phenomenon.¹⁶⁵ The statements which have not been analysed will each appear below, with a short explanation of what I believe to be the problem with each one, and how I intend proceed.

Es importante que los niños gallegos aprendan el castellano
É importante que os nenos galegos aprendan o castelán

¹⁶⁵ Oppenheim p3

When it came to interpreting the data I had collected I realised that this sentence was neither pro- nor anti-Galician. Even the most extreme pro-Galician could respond that they strongly agree with this statement, since the economic value of Castilian cannot be denied. I have already included the statement ‘Es más importante que los niños gallegos aprendan el castellano que el gallego / É máis importante que os nenos galegos aprendan o castelán que o galego’, so I have decided simple to omit this statement from the final questionnaire.

Escribir en un gallego no-normativo significa escribir mal
Escribir nun galego non-normativo significa escribir mal

Hablar formalmente en un gallego no-normativo significa hablar mal
Falar formalmente nun galego non-normativo significa falar mal

Alter asking these questions in the pilot questionnaire I realised that they are not really valid statements to make, since while the Galician norms can be ignored in informal speech, the fact that Galician is so dialectally fragmented means that using non-normative Galician for more formal or for written purposes is probably unlikely, especially amongst university students or graduates. The reason for this is that when one speaks in a formal situation, or when one writes, one is often doing this to communicate with more than just people from one specific dialectal region, meaning a non-regional and non-dialectal form is often necessary. Even those with strong pro-Galician views recognise the need to employ not just a regionalised dialectal form when writing or when speaking in formal situations. I believe that asking participants to what extent they agree with the statement about if the informal, spoken use of non-normative Galician equates to ‘poor’ Galician is sufficient for the purposes of gaining knowledge about a participant’s view of this topic, so these two statements will be omitted from the final questionnaire.

Es mejor hablar informalmente con tu propia variedad del gallego que según las normas
É mellor falar informalmente coa túa propia variedade do galego que segundo as normas

I decided to omit this statement from the final questionnaire as I realised that this statement is neither pro- nor anti-Galician. Two participants may be equally as extreme pro-Galician in terms of the importance and use of the Galician language, but one may believe in the use of the norms wherever possible, and one may believe in the use of regional varieties of Galician wherever possible. This statement was

therefore not considered tight enough to be allowed into the final questionnaire since it does not aid in showing a participant's views on the particular topic being studied in this thesis.

El gallego seguirá hablándose dentro de cien años o más
O galego seguirá falándose en cen anos ou máis

This statement was also be omitted from the final questionnaire since I believe it is neither pro- nor anti-Galician, as the future of a language depends of many things, not just the willingness of a people to speak it. Furthermore, by this stage in the questionnaire I will have already asked the question about whether participants believe Galician has a future or not, so I believe that even if this question had been improved, it would have been somewhat of a repetition, which, according to Sudman and Bradburn, must be avoided where possible, to avoid making participants feel resentful at having to repeat answers.¹⁶⁶ Whilst asking some important questions twice may act to make the results more reliable, asking less important questions like this one twice would unnecessarily lengthen the questionnaire, and may not help my results.

Estoy tan cómodo en gallego como en castellano
Estou tan cómodo en galego como en castelán

I felt this statement should not be included in the final questionnaire, since a response of *strongly agree* would not show a participant to be either pro- or anti-Galician. Moreover, I will have already asked participants how far they agree with both *Estoy más cómodo en gallego* and *Estoy más cómodo en castellano*, so asking a third question on a very similar theme would probably have been somewhat of a superfluous repetition.

No me importa que la gente sepa que soy gallego
Non me importa que a xente saiba que son galego

I decided to improve this statement, as in this form I did not believe that it shows a participant to hold either pro- or anti-Galician views as it could be considered quite ambiguous. It could be taken to mean *I do not mind if people know I am Galician as I am proud to be Galician and want people to know it*, or it could be taken to mean *I do not mind if people know I am Galician because I don't care about being Galician so I don't care if people know I am Galician or not*. I decided to change this statement to a less ambiguous one for the final questionnaire: *‘Quiero que la gente de fuera de*

¹⁶⁶ Sudman and Bradburn p222

Galicia no sepa que soy gallego'. This statement implies the idea that being Galician is something to be ashamed of, which means that a participant who does not believe that being Galician is a bad thing would respond with *strongly disagree*.

