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### ESTUDOS

#### **Subalternity and Linguistic Dispossession: On the Planning of the Galician-Portuguese in the Autonomous Galicia**

Subalternidad y desposesión lingüística: sobre la planificación del gallego-portugués en la Galicia autonómica

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# Subalternity and Linguistic Dispossession: On the Planning of the Galician-Portuguese in the Autonomous Galicia

*Subalternidad y desposesión lingüística: sobre la planificación del gallego-portugués en la Galicia autónoma*

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**Summary:** I. Preliminary remarks.—II. Background.—III. Linguistic coding and interference.—IV. Status, language acquisition and substitution.—V. Summary of approaches.

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**Abstract:** We start from the centrality attributed in the analysis to the concept of subalternity (Gramsci), and we review the bibliography and the different positions related to the planning of the corpus, the status, and the acquisition of Galician in the autonomous period (1981-2021). After identifying the normative and ideological elements on which subalternity rests in each of these three areas of linguistic planning, we summarize the positions and programmatic proposals of the main groups that participate in the political-linguistic debate in autonomous Galicia.

We review the legal-political framework enshrining the «subordinate co-officiality» (Carvalho Calero) and regulating the presence of Galician in compulsory education from the end of the Franco regime until decree 79/2010 currently in force. We synthesize the process of coding Galician in contemporary times in relation to the groups involved, the alleged coding criteria and the results regarding the relationship between Galician, Portuguese and Spanish. We confirm that the socialisation of linguistic and ideological materials subordinated to Spanish (also not referenced in the other Galician-Portuguese norms) means a break with the idea of a central language in the tradition of pre-autonomous Galicianism and minimises the impact of the linguistic interference of Spanish in Galician, at the same time that it does not provide sufficient materials to stop it and reverse it. We conclude that the idea of language and the autonomous legal-political framework enshrine subalternity and explain the progress of the linguistic-cultural interference and substitution process that leads to the linguistic dispossession that threatens the Galician community today.

**Keywords:** Subalternity, Galician-Portuguese language, linguistic substitution, linguistic planning, glotopolitics.

**Resumen:** *Partimos de la centralidad atribuida en el análisis al concepto de subalternidad (Gramsci) y revisamos la bibliografía y las diferentes posiciones relacionadas con la planificación del corpus, el estatus y la adquisición del gallego en el periodo autonómico (1981-2021). Tras identificar los elementos normativos e ideológicos en los que descansa la subalternidad en cada uno de estos tres ámbitos de la planificación lingüística, sintetizamos las diferentes posiciones y propuestas programáticas de los principales grupos que participan en el debate político-lingüístico de la Galicia autonómica.*

*Repasamos el marco jurídico-político que consagra la «cooficialidad subalterna» (Carvalho Calero) y regula la presencia del gallego en la enseñanza obligatoria desde el final del franquismo hasta el decreto 79/2010 actualmente en vigor. Sintetizamos el proceso de codificación del gallego en la época contemporánea en relación con los grupos implicados, los criterios de codificación alegados y los resultados en cuanto a la relación entre gallego, portugués y castellano. Confirmamos que la socialización de materiales lingüísticos e ideológicos subordinados al castellano (tampoco referenciados en las demás normas del gallego-portugués), significa una ruptura con la idea de lengua central en la tradición del galleguismo preautonómico y minimiza el impacto de la interferencia lingüística del castellano en el gallego, al mismo tiempo que no aporta materiales suficientes para frenarla y revertirla. Concluimos que la idea de lengua y el marco jurídico-político autonómico consagran la subalternidad y explican el avance del proceso de interferencia y sustitución lingüístico-cultural que desemboca en la desposesión lingüística que amenaza a la comunidad gallega en la actualidad.*

**Palabras clave:** *Subalternidad, gallego-portugués, sustitución lingüística, planificación lingüística, glotopolítica.*

## I. Preliminary remarks

This article builds on the information about the case of Galician gathered in previous studies<sup>1</sup> and looks into specific documents and literature in order to develop a thesis put forward in a recent publication<sup>2</sup>. This thesis places subalternity at the centre of the explanation about the combined process of linguistic interference and substitution of Galician by Spanish verified in the Galician community, historically considered. More specifically, it maintains that the exacerbation of this process during the autonomous period (which started with the approval of the Statute of Autonomy, back in 1981) has to do with the institutionalisation of a (linguistic, cultural, political, ideological...) representation system that accepts, legitimates and reproduces subalternity. Thus, this article is aimed at identifying and summarising the elements that support subalternity in the case of Galician considering the corpus, the status and linguistic acquisition, as well as outlining (concisely) the programmatic or strategic items defended by the main groups that started to take a stance, in contemporary Galicia, on the said linguistic-cultural interference and substitution process.

Together with other conceptual tools of systemic-sociological nature present in previous studies<sup>3</sup>, this article intends to interpret the glotopolitical situation of Galicia in the autonomous period taking as a starting point the vital role given to the concept of **subalternity**. According to Gramsci, we take subalternity as a political-cultural category designating a subordinate particularity, a dispossession through subordination, both an objectifiable condition (initially) and a subjective experience (after becoming aware about its existence)<sup>4</sup>. Subalternity, as the «expression and counterpart of

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<sup>1</sup> Roberto Samartim, *Mudança política e sistemas culturais em transição. Literatura e construção da (ideia da) Galiza entre 1974 e 1978* (Santiago de Compostela: Edicións Laiovento, 2017). Elias J. Torres Feijó y Roberto Samartim, *Sobre conflito linguístico e planificación cultural na Galiza contemporânea. Dez contributos* (Santiago de Compostela: Através Editora, 2018). Roberto Samartim y Carlos Pazos-Justo, *Portugal e(m) nós. Contributos para a comprensión do relacionamento cultural galego-português* (Famalicão: Humus, 2019)

<sup>2</sup> Roberto Samartim, «Da subalternidade da língua galega no período autonómico», *Revista Galega de Filoloxía*, Monografía 13 (2021): 333-350. Roberto Samartim, «Português como freio em processos de substituição linguística: o caso galego» (lecture, *Português, multilinguismo e ensino a distância*, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Academia Galega da Língua Portuguesa, 4 October 2021), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xG4R12X5VDo>

<sup>3</sup> Torres Feijó y Samartim, «Glossário», *Sobre conflito linguístico...*, 331-342.

<sup>4</sup> «Gramsci conceptualized subalternity as an *experience of subordination*, expressed through the tension between the *acceptance/incorporation* and the *rejection/autonomisation* of the dominance relationships, and materialized in a “proneness to act as a class” that combines spontaneity and awareness»; on the other hand, «bearing in mind Gramsci’s reflections, we may consider subalternity both a condition and a subjective development process — a pro-

dominance» (of the *hegemony* of dominant classes) goes hand in hand with the consent to dominance<sup>5</sup> and the latter is, therefore, «incarnated by or incorporated into the oppressed» and it is even present in their strategies to overcome it. Yet, the subaltern awareness is also the unavoidable basis and, hence, the starting point in all conflict and emancipation processes»<sup>6</sup>.

Thus, overcoming subalternity involves the realisation of one's own subaltern nature, in the first place, and then the creation and socialisation of ideas and programmes, the organisation of resistance and the setup of alliances and consensus among the subordinate social segments. In short, it involves a process of autonomisation whereby the subaltern agents (gradually and dialectically) cease to be subordinate and start to challenge hegemony, even becoming able to build a new hegemony (a new common sense<sup>7</sup>). This article also intends to be part of the said autonomisation process, introducing the results of an analysis aimed at understanding the relationship between (linguistic-cultural and political-ideological) subalternity and the different active political-cultural groups in contemporary Galicia, and spurring debate about it.

## II. Background

Western Iberian Romance language (henceforth also Galician-Portuguese) evolved from Vulgar Latin, spoken in the ancient Roman province of *Gallaecia*. It became a written language thanks to the relevance of the noblemen of the Kingdom of Galicia (409-1833) and their political-cultural action between the 12th and 15th centuries, and, in that geo-political context, it played the same social roles as other Romance languages with a greater degree of institutionalisation in Europe at that time. With the creation down south of the old *Gallaecia* in the Kingdom of Portugal back in the 12th century, the subordination of Galician noblemen and the integration of the Kingdom of Galician in the Crown of Castile (and León), the Western Iberian Romance language went through a double process: gram-

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cess of political subjectivation focused on the experience of subordination— including combinations of relative acceptance and resistance, spontaneity and awareness». Massimo Mondonesi, «Subalternidad», *Conceptos y fenómenos fundamentales de nuestro tiempo* (México: UNAM, 2012), 11 y 12; italicized in the original. All the original quotes in Spanish or Galician-Portuguese have been translated into English.

<sup>5</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *La domination masculine* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> Mondonesi, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Cadernos do cárcere e outros escritos*. Selection, prologue and notes by Jorge Álvarez Yáñez (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Servizo de Publicacións, 2019), 315-318.

maticalisation and spread overseas, from the 16th century onwards, under the auspices of the elites that supported the autonomy of the Portuguese monarchy, and lack of institutionalisation and subordination to Spanish up north the Miño river.

In the case of the former (henceforth Portuguese), 16th century grammars had already consecrated the linguistic variety spoken by the elites that moved from Lisbon (seat of the Court) to Coimbra (where the University was definitively transferred in 1537) as a model, and established a legitimating metalinguistic discourse focussed on getting away from Spanish and approaching Latin<sup>8</sup>. Meanwhile, in Galicia, the political distance with Portugal and, mainly, the lack of local elites and political-institutional powers able to react against the imposition of Spanish (or interested in undertaking these tasks) fail to provide social support for the Romance language (henceforth, Galician) and to guarantee the implementation in its case of the roles ascribed to any language with political relevance. Consequently, the language of most of the population is reduced to a variety of Galician-Portuguese subaltern of Spanish, characterised by a series of linguistic phenomena that separate Galician common speech from the southern standard, bringing it closer to its super stratum (devoicing of sibilant and fricative phonemes, denasalisation of the vowel system, standardisation of the verbal system, syntactic, morphological and lexical Hispanisation...).

The political-linguistic dominance of those groups promoting Spanish in Galicia, and the alleged lack of ability/possibility/interest among the elites to support a standardized model of the language in the Modern Era in Galicia can be verified in the inexistence of printed books in Galician and in the only 4 manuscript copies with some presence of Galician-Portuguese input that can be found in the «Catálogo Galicia» of the University of Santiago de Compostela (USC) for the period 1480-1808<sup>9</sup>. It should be added that the fifty something literary texts (generally brief) written in the language of Galicia during that period<sup>10</sup> contrast to a great extent with the relevance and recognition assigned by critics and historiographers to medieval

<sup>8</sup> Fernando Vázquez Corredoira, *A construção da língua portuguesa frente ao castelhano. O galego como exemplo a contrário* (Santiago de Compostela: Laiovento, 1998).

<sup>9</sup> From a political-linguistic point of view, the end of medieval normality may be dated to the year 1480, when the first Castilian governor arrives in Galicia (to all political and legal purposes, a viceroy) and the Galician public officials must be assessed by the Royal Council in the Castilian city of Toledo. Modern Era may be said to conclude in Galicia in 1808, with the creation of the Supreme Council of the Kingdom of Galicia in order to organise the resistance against the invasion of French troops. The Library of the USC started to work as the general library of Galicia from its creation, in 1495.

<sup>10</sup> Juan Javier Baldomir Cabanas, *A literatura galega dos séculos escuros e do prerrexurdimento* (doctoral thesis, Universidade da Coruña, 2010), <http://hdl.handle.net/2183/7338>.

literary production in Galician-Portuguese (more specifically, Galician-Portuguese lyrical texts).

The process of construction of the Spanish nation promoted by the House of Bourbon by the beginning of the 18th century rests upon the principle of linguistic unity and the subsequent standardisation in Spanish, as evidenced by the different laws issued by the subsequent Governments of Spain since the Decree of Nueva Planta (1707-1714) up to the present<sup>11</sup>. In such context, we find the first public position taking instances in favour of the language of Galicia by representatives of the intellectual elites of the time. Those illustrated elites based their arguments on the defence of Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity (ascribing to the term «Galician» pre-eminence in the inception of the language and to the term «Portuguese» significance regarding its continuity in the written form and from the point of view of political support) and on the difference between this romance language and Spanish<sup>12</sup>.

These same ideas will also be essential for the romantic elites promoting (outside the State) the nationalisation process in Galicia as a differentiated political and cultural community back in the 19th century. These elites created an idea of nation based on a relatively varied political-ideological corpus whose main identitarian markers were ethnicity, history or language, justified (to a greater or lesser extent) by resorting to the relationship with Portugal, which became from these first postulates a historical referent of

<sup>11</sup> Several nuances for the period following the enforcement of the Constitution of 1778 will be developed further on. Pilar García Negro, *O galego e as leis. Aproximación sociolingüística* (Vilaboa: Edicións do Cumio, 1991).

<sup>12</sup> «[The language of Portugal] should include the Galician language, as a reality not different from Portuguese [...] Portuguese and Galician are one and the same language [...] which passed from Galicia into Portugal, not from Portugal into Galicia» (Benito Feijoo, 1726) *Theatro crítico universal...* vol 1, in Xosé Ramón Freixeiro Mato, *Lingua, nación e identidade* (Santiago de Compostela: Laiovento, 2006), 40; «pure Portuguese is nothing but an extension of Galician» (Martín Sarmiento, 1754?), in José Luis Pensado, ed. *Opúsculos lingüísticos gallegos del siglo XVIII* (Vigo: Galaxia, 1974), 19-41; «we fully agree about the origin of our languages (which seem to be but one and the same)» (José Andrés Cornide, 1799), «carta a Ribeiro dos Santos», in Raquel Bello Vázquez, «Portugal como referente na Galiza do século XVIII. Roberto Samartim and Carlos Pazos-Justo, *Portugal e(m) nós. Contributos para a comprensión do relacionamento cultural galego-português* (Famalicão: Humus, 2019), 25-40, 35. Non-Galician agents reinforced this position too: «Durante Nuñez de Leon wrote about the orthography and the origins of Portuguese and, since that is a Dialect of Galician, the graphical choices of the Portuguese may be adapted to those of the Galician and to their current dialect with but a few variations that may as well be pointed out», Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, *Reflexiones sobre la formación de un Onomástico de la baja é infima latinidad y su aplicación al dialecto gallego* (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 3 de agosto de 1791, in Bello Vázquez, 39)].

re-integration for Galicianism<sup>13</sup>. As to the language, the argument of Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity was used by Galicianism as a legitimating ideogeme, as evidenced in the first public speech in Galician by Manuel Murguía, the main elaborator of ideas in Galicianism in this initial phase of the nationalising process:

Our language! The language of our parents which we are forgetting, the language spoken by the people from the countryside which we find hard to understand, the language of kings and troubadours, the son of the Galician nation that preserved it in the past and still preserves it now as a gift from providence, the language that encompasses our talk, the eternal sweetness and accents that appeal to our hearts, the language you can hear now as a religious hymn, the beautiful, noble language that is the official language for more than twenty million people on the other side of this river and whose literary production bears the signature of glorious men such as Camões, Vieira, Garret and Herculano; the Galician language, which acknowledges us as owners of the land in which we were born, the language that tells us that we are a different nation, we must be a different nation, the language that promises the future we are yearning for, a future that will certainly be full of blessings for all of us. It is this language that —as a sacred chalice— comprises all the aromas, all the main elements of our nationality, denied once more and hit by derision<sup>14</sup>.

Murguía's quote is also functional insofar as it illustrates the different arguments underlying the predicates of Galicianist elites (during the period concerned and later on) regarding the language of Galicia. It is the language spoken in the family and the one used to express emotions. It is buttressed by common people and it has a cultivated literary tradition whose referents

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<sup>13</sup> Justo G. Beramendi, «El partido galleguista y poco más Organización e ideoloxías del nacionalismo gallego en la II República», in Justo G. Beramendi y Ramón Máiz Suárez, comp. *Los nacionalismos en la España de la II República* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1991), Justo Beramendi, *De provincia a nación. Historia do galeguismo político* (Vigo: Xerais, 2007). *Galicianism* is a «movement vindicating the differentiated identity of Galicia, regardless of the degree of political autonomy proposed for the Galician community by the different self-proclaimed Galicianist groups or agents, as well as the process of creation of the ideas that support and justify the various levels of this vindication. Should this movement intend the political vindication of Galicia as a national entity differentiated from the opposition referent identified with the term Castile/Spain, we would be talking about *nationalism*, one of the different possible ideas of Galicianism», Torres Feijó y Samartim, «Glossário», *Sobre conflito linguístico...*, 334.

<sup>14</sup> Manuel Murguía, *Discurso na apertura dos xogos florais de Tui* (24 June 1891), accessed on 11 April 2022, <http://centros.edu.xunta.es/iesaslagoas/webantiga/galego/Letgal-00Discurso.htm>



can be found in the Middle Ages (i. e., nation and Middle Ages as romantic *topoi* legitimating the national project). It is the main identity and political rights' marker of the Galician community (threatened by the lack of political recognition; language and nationality are also «hard to understand» due to the distance between the language and the urban *intelligentzia* that is trying to dignify it). It guarantees progress and a prosper future and it is finally built on the Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity, as the reinforcement and legitimation of our own programme (official character, external communicative usefulness considering its geographical spread and number of speakers and appropriation of the Portuguese literary canon).

Yet, Portuguese-Galician linguistic unity and, in general, the relationship between the northern and southern banks of the Miño river and the identitarian support provided by certain Portuguese elites to the Galician ones, will be seen as a possible political threat (the «Portuguese danger»<sup>15</sup>) by those elites that insist on implementing the so-called principle of linguistic unity in the Spanish language upon which the process of construction of the Spanish nation at that time is based. In this sense, we should compare the previously quoted statement by Manuel Murguía, main ideologist of liberal regionalism, and the position defended by Emilia Pardo Bazán, main outstanding representative of the intellectual elites working from the areas of literature and ideology on the construction of the public discourse in favour of political, linguistic and artistic unification of the Spanish nation:

Galicia is just the *land*, something intimate and sweet, perhaps more cherished to our hearts, more necessary for life than the nation itself: but the nation represents an even higher idea, and that nation, for all Spanish citizens, regardless of their place of birth, be it in a tropical area or in to the remote Finisterre cape, is Spain, unshakable in its unity and sacrosanct in its rights. [...] // we must acknowledge that the renaissance contains a separatist seed, a seed that is quite undeveloped, yet whose presence cannot be denied, and which might be the only political and social outcome of this poetic flourishing. [...]. And let us hope that no idea against the unity of our nation will ever come true, as for regional literatures this would be even worse than breaking the language and national artistic thought<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Pilar Vázquez Cuesta, «El “peligro portugués” como arma dialéctica», in Hipólito de la Torre Gómez y António Pedro Vicente, coords. *España-Portugal. Estudos de Historia Contemporânea* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1998), 215-222. Elias J. Torres Feijó, *Galeguismo precário e Portugal. Entre os Jogos Florais de Tui e a Academia Galega através das revistas culturais (1891-1906): os sistemas literários galeguista e português e o seu relacionamento* (Santiago de Compostela: Andavira, 2019), 318 e ss.

<sup>16</sup> Emilia Pardo Bazán, *De mi tierra* (Coruña: Tipografía de la Casa de Misericordia, 1888), 39 e 41 (highlighted in the original).

Thus, Pardo Bazán denies the national character of Galiza advocating the Spanish unity instead, which she considers to be threatened by the actions of those agents working in favour of the emergence of the Galicianist cultural system as an autonomous system with regards to the Spanish one. Besides, while acknowledging the «kinship between Galicia and Portugal», the Countess of Pardo Bazán limits the Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity to the medieval period, and compares Portuguese and Spanish language and literature, giving pre-eminence to the Spanish disciplines over the Portuguese ones. She therefore tries to erode the Galicianist programme by putting down the cultural system, which is an ally and a legitimating element of Galicianism, but which is identified as a threat for the Spanish nationalist positions defended by Pardo Bazán<sup>17</sup>.

This devaluation of referentiality, and of the elements shared with the Portuguese system, intended to leave the emergent Galicianist cultural system of its mainstay, while Pardo Bazán limits what could be the system's main socialisation instrument of the said system: the emerging regionalist literature (which is not allowed to have any social-political roles either), the updating of repertoires mainly of rural and popular nature, placing Galician literature back at the time in a subordinate position with regards to the Spanish literary system, on the basis of its being linguistically outdated and of its lack of adequate models and of a cultivated tradition<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> «There is no doubt that Galician literature, were it not for the political events and vicissitudes that suffocated it when it started to sprout, would have grown as big as Portuguese literature, which is in fact the utmost realisation of the Galician seed; and this glory Galicia claims for itself is not founded on the fact that the biggest and most praised Portuguese poet — the *illustrious* one-eyed poet, considered the spearhead of Portuguese literature by his fellow countrymen, just as we Spanish consider the *immortal* cripple the spearhead of ours — was born in Galicia, but on more serious, scientific reasons; namely, the evident *priority, regardless of other more ancient documents, proven by the existence of the Cantigas of Alfonso X*, book of Galician hymns written long before Portugal started to raise memorials to its archaic literature.