The fact that some statements which were not suitable for the final questionnaire due to their faulty wording have been uncovered in the PQ means that this stage of pilot work has been useful. I am pleased to see that the majority of statements, as well as the majority of the other questions were shown to not be faulty in this way, meaning that they did not need to be changed before they could be used in the final questionnaire stage of the research phase of this thesis.

15. ¿Escuchas música en gallego? Siempre / Muchas veces / A veces / Pocas veces / Nunca

Escoitas música en galego? Sempre / Moitas veces / Ás veces / Poucas veces / Nunca

16. ¿Ves películas en gallego? Siempre / Muchas veces / A veces / Pocas veces / Nunca

Ves películas en galego? Sempre / Moitas veces / Ás veces / Poucas veces / Nunca

17. ¿Ves la televisión en gallego?

Ves a televisión en galego? Sempre / Moitas veces / Ás veces / Poucas veces / Nunca

These three questions are asked to assess the amount of time participants choose to expose themselves to Galician in their free time. Because there is less music, film and television in Galician than there is Castilian, and Castilian versions are much more widely available, the choice to watch television or films in Galician, or listen to music in Galician can be considered a conscious choice as people have to go out of their way to acquire such things. This is less true with the example of television, as the Galician television channel TVG is available in most people's homes, just as the Castilian channels are, but the fact that there is only one channel broadcasting in Galician and several in Castilian means that it can still be considered a choice to decide to watch the specifically Galician channel, above the various other Castilian channel. The most extreme pro-Galician responses to this section would be 'always' for each question, so this answer was coded 5 each time. *Muchas veces* was coded 4, *a veces*, 3, *pocas veces*, 2 and 'never' was coded 1. I chose a multiple choice format based on my findings in the interview stage. This format does, however, raise certain problems. It

is necessary to bear in mind with these questions that when participants are deciding how to describe the amount of time they spend watching TV in Galician, for example, they are asked to choose from the five options given. One participant may consider two hours a day of Galician television to count as ‘*muchas veces*’, while another may feel the same amount only counts as ‘*a veces*’. The other option available to be used as multiple choices for these questions would have been to provide participants with amounts of time to choose between, such as less than one hour, one to three hours, three or more hours a day, for example, but similar problems would arise here, as I would be unable to know how this equates for each individual participant, compared to their time watching TV in Castilian. What I mean by this is that an hour a day in Galician may be a significant amount of time for a participant who only watches one hour a day of television, whilst it may be something of a drop in the ocean to one who watches seven hours a day. To get around this I would have had to ask each question a second time, asking how much participants expose themselves to Castilian in their free time, and then decide myself how to code their time. Since I wanted to keep the questionnaire as short as possible, to avoid the demotivating effects on participants of a long a seemingly tedious questionnaire, I decided against this, and chose to ask participants to code their own time according to the options I have given them. This means they are telling me their opinion of how much time they spend using Galician in popular culture compared to the amount of time they spend in Castilian, and not the actual time itself. This does mean I have to rely on participants to be truthful here, and to accurately code their response, but this must be considered an occupational hazard in almost all questions of the questionnaire.

The answers gathered have been entered into a table for ease of viewing.

| | Pastime | Range | Mean | Mode |
|-----------|----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| 15 | Music | 2-4 | 3 | 3 |
| 16 | Films | 2-4 | 2.7 | 3 |
| 17 | Television | 2-4 | 3.5 | 4 |

In the final analysis stage of the main questionnaire I was able to contrast the choices made by the arts sample and the science sample to see if any trends exist with these questions. I will not do that with the pilot group, but it can be seen that participants appear to watch Galician television more than they listen to music in Galician, which they do still more than they watch films in Galician. Whilst this probably has something to do with the low number of films available in Galician, is it interesting to

note that in none of the questions did any participant answer in an extreme manner: that is to say no-one stated they never watch TV or films in Galician, or listen to music in Galician, but no-one stated they always do either. The final questionnaire, with its much larger sampling universe will show whether this can be considered the case on a scale large enough to draw any conclusions on this matter.