*Portuguese and Galician were the same language, by all odds, until the 15th century; and the development of Portuguese up to the present reveals what Galician could have achieved. It must be acknowledged that Portuguese lacks the magnitude, nobleness, strength, braveness and soundness of Spanish*, and thus it only has a bland sweetness to offer, a varied, expressive modulation and a certain ironic humour that characterises Galician too. Portuguese is less opaque, more resounding and metallic than our dialect; and one would say that the oxygen of the vibrating American atmosphere, the saltpetre of the waves, the notes of the Brazilian flora have endowed the language of Portugal with colour and sound. Except for this difference, which results from historic elements, Galicia can see reflected the provable evolution of Galician in the language of Almeida Garrett», Pardo Bazán, 22-23 (italicized by us).

<sup>18</sup> «The Galician poet sees an archaic language, stagnated and paralysed in the middle of its development, preserved and used only by peasants; the only artistic-traditional data, the only distinctive model being the songs sung by troubadours, songs that were never known to

This period closes up with the creation of the Royal Galician Academy (RAG) in Havana in 1905, and its official recognition by the Spanish Government one year later. It is an institution promoted by the regionalist movement headed by Murguía (its first president) whose initial composition evidences the pact between the liberal regionalism and the positions defended by Pardo Bazán (its honorific president) and, for that same reason, the very fragility of the Galicianist movement at that time. The social and political weakness of the Galicianism that spurred the creation of the Academy (institution considered by some a «danger of separatism and Lusism»<sup>19</sup>) does not make it possible to overcome (at least single-handedly) the different deficits faced by the emergence process of the Galician system, and forces to give in and reach an agreement with those who, according to Professor Elias Torres<sup>20</sup>, shows

an explicit willingness to reduce the emerging system to a sentimentalist, ruralised expression that must not go beyond the aesthetic, cultural and ideological limits within which it is encompassed. In other words: it must not riot against the hegemony and unity of the Spanish polysystem, compete against it or become the vehicle of other type of claims [namely, political-identitarian].

The fact that Galicianism must not only compete but also give in, and set up agreements or share social and institutional spaces with sub systemic agents working to preserve (political and cultural) subalternity and to prevent the movement from achieving a greater degree of autonomy helps to understand the ambiguities and the positions taken. But it also contributes to identify «the systemic force lines that will be clashing in the future of the regionalist and nationalist system, and the perspectives that will be taken to scrutinize Portugal» (as well as Spain)<sup>21</sup>. Thus, we identify a relatively central line of discourse as far as the elaboration of the ideological framework and the programme is concerned; this line is to a greater extent strategically oriented towards the progression in the construction of a non-subaltern

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the people's muse, songs that live in moth-eaten Cancionero compilations, and cannot serve as pattern or sample to present-day poets. But even though he lacks recognized literary models, even though he lacks libraries, the Galician poet has nature — in the somewhat restrictive sense of *countryside, rural life*. [...] I am not telling the Galician poet to become a pompous fraud: I am asking him to write his verses the way a countryman would think and feel them; or at least to spare them from anything too different or discordant, anything that may speak of the urban writer, who lingers at the cafés entering into debates and sipping coffee» (italicized in the original).

<sup>19</sup> Torres Feijó, *Galeguismo precário*..., 546 (italicized in the original).

<sup>20</sup> Torres Feijó, *Galeguismo precário*..., 107.

<sup>21</sup> Torres Feijó, *Galeguismo precário*..., 553.

Galician political-cultural system, which would be exemplified by the programme mentioned in Murguía's quote: the Portuguese-Galician linguistic unity, which buttresses the model-setting character of the term «Galician» present in this word so as to set up the standards for the «Portuguese» element, and also the medieval literary tradition or the folk majoritarian character of the Galician-Portuguese language in Galicia. On the other hand, there are also «several sectors within the system, not small in number and influence capacity, [that] never wanted this programme to keep progressing in order to set up a real Galician polysystem; *let alone*, obviously, an interliterary system or a Galician-Portuguese polysystem»<sup>22</sup>. Finally, «Apart from this line, embodied in the open hostility against the regionalist system, *from inside*, there was another one which, in spite of having accepted the relative institutionalisation of the language, did not assume the need to expand it, and made *Lusism* the target of criticism»<sup>23</sup>.

As a matter of fact, the idea of language set up by Galicianism in the time of Murguía, including the Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity, is still the core ideologue for the main elaborators of ideas of the movement (posted in that first systemic force line) during the so-called «nationalist» emergence period, which started in 1916 with the proposal for the creation of the Irmandades da Fala (local associations for the defence and promotion of Galician) carried out by one of its main representatives, Antón Vilar Ponte<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Torres Feijó, *Galeguismo precário*..., 547.

<sup>23</sup> Torres Feijó, *Galeguismo precário*..., 550 (italicized in the original).

<sup>24</sup> «The difference between Galician and Portuguese nowadays is not bigger than the difference between the Spanish spoken in Castile or Andalusia or America; and its unification is extremely easy, maybe even easier than the unification implemented by the Dutch and the Flemish in the case of their common language, which differed only in the orthography and in certain stress patterns. When are we going to have the exact norms in order to implement it gradually? Did the Galician Academy and Seminário de Estudos Galegos ever have a more transcendental mission in the area of our own culture, of the local culture?», Antón Vilar Ponte: *Pensamento e sementeira* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Galicia, 1971), 346; «Few Galician citizens realised what Portugal means to us. Portugal is the free, creating Galicia that took our spoken and written language around the world, filling the world map with Galician names», Vicente Risco, «Da Alemaña I. A viaxe», *Revista Nós*, núm. 79 (1930): 143; «Nós, which has frequently dealt with the spiritual collaboration between the Portuguese and the Galician, must emphasise its enthusiasm about the initiatives of Dr. Rodríguez Lapa, even regarding the idea that suggests a Portuguese-Galician agreement towards the orthographic reform, so necessary for us», *Revista Nós*, núm. 115 (1933): 134; «Galician is so widely-spread and useful, because it is spoken — with slight differences — in Brazil, Portugal and in the Portuguese colonies», Daniel Rodríguez Castelao, *Sempre en Galiza* (Madrid: Akal, cap. IV), 41-42; «I wish Galician would approach and merge with Portuguese, so that we could have two widely-spread and useful languages», Daniel Rodríguez Castelao «Dos cartas polémicas» [Carta a C. Sánchez Alborno], *Grial*, núm. 47 (1975): 101.

Yet, this new phase of the nationalising process is characterised by a greater central role assigned by that nationalist Galicianism to the effective use of the language of Galicia. The role reserved to the language in each of the nationalising processes at stake in the Galician social arena causes greater tension for the eventual harmonisation of the defence of the Galician *motherland* and the sense of belonging to the Spanish *nation*, possible within Regionalism, because, to a greater extent, it is a subaltern of the dominant system (consider the bilingual nature Spanish-Galician of regionalist literature, for instance) but not always perceived as compatible with the new nationalist programme.

In this sense, it is worth mentioning the relevance of the reception of a magazine that was essential within the regionalism that emerged after the creation of the RAG, namely, *Vida Gallega. Ilustración Regional* (Vigo, 1904, 1909-[1963]) contains the nationalistic position of Villar Ponte in 1916. The magazine, directed by Jaime Solá, close in his ideas to the traditionalism headed by Alfredo Brañas, is initially positively impressed by «the regional affirmation of Villar Ponte». This is because this Galicianist, born in Coruña, «waves the flag of Galician nationalism over the glorious grounds of the unity of the [Spanish] motherland» and, while expectant about the political reach of nationalism, he believes it serves to reinforce a regionalism he depicts as «slack»<sup>25</sup>. The journal contrasts the nationalism of Villar Ponte («which is not separatist but “last resort”») and the secessionist proposal by Costantino Horta, an important agent in Cuba who defended in the magazine *Galicia*, published in Havana in 1915, the annexation of Galiza to Portugal<sup>26</sup>.

Having set its position, based on the defence of Galicia's interests within Spain and on the opposition against centralism («We are equally Galician and Spanish. We can effortlessly conceive our two motherlands, the smaller one within the bigger one. We do not fear any decentralizing process... »)<sup>27</sup>, the magazine also requests nationalists to define and clarify the relationship with Portugal (the *Portuguese danger* again) according to

<sup>25</sup> «El nacionalismo gallego. Un libro de Villar Ponte», *Vida Gallega*, núm. 71 (10/06/1916).

<sup>26</sup> Constantino Horta «Galicia y Portugal ¿Independencia, autonomía o anexión?», *Galicia* (1915). «Villar Ponte talks about Portugal, but he does not say we should become part of it. And leaving aside Dr. Horta's tenet on this issue, and in spite of his declared admiration for him, [-] by refusing to go beyond the defence of the language he incidentally makes it clear that he does not agree with the former about the Lusitanisation of Galicia. [...] It is a fact that the southern bank of the Miño breathes in Galician, and we all should be content with this», *Vida Gallega*, núm. 71 (10/06/1916).

<sup>27</sup> «Nuestras preguntas a la opinión gallega. ¿Nacionalismo, regionalismo, lirismo nada más?», *Vida Gallega*, núm. 72 (01/07/1916).

their schemes, as well as the role they assign to Galician (for the magazine recognizes that Galician and Portuguese are the same language), the political-administrative organisation of Galicia and the organic relationship between nationalism and the Irmandades da Fala. The answer to this request comes from Manuel Banet Fontenla —scholar, founder of the RAG and member of the Irmandade of Coruña from the very beginning— who lays down the idea of nation according to the initial developments of Galicianism (referring to ethnicity, history, awareness, customs, institutions, heritage, tradition and language as constituent elements). The same thing goes for the idea of language which, according to him, belongs to the people («to a big nation», «to our people»), has both an ancient and a modern tradition («the language of kings, the language of Rosalía, Curros, Pondal and Cabanillas») and is the same as Portuguese («it echoes in the Americas and finds its legitimate extension»)<sup>28</sup>.

Yet, while regionalism and emerging nationalism are subsumed under its opposition to centralism and caciquism and in the defence of the Portuguese-Galician linguistic unity, it is difficult to bring them together when it comes to the political proposal of nationalism. Indeed, according to Banet Fontenla, it contemplates «the yearning of a nation to manage its own resources considering its aims, its firm awareness about its own personality», so that «justice and the true freedom of nations may prevail, so that each of them may breathe and live as they wish»<sup>29</sup>. Actually, both regionalism and nationalism go different ways regarding the role they assign to the language of Galicia, since while nationalism places it at the centre of its programme, as the main differential identitarian marker, as the exclusive tool and systemic standard to establish what Galician culture should be from that moment onwards (an idea which is still in force today), for regionalism it has a mainly projecting character, as a legacy that forms part of the set of elements that form part the identitarian *check list* (it is «Very good to promote our language. It is an element that must be added up to the invaluable beauty of the region»<sup>30</sup>, yet, «It wasn't considered necessary up to this moment to forcibly speak the regional language in order to love this country intensely, in order to feel it in the soul»<sup>31</sup>).

This tension between the harmonisation-opposition (and subalternity-hegemony) of different cultural-political projects and positions will be present from the very first formulations of Galicianism to this day, and, in our

<sup>28</sup> Manuel Banet Fontenla, «Rexionalismo e Fala», *Vida Gallega*, núm. 73 (01/08/1916).

<sup>29</sup> Banet Fontenla, *Vida Gallega*, núm. 73 (01/08/1916).

<sup>30</sup> «Lo que necesita Galicia. Al margen del problema de la lengua», *Vida Gallega*, núm. 81 (25/01/1917).

<sup>31</sup> «Prensa Gallega. A Nosa Terra», *Vida Gallega*, núm. 79 (10/12/1916).

opinion, it should be taken into account in order to understand the process of construction of the Galician Cultural System (Sistema Cultural Galego [SCG]), as well as its linguistic planning purposes. The aforementioned positions and *systemic force lines* and, mainly, the pronounced unbalance (with regards to the capacity for idea socialisation and *common sense* construction, at the level of institutionalisation, public support or access to all types of resources, for example) between the two identifiable nationalitarian projects in the Galician social context condition the process of construction of the SCG in all its areas as well as throughout its historical development, both at the ideological and programmatic level and at the level of its strategies and, mainly, with regards to the possibilities and different ways to implement the practical application of the ideas elaborated.

### III. Linguistic coding and interference

The RAG was unable to implement the «Proposal of the Commission for the Classification of Ballot Papers for the creation of the Galician Dictionary and the judgement from the Orthography Commission», which back in 1909 recommended «That [orthography] used by this Royal Academy in all its documents in Galician should be the etymological one, not only because it has been accepted by the Academies of all cultivated languages, but also because it is convenient for the implementation of philological studies»<sup>32</sup>. Thus, the first institutional proposal for the coding of Galician-Portuguese in Galicia resulted from the expectations regarding the officialisation of Galician and its possible incorporation to the teaching system following the approval of an Statute of Autonomy in the context of the Second Spanish Republic (in force in Galicia between 1931 and 1936) and it was put forward by the Seminar of Galician Studies (Seminario de Estudos Galegos [SEG]). This institution, created under the auspices of the USC in 1923 by agents related to the Irmandades da Fala, will publish *Algunchas normas pra a unificación do idioma Galego* in 1933 (plus an addendum, the *Engádega...*, in 1936). These brief directions sprung from the «drift towards Portuguese in order to fill in the existing gaps of our language», without «fully adapting it to the rules that govern the Portuguese language», and were provisional in nature<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> *Boletín* de la RAG, Tomo 3, núm. 26 (1909): 46-47.

<sup>33</sup> SEG (1933), 5. In fact, the norms of the SEG «establish the grapheme <x> for the prepalatal fricative (*xente*, *xaneiro*), and it is decided “to renounce to the etimological representation using the graphemes *g*, *j*”, but “only provisionally and for convenience at present”», Henrique Monteagudo: «O Seminario de Estudos Galegos: do cultivo do idioma (1923-1927)

It will not be until the last years of Franco's dictatorship (1936-1975 in Galicia) that the groups taking part in the SCG will resume the linguistic coding process started by the SEG and interrupted by the military coup and subsequent repression. As a matter of fact, towards the end of the dictatorship, the work of the groups involved in the construction of the SCG benefited from a series of political decisions (at international and, mainly, at national level), making it possible for Galician to enter areas so far unimagined. These areas include the liturgy of the Catholic Church (since 1969) —in consonance with the changes introduced in the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965)— and compulsory education, after the issuing of a new «General Law of Education», which, since August 1970, has authorised with restrictions (as optional subjects) the teaching-learning of the other national languages, aside from Spanish, for children aged two to thirteen.

This last event brought about a series of position-taking moves in the SCG towards the establishment and control of the linguistic code and its implementation in teaching<sup>34</sup>. The first move was made by the **Galaxia** group, formed by agents from the republican Galicianism before the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), which occupies the most central position in the SCG since the creation in 1950 of the publishing house after which the group is named. From this moment on, Galaxia acquires pre-eminence in the literary arena, in bringing together Galicia, Portugal and Brazil (through contacts between agents and institutions that play a vital role in their respective systems too) and the actual control of the RAG. In fact, Galaxia takes part in the coding process through this institution, using its official nature and its authority regarding the linguistic coding assigned by its founders and publishing the standards of Galician orthography —*Normas Ortográficas e Morfolóxicas do Idioma Galego* [NOMIG]— in 1971. These standards follow the approach of the internal model used up to that moment by the publishing house for its publications.

For Galaxia, the differentiated identity of Galicia is rooted on Galician language as the sole, imperative ethno-marker, since «apart from identifying all the members of a nation as a genuine cultural unity, it is also and for the same reason what *makes the difference* between it and the others»<sup>35</sup>.

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á codificación (1928-1936)», in Henrique Monteagudo e María Dolores Sánchez Vales, ed. *No tempo das Irmandades: Lingua, escrita e prelos* (Coruña: RAG, 2017), 239-278, 270.

<sup>34</sup> There is plenty of literature about linguistic coding during the contemporary era, which proves the existence of different approaches as far as its elaboration is concerned with regards to Portuguese (and Spanish). For a summary see Torres Feijó e Samartim, *Sobre conflito lingüístico...*, 12-13.

<sup>35</sup> Ramón Piñeiro, «A defensa do idioma, vencello espiritual de tódolos galegos» [1956], *Olladas no futuro* (Galaxia: Vigo; 1974), 95-104, 97 (italics in the original).



Similarly, the linguistic approach of the group supports, theoretically, the essential identity among the different variants of the Galician-Portuguese linguistic system. It refuses the direct validation as the foundations of the standard code of the language of Galicia for the common speech (due to the abundant interferences from Spanish) and looks for those foundations, upon which the linguistic model of Galician should be built, in (medieval and modern) literary tradition in the first place and, in the Portuguese reintegration referent in the second place. In practice, the code proposed by the agents of the Galaxia/RAG group aims at establishing a relative balance between the pragmatic acceptance of the Spanish model and the strategic approach of the Portuguese model, using an (explicitly provisional) orthographic system that coincides with the former, while seeking to approach Portuguese by implementing several morphological choices that are common to the Galician and Portuguese variants in light of the possibility of a coincidence with Spanish for those cases that had not been fixed by literary tradition. In a private letter dated 22-03-1970 («Compostela, 22-III-70») and sent to Professor Basilio Losada<sup>36</sup>, main Galicianist advocate in Barcelona, Ramón Piñeiro points out the conditioning factors (namely, lack of education), to explain the gradualist nature of the coding process and establishes the strategy and the objectives of the group headed by him:

Thus, the «Normas de unificación ortográfica» are quite sensible. They take into account the current situation in the context of the cultural evolution of the language. In general, almost all scholars think that they should approach Portuguese more, but we considered the fact that the only grammatical and orthographic background of both teachers and children (as well as readers) was Spanish, and it is necessary to take this fact as a starting point in order to facilitate the assimilation of Galician as a written language. In a few years' time, when the spread of Galician is fully consolidated, the Academy will have to go one step further and look for the possible similarities with Portuguese, since in fact our «natural» cultural context is the Galician-Portuguese-Brazilian one. What happens is we must start from the situation created by the exclusive dominance of Spanish and follow a gradual development process, without succumbing to the simplistic temptation of accepting the Spanish orthographic dominance in an undisputed, definitive way.

This normative model (and the authority of the Academy to elaborate a standard for Galician) is challenged the very year of its practical formulation with the publication, in 1971, of the learning method *Gallego 1*,

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<sup>36</sup> «Cartas de Ramón Piñeiro a Basilio Losada, 1970-71. Sobre a normativa da lingua, a creación do ILG e a Academia», *Grial*, núm. 171 (2006): 56-69, 61.

first public position-taking attempt of the **Instituto de la Lengua Gallega** (ILG), created from the Department of Romance Philology of the USC that very year and assigned through an statutory mandate the duty to gather the common speech varieties, to carry out dialectology studies and to implement academic essays and normative manuals for the language of Galicia. This university institute denies at that time the Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity and advocates the independent elaboration of Galician based on the phonetic variants of the common speech varieties and, in secondarily, on modern literary tradition (from the 19th century onwards).

In practice, the phoneticist orientation and the alleged «abstraction of the common speech variety», on which this formulation is based<sup>37</sup>, minimizes the level of interference of Spanish in the Galician common speech varieties, while the acceptance of the orthographic model replicating the Spanish one as our own, definitive model places —in fact and according to different alleged pedagogical criteria— the normative model established by the ILG for Galician in the symbolic space of Spanish. Similarly, the referentiality ascribed to the modern tradition to fix the norm of the present also seems to pay no heed to the (aforementioned) conditions of subalternity with which that precarious standard was set up.

The Institute employed all its university assets in the SCG in order to create its teaching materials and use them in different optional Galician language courses organised by both public and private institutions all over the country, thus attaining the control of linguistic coding in the emerging and determining field of Galician language teaching before institutionalising its compulsory learning by the beginnings of the autonomous period, in the early 1980s. In a SCG characterised, by the early 1970s, by the gradual incorporation of Galician to new and prestigious social areas, the orientation of the ILG (so far ideologically marginal in the theoretical tenet of Galicianism) soon takes a central position with the acquiescence of Galaxia, which does not monopolize the SCG anymore and which, having seen its pre-eminence threatened from the institutional sphere too, is unable to impose its solution for the normative issue through the RAG to the System. With the pact between Galaxia and the ILG —already mentioned by Piñeiro since the reception of the first volume of the learning method created by the Institute<sup>38</sup>—, the group, hegemonic in the RAG, transfers to the

<sup>37</sup> «The Galician norm is not represented by the speech of a specific court or city, but by the *abstraction of the common speech, which coincides with the speech of the cultivated media of the region*», Constantino García, «A lingua galega hoxe. A súa situación no ensino», *Grial*, núm. 44 (1974): 148-156, 150 (italics added by us).