18. Indica la importancia de las cosas siguientes para ser un verdadero gallego. Esencial / Importante / Bastante importante / Poco importante / Completamente innecesario

Indica a importancia das cousas seguintes para ser un verdadeiro galego. Esencial / Importante / Bastante importante / Pouco importante / Completamente innecesario

Using the information gained in the interview stage of pilot work, I was able to compile a list of characteristics of a ‘true’ Galician, which may or may not be considered definitive. Participants were then asked to rate each characteristic’s importance out of five options: essential, coded as 5, important, coded as 4, quite important, 3, not very important, 2, and completely unnecessary, coded 1. In order to see trends in the importance given to various characteristics by the two different groups of participants I grouped these characteristics into four categories: language, family and personal background, sentiments and culture, so that averages for each category could be taken. I then jumbled up the characteristics into a more random order so that the groups of characteristics could not easily be seen by participants. Whilst I have not looked for trends amongst the pilot participants as I did amongst the final participants, I have compiled a simple table to give some idea of the responses generated by this question from the pilot questionnaire stage.

Language

| | Characteristic | Range | Mean | Mode |
|--------------------------|--|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| 18.01 | Hablar gallego Falar galego | 1-5 | 3.5 | 4 |
| 18.07 | Querer la lengua gallega Querer a lingua galega | 3-5 | 4.4 | 5 |
| 18.11 | Tener el gallego como lengua materna Ter o galego como lingua materna | 2-4 | 2.7 | 2 |
| Category average: | | | | 3.5 |

Family and personal background

| | | | | |
|--------------|---|-----|-----|---------|
| 18.02 | Nacer en Galicia | 1-5 | 3 | 2 and 4 |
| 18.04 | Vivir en Galicia | 1-5 | 2.9 | 2 |
| 18.03 | Tener padres gallegos Ter pais galegos | 1-4 | 2.7 | 4 |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|-----|-----|---------|
| 18.08 | Tener abuelos gallego Ter avós galegos | 1-4 | 2.5 | 1 and 4 |
| Category average: | | | | 2.8 |

Sentiments

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| 18.05 | Sentirse gallego Sentirse galego | 4-5 | 4.7 | 5 |
| 18.06 | Querer a Galicia | 4-5 | 4.7 | 5 |
| Category average: | | | | 4.7 |

Culture

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|--|-----|-----|---------|
| 18.09 | Participar en la cultura gallega Participar na cultura galega | 3-5 | 3.8 | 3 and 4 |
| 18.10 | Estar integrado en la cultura gallega Estar integrado na cultura galega | 3-5 | 3.8 | 4 |
| Category average: | | | | 3.8 |

Muchas gracias por tu ayuda en este estudio.

Moitas gracias pola túa axuda neste estudo.

For reasons of politeness I included this short message at the end of the questionnaire. Sudman and Bradburn highlight the importance of this in their *Asking Questions: A Practical Guide*, and also state that due to the lack of interaction of a self-administered questionnaire, that instructions and phrases of this type are very important to motivate the participant to take part in the study.¹⁶⁷

Overall, although detailed analysis of the results of the pilot questionnaire was not carried out, the majority of questions were shown to work acceptably and to not be faulty or to carry traps or problems. Those questions which proved themselves to need a little more work before the final questionnaire stage were highlighted and the problems were hopefully fixed. This is the point of pilot work of this kind, and this exercise was proven to be useful in the preparation of the final questionnaire which formed the main body of primary research within this thesis.

¹⁶⁷ Sudman and Bradburn p259

APPENDIX 3

Deconstruction of Final Questionnaire

As explained in section 6.4.3, having carried out preliminary research and a pilot work I used this information to create the final questionnaire for use in the generation of data for analysis. Some changes were made from the pilot questionnaire based on the results it yielded and the deconstruction which can be seen in Appendix 2. An explanation of the changes made will appear below. As with the pilot questionnaire, two versions of the final questionnaire were created: one in Castilian and one in Galician.

Cuestionario para un estudio sociolingüístico.

Encuestadora: Polly Price, Centro de Estudios Galegos, Universidad de Birmingham, Reino Unido.

Por favor, completa este cuestionario para un estudio sociolingüístico de los jóvenes gallegos. Llevará alrededor de 10 minutos. Tus respuestas serán totalmente anónimas.