<sup>38</sup> Ramón Piñeiro, «Gallego 1, Instituto de la Lengua Gallega», *Grial*, núm. 33 (1971): 363-364.

ILG the decision-making capacity with regards to the linguistic model to be incorporated to the emerging teaching field. It also entrusts the preservation of its dominant position in the SCG to the control of a literary area to which Galaxia credits —already back then— an essential relevance from the point of view of the survival of Galician language and culture.

It is in this context that **Manuel Rodrigues Lapa**, the Portuguese intellectual connected with Galaxia from its foundation and one of the most active and widely recognised agents of Galicianism in Portugal already in the 1930s, takes his stance. In an article published in 1973<sup>39</sup>, Lapa defends the idea of Galician-Portuguese linguistic integration, understood as a guarantee for the survival of the language of Galicia versus the social dominance of Spanish. With this proposal, Lapa, who was fired from the University of Coimbra by Salazarism in 1933, contrasts the philological-common speech (populist) position supported by the ILG and the elaboration of the Galician according to the Portuguese normative model, listing the same criteria upon which the 1971 academic proposal was based (Portuguese-Galician linguistic unity, long tradition, provisional character of the elements taken from Spanish and progressive nature of the coding process), and proposes Galaxia to bring the Galician and Portuguese linguistic models closer (namely at the orthographic level) in order to adjust their practice to the linguistic-cultural project supported, in theory, by the group that took over the advocacy for Galicianism during the pre-war period<sup>40</sup>:

It must be admitted that present-day literary Portuguese has the orthographic form Galician —a language served on a silver platter— would have if it had not drifted away from its evolutionary trail. It is with these elements from the old common heritage that —without leaving Spanish aside in case it is provisionally necessary— we must progressively and faster forge the language of culture that is indispensable for Galicia.

Lapa bases the chance of his proposal on the material and symbolic gains that the users of the Galician-Portuguese linguistic system would benefit from with the integration of Galician; these gains would be particularly felt by an SCG that would reinforce its identitarian features versus the Spanish opposition referent by accepting as its own the (also orthographic) elements present in the other variants of the linguistic system its main agents claim to be part of. Similarly, Lapa thinks that his proposal of Galician-Portuguese linguistic integration would make it possible to increase —considerably— the level of

<sup>39</sup> Manuel Rodrigues Lapa: «A recuperação literária do galego», *Colóquio/Letras*, núm. 13 (1973): 5-14; also, in *Grial*, núm. 41 (1973): 278-287.

<sup>40</sup> Lapa, 13.

inter-community competence among Galician population in a near future predictably characterised by the achievement of political autonomy for Galicia and by its inclusion in a European institutional framework.

With a few exceptions (such as Galaxia's main philologist and literary critic so far and USC professor, Ricardo Carvalho Calero, who is also the main co-author of the 1971 academic standards), Lapa is basically supported by agents in the periphery of the SCG, while most members of the Galaxia group —headed by Piñeiro— position themselves as overtly against the proposal of this Portuguese Galicianist, either because they believe that the social and political context was not adequate (as we saw, Piñeiro defends a greater closeness between Galician and Portuguese, also at the orthographic level, yet he believes that this must be postponed until the Galician-Spanish «linguistic conflict» is solved), or because they consider that the orthographic elements proposed by Lapa and present in the Portuguese model do not play an identifying role in the case of Galician, since it does not have continuity in the literary tradition of Galicia.

In this sense, in his public reply to Lapa<sup>41</sup>, the leader of Galaxia bases his identitarian project for Galician society, on the one hand, on the idea that the *essence* of Galician rests in the language spoken by the people and, on the other hand, on the consideration that the identifying material differing from Portuguese but coinciding with Spanish (namely, orthography) is in fact Galician; these being two essential points of agreement for Piñeiro's project, both with regards to the model proposed by the ILG and with regards to the practices of the como left-wing groups at that time, including the nationalist ones.

These **left-wing groups** carry out their political action underground during Franco's rule and form part of the less institutionalised section of the SCG. Among them there are points of friction and contact; the main discord has to do with the identitarian stance on the side of the left-wing agents related to state organisations, that approach the linguistic question as a matter of class and assign Galician the role of the language of the oppressed popular classes, and the **Galician nationalist** groups that see in those popular classes the most genuine expression of nation, basing their theses on the colonial nature of Galicia<sup>42</sup>.

This is what happens in the case of the Unión do Pobo Galego (UPG) party, the main nationalist group at the time, which rejects the bilingual nature

<sup>41</sup> Piñeiro, «Carta a Don Manuel Rodrigues Lapa», *Grial*, núm. 42 (1973): 389-402.

<sup>42</sup> These two positions are exemplified by the theoretical essays of two secondary school senior teachers of Spanish language and literature, the communist militant Xesús Alonso Montero [*Informe —Dramático— sobre la Lengua Gallega* (Madrid: Akal Editor, 1974)] and Francisco Rodríguez Sánchez [*Conflicto Lingüístico e Ideoloxía en Galicia* (Monforte de Lemos: Edicións Xistral, 1976)], core agent in the construction of the linguistic-ideological discourse still supported by Galician nationalism today.

of the Galician society and proposes the existence of a «linguistic conflict», whose termination —according to this group— would only come with the termination of the political, economic and cultural colonialism that hampers Galicia. During the last years of Franco's rule, this party implements a linguistic model oriented towards a lexical and morphological popularism aimed at differentiating Galician from Spanish, and even though it accuses the RAG of elitism, it ends up defending —during the post Franco's era— the Galician-Portuguese linguistic and cultural approach, in line with the criteria initially defended by Galaxia and the pre-war Galicianist tradition. More specifically, nationalists base their linguistic-cultural discourse on the vindication of the social-political nature of the alleged Spanish-Galician linguistic conflict, they do not regard the philological fact of Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity as a politically useful from the point of view of Galicianisation and they do not elaborate a standardising proposal for the language of Galicia until 1980.

That year, nationalism publishes the *Orientacións para a escrita do noso idioma* through the Asociación Socio-Pedagóxica Galega (AS-PG), these writing standards are elaborated according to the criteria defended by the RAG in 1971 and to the *Normas ortográficas* published by the Xunta of the pre-autonomous period that same year; the latter move on in the application of the criteria of the academic NOMIG and foresee «a future reorganisation of the orthography of the language, based to a greater extent on the literary tradition and the behaviour that drives similar linguistic systems and forms»<sup>43</sup>.

The SCG witnesses in 1982, during the autonomous era, the unification of the normative models of the RAG and the ILG and the officialisation one year later (*de iure*, in the case of education and for the Administration, and *de facto* in the biggest part of the system) of the resulting language model (henceforth, the autonomist model) carried out by the government supported by the Galician divisions of the national centre-right parties. The nationalist left, which at the beginning was mainly devoted to discussing about the institutions of the autonomous regime, shall not recognise the authority bestowed upon the RAG by the Galician Parliament on linguistic coding matters (contemplated in the Lei de Normalización Lingüística in 1983) until twenty years later (2003), and during that time the nationalist groups would go through a marked unity and institutionalisation process and they rehearse an intermediate coding model based on the aforementioned *Orientacións...*, a model which is reintegrationalist as far as vocabulary and morphology are concerned yet coincides with the RAG-ILG model as it shares the orthographic system of Spanish.

<sup>43</sup> Xunta de Galicia, Comisión de Lingüística, *Normas ortográficas do idioma galego* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1980), 12. These *Normas* were also rejected by the ILG (present at the commission chaired by Carvalho Calero and in charge of elaborating them) and they were never implemented by the Administration.

## Chart 1

## Summary of the linguistic coding process in contemporary Galicia

Standardizing proposals	Criteria	Strategies/Referentialities
<b>GALAXIA</b> <b>NOMIG RAG (1971):</b> <b>[e XG1980]</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Detachment from common contemporary speech (linguistic interference/substitution).</li> <li>2. Long tradition (since the Middle Ages).</li> <li>3. Linguistic unity between Galician and Portuguese (Portuguese to validate choices).</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Gradualism/-Consensus/-Pactism</li> <li>— Provisional nature of the Spanish RO elements (orthography) &gt; elements shared with RR</li> </ul>
<b>NATIONALISM</b> <b><i>Orientacións...</i></b> <b>(AS-PG 1980)</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Political conflict &gt; Linguistic conflict</li> <li>2. = RAG1971 (and XG1980)</li> <li>3. Linguistic unity between Galician and Portuguese = philological fact without normalisation impact (Rodríguez Sánchez 1976)</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Gradualism</li> <li>— Spread of use (normalisation) over quality of use (standardisation)</li> <li>— Provisional nature of the standard variety and of the Spanish RO elements (orthography) until the termination of the political conflict &gt; Specific proposals («reintegrationist minima» until 2003)</li> </ul>
<b>ILG (1971-1974):</b> <b><i>Método...</i></b> <b>[and <i>Bases...</i> 1977]</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Standard as a continuation of the common contemporary speech (linguistic reduction/validation interference/substitution).</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Elements from Spanish (orthography) which are adequate for Galician (definitive character) for «pedagogical» reasons (and for popular acceptance reasons).</li> </ul>
<b>NOMIG RAG+ILG (1982)</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Modern tradition (from the 19th century)</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Exertion of authority («strict police» («policía rigurosa») &gt; autonomous institutionalidad)</li> </ul>
<b>NOMIG RAG+ILG</b> <b>[+Nationalism] (2003)</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Linguistic proximity between Galician and Portuguese (Port=RO/RA (NOMIG 1982: «sister languages, though different» («lingua irmá pero diferente»))</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— 2003- («a standard of consensus» («normativa de consenso»)): Port = (-) RO (+) RA</li> </ul>

Standardizing proposals	Criteria	Strategies/Referentialities
<b>REINTEGRATIONISM</b> <b>(Lapa 1973/Montero-Santalla 1976 and Directrices... 1979/Estravis 1978/Orientações... 1980/AGAL 1983-1985 e 2017/AO 1990 and AGLP 2007)</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Detachment from common contemporary speech (linguistic interference/substitution).</li> <li>2. Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity.</li> <li>3. Long tradition (since the Middle Ages).</li> <li>4. Portuguese and Brazilian models (&gt; AO 1990)</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— [1973]: Gradualism/Consensus/Pactism</li> <li>— [until 1979]: Provisional nature of the Spanish RO elements (orthography)</li> <li>— [since 1979]: drop-out of RO elements (orthography) and e socialisation elements coinciding with the RR (&gt; Orthographic coincidence and normative autonomy [+ AO 1990])</li> <li>— [21st century]: repositioning: AGLP2007 &gt; <i>Ortografia moderna...</i> (AGAL 2017) &gt; AEG 2016</li> </ul>

Source: Prepared by the author<sup>44</sup>.