I included the same information in the explanation lines of the final questionnaire (FQ) as I did in the pilot questionnaire (PQ). One small change I made was to change ‘sobre’ in the PQ to ‘alrededor’. I had originally chosen ‘sobre’ to maintain an informal register, as this questionnaire is intended for young people, although I later decided that a slightly more formal register may be more appropriate, and may suggest to participants that this is a serious study, which of course it is, so may generate perhaps more seriously considered responses.

In the first series of questions I decided to slightly differ the format so that I could gain just the results I needed, not extra ones, and results that would be easier to code. This is why after asking each respondent’s age I ask them if they are a student. If they are not they can choose between four choices to describe the level to which they have studied. This shows me if participants who are no longer students are suitable for inclusion in my sample (as they have to be students or university graduates), in a way that does not seem rude to those who have not been to university. I ask the question about what department participants study or studied in, firstly so that I can classify participants as being from sciences or arts, humanities and law, and secondly so that I can spot students or graduates of Galician Philology as they are not valid participants

Despite its clumsy wordiness, however, I chose the specific wording of that question quite deliberately, as I believed using their suggested alternative of ‘¿En qué lengua has empezado a hablar?’ would run the risk of having participants tick all the languages they have learned to speak in their lives, instead of telling me which was the first language they learned to speak in (what linguists would consider their true mother tongue). If they simply gave me a list of the languages they have learned to speak it is unlikely that I would be able to use this question to help me detect the existence of linguistic disloyalty.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 9. ¿Dónde vives? | <input type="checkbox"/> En Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> Fuera de Galicia |
| 10. ¿De dónde eres? | <input type="checkbox"/> De Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> De fuera de Galicia |
| 11. ¿De dónde es tu madre? | <input type="checkbox"/> De Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> De fuera de Galicia |
| 11a. ¿De dónde es tu padre? | <input type="checkbox"/> De Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> De fuera de Galicia |

As explained in the deconstruction of the PQ, the decision to make these four questions multiple choice was taken for coding reasons. Also, a box to tick makes the questionnaire easier for participants to fill in than asking them to write a word, especially when, in some cases, they may have to write the name of the same town up to four times. This would clearly be tedious for participants, so must be avoided. Having taken the decision not to ask if participants or their parents are from rural or urban backgrounds, I felt that as I would be coding the responses as multiple choice, I should take the opportunity to make the questionnaire as easy as possible for participants to complete. For this reason I chose a multiple choice form for these four questions.

The following section of questions has hardly been changed since the PQ, as I felt it worked sufficiently well as it was. Again, I have shaded alternative lines in grey to make the questionnaire easier to read and to fill in. For the reasons explained in the deconstruction of the PQ, I have decided not to ask what participants read in Galician and Castilian respectively, which is why these questions do not appear below.

| 12. Por favor, indica tu uso normal de la lengua: | Siempre gallego | Más gallego que castellano | Tanto gallego como castellano | Más castellano que gallego | Siempre castellano |
|---|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| ¿Qué lengua usas habitualmente? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con tus abuelos maternos? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con tu madre? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas en la compra diaria? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas en confianza? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con tus amigos de clase? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con tus amigos de siempre? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con los superiores? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con la Administración? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con el médico especialista? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas en la lectura? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas para escribir notas? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas para escribir ensayos? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con un desconocido? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

13. ¿Cuánto lees en gallego?

Siempre Muchas veces A veces Pocas veces Nunca

14. ¿Cuánto lees en castellano?

Siempre Muchas veces A veces Pocas veces Nunca

The following section of questions also appears in the same format as that used in the PQ. Some omissions and some slight adaptations of language have been made, according to the decisions made when deconstructing the PQ, and also some of the statements appear in a slightly different order. This happened as when I had removed the statements I had decided to omit from the FQ, some statements were very close to their opposite statements, or to other statements that were very similar. I wanted to retain the random placement of statements to try and avoid affecting responses as far as possible, so some movement of certain statements was needed.

| 15. Indica hasta qué punto estás de acuerdo con las frases: | Totalmente de acuerdo | De acuerdo | No estoy seguro | En desacuerdo | Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Estoy más cómodo en gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hablar gallego es esencial para ser gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Se habla suficiente gallego en las escuelas | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Me considero gallego únicamente | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Quiero que la gente de fuera de Galicia no sepa que soy gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hay una diferencia ideológica entre los que hablan el gallego desde niños y los que empezaron a hablarlo más tarde | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Estoy más cómodo en castellano | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Me considero español únicamente | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| No es necesario hablar gallego para ser gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Estoy orgulloso de ser gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Es más importante que los niños gallegos aprendan el castellano que el gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| No es posible ser gallego y español a la vez | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Es importante hablar el gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hay una diferencia lingüística entre los que hablan el gallego desde niños y los que empezaron a hablarlo más tarde | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Me considero gallego y español | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Si un gallego me habla en castellano, respondo en gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Quiero que mis hijos tengan el gallego como su lengua materna | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| El gallego tiene poco futuro | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Los nombres de los lugares en Galicia deberían estar sólo en gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Espero que el gallego siga hablándose dentro de cien años o más | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| En gallego se debería usar la 'nh' en vez de la 'ñ' | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| El futuro del gallego depende totalmente de la política | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Los nombres de los lugares en Galicia deberían estar tanto en gallego como en castellano | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hablo gallego a los de fuera de Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Para ser gallego es más importante sentirse gallego que hablar gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hablar informalmente en un gallego no-normativo significa hablar mal | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Las normas del gallego son demasiado españolas | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

The final stage of questions appeared just as it did in the PQ, as I felt its format had been shown to be successful. I also included the same thank you message at the bottom of the questionnaire that has the dual purpose of thanking participants, so providing some personal contact where it may otherwise be missing in a self-

administered questionnaire, and also signified the end of the questionnaire to participants in a polite and concise manner.

| | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 16. ¿Escuchas música en gallego? <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Siempre | <input type="checkbox"/> Muchas veces | <input type="checkbox"/> A veces | <input type="checkbox"/> Pocas veces | <input type="checkbox"/> Nunca | |
| 17. ¿Ves películas en gallego? | | | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Siempre | <input type="checkbox"/> Muchas veces | <input type="checkbox"/> A veces | <input type="checkbox"/> Pocas veces | <input type="checkbox"/> Nunca | |
| 18. ¿Ves la televisión en gallego? | | | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Siempre | <input type="checkbox"/> Muchas veces | <input type="checkbox"/> A veces | <input type="checkbox"/> Pocas veces | <input type="checkbox"/> Nunca | |
| 19. Indica la importancia de las cosas siguientes para ser un verdadero gallego. | | | | | |
| Completamente | Esencial | Importante | Bastante | Poco | |
| | | | importante | importante | innecesario |
| Hablar gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Nacer en Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tener padres gallegos | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Vivir en Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sentirse gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Querer a Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Querer la lengua gallega | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tener abuelos gallegos | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Participar en la cultura gallega | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Estar integrado en la cultura gallega | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tener el gallego como lengua materna | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Muchas gracias por tu ayuda en este estudio. | | | | | |

Once the first version of the FQ (the version in Castilian) had been finalised, the second version of the questionnaire (the version in Galician) could then be produced. Having a much lower level of Galician than I do in Castilian I knew I would be required to ask a native speaker to check the language used in the questionnaire. I also did this with the Castilian version. The Galician version, however, I felt would need checking by more than one native speaker of Galician, given the particular contention regarding the exact orthography used. I did not want to produce a questionnaire that appeared ideologically charged in any direction in order to avoid affecting responses, although admittedly, this is inevitable to some extent. For this reason I decided not to simply write the Galician questionnaire according to the RAG norms. Neither did I want to suggest I had any affinity to the AGAL. This made the exact lexical and orthographic decisions I took quite difficult. I decided to send the draft Galician version of the FQ to three Galician speakers, whom from personal experience I knew

covered quite a range of ideological standpoints regarding the use of Galician. Speaker 1 (S1) is extremely in favour of the official Galician norms, Speaker 2 (S2) stands somewhere between what could be called pro-separatist and pro-Lusophone, and I am aware of his wish for Galician to appear more like Portuguese than it does when written according to the RAG norms, although he is not as extreme as to advocate full use of the AGAL norms, and Speaker 3 (S3) is somewhere between S1 and S2. Knowing all three speakers personally I was able to ask this favour of them, and also to analyse their choices. This meant I was then able to choose what I hoped would be the least ideologically charged suggestion of the use of language as possible. The three speakers who corrected the list of questionnaires differed in only a small number of matters:

Doutorado / Doutoramento

S1 was in favour of ‘Doutoramento’, although as both S2 and S3 were in favour of ‘Doutorado’, I decided to stick with the majority and included this version in the FQ.