Thus, the SCG groups with a greater degree of institutionalisation during the autonomous period consider that a language model based on the coding criteria proposed by the ILG in 1971 (spoken language and modern tradition) and consisting of a set of elements (mainly orthographic, but also and to a certain extent morphological and lexical) shared with Span-

<sup>44</sup> Associação Galega da Língua [AGAL], Comissom Lingüística, *Estudo crítico das Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma galego* (Corunha: AGAL, 1983). AGAL, Comissom Lingüística, *Prontuário ortográfico galego*. (Corunha: AGAL, 1985). Isaac Alonso Estravis, «Sobre ortografía galega. Carta aberta a Montero Santalla», *Grial* núm. 62 (1978), 475-481. AS-PG, *Orientacións para a escrita do noso idioma* (Coruña: Xistral, 1980). AS-PG, *Orientacións para a escrita do noso idioma* (AS-PG, 1980). ILG, *Gallego I* (Santiago de Compostela: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Santiago, 1971). ILG, *Bases prá unificación das normas lingüísticas do galego* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade, 1977). Xosé-Martiño Montero Santalla, «Unificación ortográfica galego-portuguesa», *Grial*, núm. 51 (1976), 1-13. Xosé-Martiño Montero Santalla, *Directrices para a reintegración lingüística galego-portuguesa* (Ferrol: Gráfer, 1979). RAG, *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma galego* (Vigo: RAG/ ILG, 2003). RAG/ ILG, *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma galego* (A Coruña: RAG, 1982). RAG, *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas da lingua galega* (A Coruña: RAG, 1971). Xunta de Galicia, *Normas ortográficas...* AO = Acordo Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa (Orthographic Agreement of the Portuguese Language). AGLP = Academia Galega da Língua Portuguesa (Galician Academy of the Portuguese Language). AEG= Associação de Estudos Galegos (Association of Galician Studies). RO= Referente de Oposição (Opposition Referent). RA= Referente de Oposição (Analogy Referent). RR= Referente de Reintegração (Reintegration Referent).

ish yet differential with regards to the Portuguese and Brazilian models of the Western Romance Language of the Iberian Peninsula is an essential element for the definition of the differentiated identity of Galicia.

In the periphery of the SCG, the agents that carry on advocating Lapa's reintegrationist proposal, and who had elaborated specific coding proposals since the first years of the post Franco's rule, create their own associations by the beginning of the 1980s and elaborate and socialise an alternative model based on Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity. These grupos argue that rather than turning the Galician model into a satellite of the Portuguese one, their proposal escapes subalternity, opening up the SCG to new possibilities in order to either reinforce a differentiated identity in the Spanish-speaking sphere, or spur an overt inter-community relationship with the Portuguese-speaking sphere. Similarly, the reintegrationist proposal focuses on the **interference** and warns against the risk of Galician blurring away into the central Iberian Romance Language (and in the Spanish Cultural System), which involves sharing with Spanish (a historical opposition referent for Galicianism) a set of elements (mainly orthographic, but also lexical and morphological) which are assigned a decisive role in Galicia's identity configuration, especially considering that Galician is in disadvantage in the fight for social pre-eminence in a shared space against the Spanish linguistic system, which has a strong social presence and enjoys institutional support and international projection.

The identification with Spanish orthography propitiates a growing dependence on the official language. Slowly but surely, through an inconspicuous, yet ongoing process, the language was taken over by all sorts of intrusive impurities: both at the level of morphology and vocabulary —and even at the phonetic level— Galician progressively identifies with Spanish; and this stirs up the concern that through this identification process our language might end up turning into a mere dialect of Spanish, losing its identity as the language of Galicia<sup>45</sup>. Given the social-political situation of Galicia, our linguistic isolation from the Portuguese and the Brazilian would increase the vulnerability of Galician with regards to Spanish as well as the danger of its degrading and becoming a mere dialect of Spanish, which would threaten its survival<sup>46</sup>.

In spite of the abundant literature about the interference of Spanish in Galician, these studies seldom take into account the implications for sociolinguistics or the coding process derived from the fact that interference is usually established with regards to the variety recognised as standard;

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<sup>45</sup> Montero Santalha, «Unificación...», 7.

<sup>46</sup> Montero Santalha, *Directrices...*, 4.



neither do they reflect on the borders (or safety fringes) established (or not) by this variety of *legitimate language*<sup>47</sup> with regards to the elements of the Spanish language (unconsciously?) introduced in the Galician linguistic system.

With regards to the first question, if «*interference* can be considered a symptom of the linguistic incompetence of the speaker or a faulty normative fixation of the language in which it takes place»<sup>48</sup>, the literature seems to point directly to the detachment of the common language from a norm that, as has been said before, claims to be based upon the criterion of referentiality in the common speech<sup>49</sup>. As to the question of the (linguistic, symbolic...) borders offered by the standard elaborated by the RAG-ILG for the penetration of Spanish, if we accept that a greater interlinguistic coexistence and a greater proximity between codes bring about greater permeability and interference<sup>50</sup>, the high presence of Spanish loanwords in Galician mentioned in the specific literature, as well as their wide typology (lexical, phonetic, morphological, syntactic...), seems to hint at the fact that the distance between codes is not enough, in this case, to prevent the process of linguistic blurring of Galician into Spanish<sup>51</sup>. In the same way, if we agree with Silva Valdivia and what happens is that, due to the historical evolution, the real standard (the socially assumed standard) is represented by the Spanish forms», therefore «the normalisation of the corpus (also understood in its dimension of social

<sup>47</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire. L'économie des échanges linguistiques* (Paris: Fayard, 1982).

<sup>48</sup> Bieito Silva Valdivia state something similar in «Tipoloxía das manifestacións de contacto lingüístico en Galicia. Algunhas consideracións», *Cadernos de Lingua*, núm. 4 (1991): 27-38, 33 (in italics in the original). It is not so commonly understood that «essays on the interference of Spanish into Galician must also take into account the study of Substandard Galician forms», Francisco Dubert García, «Interferencias del castellano en el gallego popular», *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 82, 3 (2005): 271-292.

<sup>49</sup> Thus, to sum up and using morphological elements taken from high-frequency nouns as examples, the relationship between the standard and the interference is evident if we take into account that the solution <-ales> for the plural of nouns ending in <-al> (\**animales*) is not considered a Spanish loan because the ILG refused to fix this form as the standard back in 1977 and accepted to restore the solution that matches Portuguese; that among Spanish loans in Galician there are only certain forms with the semi-vowel /j/ (\**servicio*, \**presencia*, ...) since they were banished from the academic standard and replaced by their equivalents without /j/ back in 2003 (*servizo*, *presenza*, ...); or that suffixes such as <-ería>, <-ble> or <-ción> (*papeletería*, *amable*, *creación*) are not considered interferences, but Galician forms back then.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Thomason and Kaufman, *Language contact, creolisation and genetic linguistics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

<sup>51</sup> About the instability of Galician as an equidistant language between Portuguese and Spanish, see José Ramon Pichel, Pablo Gamallo, Iñaki Alegria and Marco Neves, «A methodology to measure the diachronic language distance between three languages based on perplexity», *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics* (2020) DOI: 10.1080/09296174.2020.1732177.

acceptance of a standard) and the normalisation of the status (incorporation of that language into all the social uses) go necessary hand in hand»<sup>52</sup>.

#### IV. Status, language acquisition and substitution

The institutionalisation of Galicia as a legal-political community comes true with the enactment, in the Official Gazette of the Spanish State, of the Organic Law on the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia («Ley Orgánica 1/1981, de 6 de abril; *BOE* n.º 101, of 28 April 1981), whose text was passed by a referendum held the 21 December 1980, with the favourable vote of 20.8% of the registered voters. This institutionalisation took place by virtue of the rights contemplated in the Spanish Constitution of 1978, ratified the 29 December 1978 (*BOE* n.º 311), whose second article («Unity of the nation and the right to autonomy») states that «The Constitution is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish nation, the common and indivisible country of all Spaniards; it recognises and guarantees the right to autonomy of the nationalities and regions of which it is composed, and the solidarity amongst them all». Accordingly, Article I of the Statute of Autonomy considers that Galicia is a «historical nationality that has become an Autonomous Region in order to attain self-government, according to the Spanish Constitution and to this Statute of Autonomy, which is its basic institutional norm»<sup>53</sup>.

This institutionalisation of Galicia as a political community brings about the recognition of the legal status and the institutional role of Galician, as implicitly contemplated in Article III, paragraph 2, of the Constitution<sup>54</sup> and, explicitly, as a legal entity (as holder of a right) in Article V of the Statute:

One. The *language* of Galicia is Galician.

Two. *Galician and Spanish are the official languages of Galicia*, and everybody has the *right to know them and use them*.

Three. The public authorities of Galicia shall guarantee the *normal and official use of both languages and promote the use of Galician* in every sphere of public life, culture and mass media, providing the necessary means to *enable its knowledge*.

<sup>52</sup> Silva Valdivia, «Tipoloxía...», 37 e 38.

<sup>53</sup> Paragraph 3 of that same Article states that «The Powers of the Autonomous Region of Galicia emanate from the Constitution, from this Statute and from the [Spanish, Galician?] people».

<sup>54</sup> «1. *Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State*. All Spaniards have the *right to know it and the right to use it*./2. *The other Spanish languages shall also be official in the respective Autonomous Communities* in accordance with their Statutes./3. *The wealth of the different language modalities of Spain is a cultural heritage* which shall be the object of special *respect and protection*.», *Spanish Constitution* (italics introduced by us).

Four. Nobody shall be discriminated on grounds of language. (Italics added by us)

The Spanish Constitution of 1978 and the Statute of Autonomy of 1981 establish the so-called «subaltern co-officiality»<sup>55</sup> which is, in fact, as can be concluded from the previous quotes, a legal framework that establishes the duty to know Spanish and the right of using it in all the territory of the Spanish State (Constitution of 1978) and the right to know and use Galician in the administrative territory of Galicia (Statute of 1981).