Diferencia / Diferenza

Gracias / Grazas

Both S1 and S2 stressed the need to say ‘Diferenza’ and ‘Grazas’, although S3 was in favour of the word ‘Diferencia’ and ‘Gracias’. As this issue (and in fact the exact example of ‘Grazas’) came up in three of the eleven interviews and the conversations with participants that followed after I had switched off the tape recorder that I carried out when completing pilot work for this questionnaire, I took the decision to ignore the suggestions of S1 and S2, and to stick to ‘Gracias’ and ‘Diferencia’. Although these may be considered by many as Castilianisations of Galician words, the fact that it came up in conversation with three of the most moderate and neither pro- nor anti-Galician participants made it clear to me that using ‘Grazas’ and ‘Diferenza’ may strike some participants as an extreme deliberate ideologically charged decision. This was clearly not my intention, so I avoided these two words in the forms suggested by S1 and S2. On the other hand, I do not believe that extreme pro-Galician participants would take my use of ‘Diferencia’ and ‘Gracias’ as charged anti-Galician or pro-Castilian choices, for the simple reason that, given the explanation at the start of the questionnaire, they would be aware that I am not a native speaker of Galician. I believe that instead, if they even notice this usage, they may see it as an error in my

use of language, especially given some of the strange syntax that appears elsewhere in the questionnaire. This may be considered my taking advantage of my being foreign, but my personal experience has shown that the majority of native speakers of Spanish and Galician are usually quite forgiving in such circumstances.

The final version I decided on can be seen in Appendix 3.1 of this thesis.

APPENDIX 3.1
Cuestionario para un estudio sociolingüístico.

Encuestadora: Polly Price, Centro de Estudios Galegos, Universidad de Birmingham, Reino Unido.

Por favor, completa este cuestionario para un estudio sociolingüístico de los jóvenes gallegos. Llevará alrededor de 10 minutos. Tus respuestas serán totalmente anónimas.

1. ¿Cuántos años tienes?

2. ¿Eres estudiante?

- Sí No

2a. Si has contestado 'No': ¿Hasta qué nivel educativo has estudiado?

- ESO Bachillerato Licenciatura Doctorado

3. ¿En cuál Universidad estudias o estudiaste?

- La Universidad de Santiago de Compostela
 La Universidad de A Coruña
 La Universidad de Vigo

En otra Universidad: ¿En qué Universidad estudias o estudiaste?

4. ¿En cuál departamento estudias o estudiaste?

- Área de Ciencias de la Salud Área de Ciencias Experimentales Área de Ciencias Sociales
 Área de Enseñanzas Técnicas Derecho Área de Humanidades Filología

4a. Si estudias o estudiaste Filología: ¿Qué tipo de Filología estudias, o estudiaste?

- Filología alemana Filología francesa Filología italiana
 Filología inglesa Filología gallega Otro tipo de Filología

5. ¿Cuál es tu lengua materna?
- El gallego El castellano
- El gallego y el castellano Otro: Por favor, especifica: ¿Cuál es tu lengua materna?
6. ¿Qué lengua hablabas cuando empezaste a hablar?
- El gallego El castellano
- El gallego y el castellano Otro: Por favor, especifica: ¿Qué lengua hablabas cuando empezaste a hablar?
7. ¿A qué edad empezaste a hablar el gallego?
8. ¿A qué edad empezaste a hablar el castellano?
9. ¿Dónde vives?
- En Galicia Fuera de Galicia
10. ¿De dónde eres?
- De Galicia De fuera de Galicia
11. ¿De dónde es tu madre?
- De Galicia De fuera de Galicia
- 11a. ¿De dónde es tu padre?
- De Galicia De fuera de Galicia

12. Por favor, indica tu uso normal de la lengua:

| | Siempre gallego | Más gallego que castellano | Tanto gallego como castellano | Más castellano que gallego | Siempre castellano |
|--|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| ¿Qué lengua usas habitualmente? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con tus abuelos maternos? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con tu madre? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas en la compra diaria? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas en confianza? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con tus amigos de clase? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con tus amigos de siempre? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con los superiores? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con la Administración? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con el médico especialista? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas en la lectura? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas para escribir notas? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas para escribir ensayos? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ¿Qué lengua usas con un desconocido? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

13. ¿Cuánto lees en gallego?