This right to know and use Galicia's «specific language»<sup>56</sup> is regulated through a specific legal framework which includes several documents that stand out due to their scope and impact, namely, the Law on Linguistic Normalisation (Lei 3/1983, de 15 de xuño; [LNL], DOG n.º 84, of 14 July 1983) and several decrees for the regulation of the presence of Galician in the area of education. As to the LNL, this organism implements the co-official status of Galician in the Autonomous and Local Administrations (as well as at State level and in Galicia's judicial instances), the education system, and the autonomous mass media, management bodies or authorities; it also guarantees the protection of spoken Galician «in bordering territories around Galicia» (i. e., in Galician-speaking communities in Asturias and Castile-León); it accepts the criterion established by the RAG «for questions concerning the standardization, update and correct use of the Galician language» as a criterion of authority and, subsequently, states that «this standard will be reviews according to the normalisation process for the use of Galician».

Regarding the regulations on Galician language **acquisition**, it should be taken into account that the language of Galicia entered the syllabus of compulsory education (as an optional subject in 1975 and as a compulsory subject in 1979) after the developments of Franco's 1970 General Law on Education. This sets up the background of Galician language teaching, which is considered insufficient by the Galicianist community<sup>57</sup>. It won't be until the implementation of the aforementioned legal framework that teaching *in* Galician, as contemplated in Title III of the LNL, will be regulated; and from then onwards the question will be which and how many subjects will be taught either in Galician or Spanish: the «significant part of the syl-

<sup>55</sup> Ricardo Carvalho Calero, *Umha voz na Galiza* (Barcelona: Sotelo Blanco, 1992), 214.

<sup>56</sup> The exact meaning of this category («lingua propia») as a legal concept is open to interpretation (vernacular, main, exclusive, specific, unique...?). Article I of the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights considers «The term *language specific* to a territory refers to the language of the community historically established in such a space». (italics introduced by us).

<sup>57</sup> Samartim, *Mudança política...*, 284 and following pages.

labus» for Galician established in 1995 (Decree 247/1995), the 50% minimum rate established for Galician and included, literally, in the 2007 Decree 124/2007 according to the document Plan Xeral de Normalización da Lingua Galega (PXNLG) unanimously approved by the political parties in the autonomous Parliament of Galicia in 2004 or, finally, the «balanced offer» to include Galician, Spanish and other foreign language(s) established by Decree 79/2010, according to which a maximum of 33% of classes taught in Galician is established *de iure*<sup>58</sup>.

State and autonomic legislation will have to contemplate the international legal framework since, according to Article 96:1 of the 1978 Constitution: «Validly concluded international treaties, once officially published in Spain, shall form part of the internal legal order». Besides the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (adhered to by the Spain in 1996), this international legislation includes the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, adopted under the auspices of the European Council on 22 June 1992 and signed by Spain in 2001, which is worth mentioning because this EU treaty was drafted to guarantee recognition and respect for minority (/minoritised) languages, to eradicate their discrimination and to promote their use, teaching, learning and relationships with other akin linguistic communities in translational spaces (namely, «for regional or minority [minoritised] languages used in identical or similar form in two or more States»); Part II, Article 7: 1)

Thus, the 1/2014 Law, of 24 March, on the resort to Portuguese language and the ties with the Lusophony. This law, unanimously approved by the Galician Parliament, results from the revision of a Popular Legislative Initiative fostered by reintegrationism and the five Articles of its only Title contemplate the promotion of Portuguese (on the grounds of historical ties, shared linguistic heritage and preferential social-financial in the Galicia-North Portugal Euroregion space) in the area of education (more specifically «in the field of foreign languages») and in the mass media, as well as in the promotion of the relationships between Galicia «and all Portuguese-speaking countries at all levels».

This legal framework is not being adequately met, as proved in the literature on the development and implementation of the aforementioned 1/2014 Law<sup>59</sup> and as repeatedly claimed in the reports by the European

<sup>58</sup> Samartim, «Da subalternidade...», 337; a contrastive summary of those three decrees in Nova Escola Galega, «As “Bases” para o Plurilingüismo» (January 2010) [http://www.nova-escola-galega.org/almacen/documentos/NEGOPINA\\_NOVO.pdf](http://www.nova-escola-galega.org/almacen/documentos/NEGOPINA_NOVO.pdf) (accessed on 11-04-2022).

<sup>59</sup> So far, this law has not been implemented through specific regulations (in spite of the fact that it contemplates an authorisation for the «Council of the Xunta de Galicia to develop

Council (years 2012, 2016 or 2019) on the evaluation of the aforementioned European Charter...<sup>60</sup>. In fact, these reports question the linguistic policy of autonomic institutions and point out the adverse impact of the education system on Galician, which became even more visible after the 2004 consensus set up in the PXNLG were terminated (and after the loss of spaces of Galician in the education system) and which became evident when the 124/2007 Decree was substituted with the 79/2010 Decree. Thus, the rights mentioned in the LNL are not being preserved and the objectives therein included are not being met either:

Article 13: 1. Children have the right to be provided their primary school education in their mother tongue

Article 14: 3. The education authorities of the Galician autonomous region shall see to it that at the end of each level in which Galician is compulsory students know it, both at an oral and written level, as well as Spanish.

This reality is proved by the statistical data gathered by the Autonomic Administration (Galician Institute of Statistics-Instituto Galego de Estatística, IGE) and the studies carried out by core institutions of the autonomic cultural sphere such as the RAG or the Council of Galician Culture (Consello da Cultura Galega), which show «the fracture of intergenerational linguistic transmission and the monolingualising processes in Spanish that affect the youngest generations threaten the status of the [Galician] language in those territories with higher population rates and greater economic dynamism [metropolitan areas] »<sup>61</sup>. See, for example, the historic evolution of habitual language in chart 2 and the contrast in the aggregated result of the individuals that claim to use Galician or Spanish only or more frequently in Figure 1:

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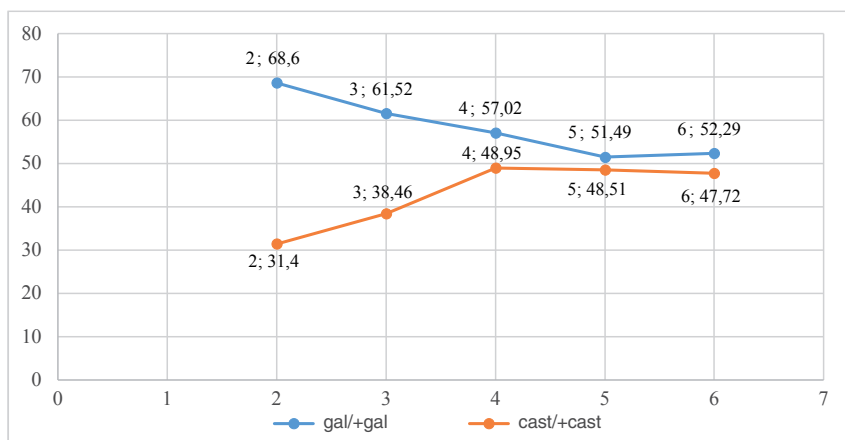
its subsequent regulatory framework») or endowed with a budget. Elias Rodríguez Fernández, «Análise e balanço do quadro legislativo para o relacionamento intercomunitário: o caso da Lei Paz-Andrade» (Final Undergraduate Project, University of Coruña, 2018), <http://hdl.handle.net/2183/21774>; Xurxo Fernández Carballido, «O ensino da língua portuguesa na Galiza» (Doctoral Thesis, USC, 2019), <http://hdl.handle.net/10347/20053>.

<sup>60</sup> See the summary and links to the reports in Praza Pública, «O Consello de Europa insta á Xunta a eliminar “as limitacións para o ensino en galego”» (03-04-2021), <https://praza.gal/acontece/o-consello-de-europa-insta-a-xunta-a-eliminar-as-limitacions-para-o-ensino-en-galego> (accessed on 11-04-2022).

<sup>61</sup> Henrique Monteagudo, Xaquín Loredo, Martín Vázquez, *Lingua e sociedade en Galicia. Resumo de resultados 1992-2016* (Coruña: RAG, 2018), 29.

**Chart 2**  
Evolution of the habitual language in Galicia (1992-2018)

	Galician	More Galician	More Spanish	Spanish
<b>1992</b>	38.70	29.90	20.80	10.60
<b>2003</b>	43.20	18.32	18.83	19.63
<b>2008</b>	30.29	26.73	22.70	20.28
<b>2013</b>	31.20	20.29	22.26	26.25
<b>2018</b>	30.57	21.72	23.32	24.40



**Figure 1**  
Evolution of the frequency of use of Galician and Spanish in Galicia (1992-2018)  
*Source:* Prepared by the author<sup>62</sup>.

Aside from this, there are other data that suggest the progress of the ongoing process of linguistic substitution. Thus, for example, according to the data of the IGE for 2003 and 2008, the use of Galician as first language has experienced a recess; thus, while in 2003, Galician was the first language for 76% of Galician people over 65, in 2008 the percentage fell to 74%,

<sup>62</sup> According to the *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* elaborated by the Department of Sociolinguistics of the RAG in 1992 and according to the *Enquisa estrutural a fogares* by the IGE in the years 2003, 2008, 2013 and 2018.

and while it was the first language for 32% of children under 14 in 2003, in 2008 the percentage was 25%. As to the data on the transmission of Galician within the household, there are 25 points of difference, in 2008, between people over 65 and people under 30 (from 95% to 70%), while for the latter school is the main space of acquisition of the Galician language (72%).

Yet, in spite of the incorporation of Galician to education in Galicia, school cannot be said to be a (re)Galicianising space. Only 8% of those who switch from Spanish to Galician mentioned the influence of schooling on their decision in the 2008 *Survey* of the IGE, a percentage which is lower than that of those who claim to have been influenced by school in their decision to switch from Galician into Spanish (9.6%). Besides «As far as language switching is concerned, the number of de-Galicianised speakers is higher than the number of new speakers»<sup>63</sup>. Similarly, the impact of school as an enabling agent, fostering Galician and training bilingual speakers, mentioned in the literature reviewed, as a result of the implementation of an «institutional linguistic policy focused on the school context and on the improvement of linguistic skills»<sup>64</sup>, is not matched by a greater use of Galician (either oral or written), and it only serves to train what has therein been termed «potential speakers», that is, a «majority of persons who only speak Spanish [yet] have the capacity [or so they say] to speak Galician»<sup>65</sup>, but does not provide the opportunity or motivation to do so.