- Siempre Muchas veces A veces Pocas veces Nunca

14. ¿Cuánto lees en castellano?

- Siempre Muchas veces A veces Pocas veces Nunca

15. Indica hasta qué punto estás de acuerdo con las frases:

| | Totalmente de acuerdo | De acuerdo | No estoy seguro | En desacuerdo | Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Estoy más cómodo en gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hablar gallego es esencial para ser gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Se habla suficiente gallego en las escuelas | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Me considero gallego únicamente | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Quiero que la gente de fuera de Galicia no sepa que soy gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hay una diferencia ideológica entre los que hablan el gallego desde niños y los que empezaron a hablarlo más tarde | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Estoy más cómodo en castellano <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Me considero español únicamente | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| No es necesario hablar gallego para ser gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Estoy orgulloso de ser gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Es más importante que los niños gallegos aprendan el castellano que el gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| No es posible ser gallego y español a la vez | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Es importante hablar el gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hay una diferencia lingüística entre los que hablan el gallego desde niños y los que empezaron a hablarlo más tarde | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Me considero gallego y español | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Si un gallego me habla en castellano, respondo en gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Quiero que mis hijos tengan el gallego como su lengua materna | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| El gallego tiene poco futuro | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| | Totalmente de acuerdo | De acuerdo | No estoy seguro | En desacuerdo | Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Los nombres de los lugares en Galicia deberían estar sólo en gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Espero que el gallego siga hablándose dentro de cien años o más | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| En gallego se debería usar la 'nh' en vez de la 'ñ' | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| El futuro del gallego depende totalmente de la política | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Los nombres de los lugares en Galicia deberían estar tanto en gallego como en castellano | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hablo gallego a los de fuera de Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Para ser gallego es más importante sentirse gallego que hablar gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hablar informalmente en un gallego no-normativo significa hablar mal | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Las normas del gallego son demasiado españolas | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

16. ¿Escuchas música en gallego?

Siempre Muchas veces A veces Pocas veces Nunca

17. ¿Ves películas en gallego?

Siempre Muchas veces A veces Pocas veces Nunca

18. ¿Ves la televisión en gallego?

Siempre Muchas veces A veces Pocas veces Nunca

19. Indica la importancia de las cosas siguientes para ser un verdadero gallego.

| | Esencial | Importante | Bastante importante | Poco importante | Completamente innecesario |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Hablar gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Nacer en Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tener padres gallegos | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Vivir en Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sentirse gallego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Querer a Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Querer la lengua gallega | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tener abuelos gallegos | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Participar en la cultura gallega | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Estar integrado en la cultura gallega | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tener el gallego como lengua materna | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Muchas gracias por tu ayuda en este estudio.

Cuestionario para un estudo sociolingüístico.

Enquisadora: Polly Price, Centro de Estudos Galegos, Universidade de Birmingham, Reino Unido.

Por favor, completa este cuestionario para un estudo sociolingüístico da xente nova galega. Levará arredor de 10 minutos. As túas respostas serán totalmente anónimas.

1. Cantos anos tes?

2. Es estudante?

- Si Non

2a. Se non es estudante: Ata que nivel educativo estudaches?

- ESO Bacharelato Licenciatura Doutorado

3. En cal Universidade estudas ou estudaches?

- Na Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
 Na Universidade da Coruña
 Na Universidade de Vigo
 Noutra Universidade: En que Universidade estudas ou estudaches?

4. En cal departamento estudas ou estudaches?

- Área de Ciencias da Saúde Área de Ciencias Experimentais Área de Ciencias Sociais
 Área de Ensinanzas Técnicas Dereito Área de Humanidades Filoloxía

4a. Se estudas ou estudaches Filoloxía: Que tipo de Filoloxía estudas ou estudaches?

- Filoloxía alemá Filoloxía francesa Filoloxía italiana
 Filoloxía inglesa Filoloxía galega Outro tipo de Filoloxía

5. Cal é a túa lingua materna?

O galego

O castelán

O galego e o castelán

Outro: Por favor, especifica: Cal é a túa lingua materna?

6. Que lingua falabas cando empezaches a falar ?

O galego

O castelán

O galego e o castelán

Outro: Por favor, especifica: Que lingua falabas cando empezaches a falar ?

7. A que idade empezaches a falar o galego?

8. A que idade empezaches a falar o castelán?

9. Onde vives?

En Galicia

Fóra de Galicia

10. De onde es?

De Galicia

De fóra de Galicia

11. De onde é a túa nai?

De Galicia

De fóra de Galicia

11a. De onde é o teu pai?

De Galicia

De fóra de Galicia

12. Por favor, indica o teu uso normal da lingua:

| | Sempre galego | Máis galego que castelán | Tanto galego como castelán | Máis castelán que galego | Sempre castelán |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Que lingua usas habitualmente? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Que lingua usas cos teus avós maternos? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Que lingua usas coa túa nai? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Que lingua usas na compra diaria? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Que lingua usas en confianza? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Que lingua usas cos teus amigos de clase? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Que lingua usas cos teus amigos de sempre? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Que lingua usas cos superiores? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Que lingua usas coa Administración? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Que lingua usas co médico especialista? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Que lingua usas na lectura? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Que lingua usas para escribir notas? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Que lingua usas para escribir ensaios? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Que lingua usas cun descoñecido? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

13. Canto les en galego?

Sempre Moitas veces Ás veces Poucas veces Nunca

14. Canto les en castelán?

Sempre Moitas veces Ás veces Poucas veces Nunca

15. Indica ata que punto estás de acordo coas frases:

| | Totalmente de acordo | De acordo | Non estou seguro | En desacordo | Definitivamente non estou de acordo |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Estou máis cómodo en galego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Falar galego é esencial para ser galego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Fálase suficiente galego nas escolas | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Considérome galego unicamente | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Quero que a xente de fóra de Galicia non saiba que son galego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hai unha diferenza ideolóxica entre os que falan o galego desde nenos e os que empezaron a falalo máis tarde | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Estou máis cómodo en castelán | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Considérome español unicamente | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Non é necesario falar galego para ser galego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Estou orgulloso de ser galego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| É máis importante que os nenos galegos aprendan o castelán que o galego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Non é posible ser galego e español á vez | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| É importante falar o galego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hai unha diferenza lingüística entre os que falan o galego desde nenos e os que empezaron a falalo máis tarde | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Considérome galego e español | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Se un galego me fala en castelán, respondo en galego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Quero que os meus fillos teñan o galego como a súa lingua materna | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| O galego ten pouco futuro | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| | Totalmente de acordo | De acordo | Non estou seguro | En desacordo | Definitivamente non estou de acordo |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Os nomes dos lugares en Galicia deberían estar só en galego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Espero que o galego se siga falando dentro de cen anos ou máis | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| En galego debería usarse o 'nh' en vez do 'ñ' | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| O futuro do galego depende totalmente da política | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Os nomes dos lugares en Galicia deberían estar tanto en galego como en castelán | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Fálolle galego ós de fóra de Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Para ser galego é máis importante sentirse galego que falar galego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Falar informalmente nun galego non-normativo significa falar mal | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| As normas do galego son demasiado españolas | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

16. Escoitas música en galego?

Sempre Moitas veces Ás veces Poucas veces Nunca

17. Ves películas en galego?

Sempre Moitas veces Ás veces Poucas veces Nunca

18. Ves a televisión en galego?

Sempre Moitas veces Ás veces Poucas veces Nunca

19. Indica a importancia das cousas seguintes para ser un verdadeiro galego.

| | Esencial | Importante | Bastante importante | Pouco importante | Completamente innecesario |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Falar galego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Nacer en Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ter pais galegos | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Vivir en Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sentirse galego | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Querer a Galicia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Querer a lingua galega | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ter avós galegos | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Participar na cultura galega | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Estar integrado na cultura galega | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ter o galego como lingua materna | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Moitas gracias pola túa axuda neste estudo.