Now, regarding the linguistic skills in Galician granted at school in Galicia, and considering that the schooling system has failed as a (re)Galicianising agent, it should be added that while 89.8% of the population claimed to understand and speak Galician in 2001, only 65.9% could read it and 56% could write it back then<sup>66</sup> (and these skills are acquired at school). And even though these data should be interpreted considering the rates of demographic ageing in Galicia, a country where many people did not have contact with Galician at school, the results of the 2018 *Survey* carried out by the IGE are even more difficult to turn over, as they show that 23.9% of children under 15 in Galicia (7% more than in 2008) claim not to know Galician and admit that they are unable to communicate in this language. These data may help understand the apparent paradox that summarises the current sociolinguistic situation depicted in the reports elaborated by the main autonomic cultural institutions<sup>67</sup>:

<sup>63</sup> Monteagudo *et al.*, *Lingua e sociedade*..., 22.

<sup>64</sup> Monteagudo *et al.*, *Lingua e sociedade*..., 7.

<sup>65</sup> Monteagudo *et al.*, *Lingua e sociedade*..., 9.

<sup>66</sup> Xaime Subiela, «O idioma galego alarmas e esperanzas». Anuario Galicia 2010. *Tempos Novos*.

<sup>67</sup> Monteagudo *et al.*, *Lingua e sociedade*..., 3.

The main demolinguisitic surveys conducted in Galicia over the last few years reflect an apparent paradox: on the one hand, bilingual competence has improved, yet, on the other hand, a fracture of intergenerational transmission and a decrease in the use of Galician by the youngest generations (specially in urban and peri-urban contexts) have taken place.

Thus, the *bilingualism* of Galician society and the increased competence in Galician among its population (supported by the linguistic proximity between Galician and Spanish), are (the) two elements considered positive in the works of reference about the current sociolinguistic situation in Galicia. In those works, bilingualism is not understood as a step in the substitution process but rather as «one of the biggest strengths towards the spread of Galician», and the structural proximity between the codes of Spanish and Galician is presented as beneficial for the acquisition of Galician (from a Spanish background)<sup>68</sup>. Yet, besides what has already been said herein, we would also like to point out the fact that those reports claim that bilingualism is growing because the number of habitual speakers of Galician is growing<sup>69</sup>, and stress that «the very existence of hybrid varieties may be considered a necessary step in a substitution process in a context of great structural proximity between two co-present languages (a process Kloss 1967 called *diglossic bilingualism*)»<sup>70</sup>.

## V. Summary of approaches

In 2001 Galician was a language «at risk» of disappearing, according to the parameters set by the UNESCO; and it was the change in the methodology of analysis in the 2009 report that reversed this condition by calling upon

<sup>68</sup> «The institutionalisation of Galician back in the 1980s made it possible for linguistic skills to improve substantially and, nowadays, we may consider this a bilingual society, an exceptional situation among the minoritised languages in Europe and one of the main strengths for the spread of Galician», Monteagudo *et al.*, *Lingua e sociedade...*, 29. «The advanced linguistic skills are still one of the most positive data on the status quo, which is favoured by the proximity between both languages and the great presence of Galician in society», Monteagudo *et al.*, *Lingua e sociedade...*, 9.

<sup>69</sup> «There is a trend towards bilingualisation since the 1990s, as well as an increase of monolingualisation in Spanish», Monteagudo *et al.*, *Lingua e sociedade...*, 14.

<sup>70</sup> Nancy Bobillo García, Luzia Domínguez Seco, Mário J. Herrero Valeiro and Gabriela Prego Vázquez «Las prácticas de habla en Galiza: entre el conflicto lingüístico y la armonía bilingüe (conexiones macro-micro en el discurso sociolingüístico gallego)» (Essay presented at the VI Congreso Español de Sociología. Sociología y Sociedad Federación Española de Sociología [FES] Coruña, 24-26 September 1998); Kloss, «Bilingualism and nationalis», *Journal of Social Issues* 33 (1967): 39-47.



the Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity<sup>71</sup>. It seems rather obvious that Galician-Portuguese is not in danger of extinction in the world right now. Yet, according with the situation herein described, there is an evident risk for the community occupying a great part of the geographical area where this language originated to be dispossessed of its language in the midterm due to a combined process of linguistic interference and substitution. Given this reality, and at the risk of oversimplifying our positions, we draw on the arguments put forward by outstanding agents from the different groups on the field in order to summarise the different stances and forecasts regarding the quantitative and qualitative reduction in the use of Galician evidenced during the autonomous era.

To start with, we can say that the agents responsible for the design and implementation of the linguistic policy from the Autonomic Public Administration, herein referred to as **Regionalists**, agree with subaltern co-officiality (since they believe that Galician has «enough legal recognition» and even a «solid position in education»). They deny the process of linguistic substitution (they believe that the «evolution of the sociolinguistic situation» is «very stable» and that «the vitality of the language will keep on increasing over the next few years»). They disregard the interference between Galician and Spanish, as they consider that «the structural proximity between Galician and Spanish» is a positive thing «[since it] favours learning in both languages, making them easy to use in the same speech events».

Ultimately, this group considers that, as far as language is concerned, the role of public policies is to attain an «individual and social bilingualism», which would always take place «in a context of respect towards free individual decision-making». Bearing in mind that «free linguistic choice», the future of the language would rest upon the individual willingness of those who already speak it or who want to speak it, while the Autonomous Administration would be responsible for implementing «public linguistic policies to favour its social revitalisation in all areas and communicative situations».

As to Portuguese, «beyond the rhetoric of the cultural and emotional proximity, which does not provide sufficient ground to learn it»<sup>72</sup>, the

<sup>71</sup> Expert group on endangered languages summoned by UNESCO, *Vitalidad y peligro de desaparición de las lenguas* (Paris; UNESCO, 2003). «Galician and Portuguese are, of course, generally known through differentiated literary traditions and separated by a national border, but the spoken varieties can at best be divided along a very shallow boundary south of the Galician-Portuguese border, and Galician, even if treated as an independent minority language within Spain, would not immediately qualify as endangered, because of its inherently strong position and its close proximity to Portuguese» Christopher Moseley, redator principal, *Atlas de las lenguas del mundo en peligro* (España: UNESCO, 2010), 103-104.

<sup>72</sup> Quotes taken from Anxo M. Lorenzo Suárez, «O galego en 2050? Estabilidade, vitalidade social e vectores de avance», in Fernando Ramallo, coord. *A lingua en 2050* (Vigo: Ca-troventos, 2021), 137-144.

agents that exert political power from the Autonomic Administration in Galicia deny the Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity on account of the autonomous linguistic awareness and the differentiated political projects of Galicia and Portugal<sup>73</sup>.

The groups previously characterised as **Autonomist** do not refer to any code changes aimed at approaching Portuguese, stretching the safety fringes or even strengthen the hybridisation of Galician. They think that it is necessary «modulate» the «catastrophist discourse» about the future of Galician and that the «pacífic, egalitarian coexistence between Galician and Spanish is a «realistic objective». They advocate the «strengthening of self-government» and the «dramatic shift in the linguistic policies of the Galician Government, and the corresponding Administrations, together with a radical change of the attitudes of most Galician citizens» in order to «turn substitutive bilingualism into restorative bilingualism», while guaranteeing the «vitality of the Galician language and a considerable implementation of polyglotism» in Galician, Spanish, English and Portuguese.

Regarding Portuguese, the group in the autonomic cultural institutions defends some kind of legal recognition of the «Portuguese language, historically related to Galician»<sup>74</sup>, «the intensification of human, commercial and cultural relations with Portuguese-speaking countries» and «the teaching of Portuguese in the secondary school system» in order to «close the debate on standardisation», facilitate «the adaptation of Galician to the different fields of specialisation» and prove «its usefulness in the international context»<sup>75</sup>.

**Nationalism**, in turn, including the SCG, takes part in the Public Administration through different political institutions, mainly at the local level. Its analysis focuses on the «dependence and subordination of Galicia to the Spanish State», which makes the official character of Galician «more than questionable, since it is not assigned any duties on the basis of the legal status of its uses». Given the insufficient autonomic legal-political framework, this group hopes that «a political change may and should take place in order to dismantle all or most of the institutional and political set-

<sup>73</sup> «the Galician society has assumed that Galician and Portuguese are two different and differentiated languages; that Galicia and Portugal do not form part of the same political project; that Galician and Portuguese are very similar, yet Portuguese is a foreign, strange language», «Anxo M. Lorenzo Suárez: “O uso da lingua galega mantém-se bastante estável ao longo dos últimos 30 anos”», *Portal Galego da Língua* (05-03-2021), <https://pgl.gal/anxo-m-lorenzo-suarez-o-uso-da-lingua-galega-mantem-se-bastante-estavel/> (accessed on 09-04-2022).

<sup>74</sup> Henrique Monteagudo, «O galego internacional. Un problema de comunicación», *Nós Diario*, núm. 22 (08-10-2020).

<sup>75</sup> Quotes from Henrique Monteagudo, «A reversión da substitución lingüística permite albiscar un porvir esperanzador para o galego», in Fernando Ramallo, coord. *A lingua en 2050 ...*, 161-168.

backs that work against the normality of the uses of Galician from inside the country», and it also hopes that «Galician will cease to be subordinate to Spanish»<sup>76</sup>.

Thus, particularly since the agreement towards the acceptance of the 2003 NOMIG by nationalists, outstanding agents from this group warned that «the process of hybridisation or Hispanicisation of the language keeps advancing and that is another gateway towards linguistic extinction». They propose, on the one hand, the reinforcement of the quality of the use and a greater closeness with Portuguese outside the academic standards<sup>77</sup> and, on the other hand, the «formal recognition of the use of Portuguese in Galicia». This position advocates the elimination of «any obstacles or drawbacks regarding the use of this language [Portuguese ] at any level (Administration, education, publications, etc.)» and the implementation of an «immersion model» in Galician in the education system contemplating the «study of Portuguese in all educational levels, either as a specific subject, or as part of the Galician language classes». This last measure would be aimed at expanding «the linguistic repertoire of Galician citizens and, hence, their job and career opportunities», and reinforcing «the internal structures of Galician (grammar, vocabulary), which might bring about a future normative convergence between Galician and Portuguese and reverse the current Hispanicising trends»<sup>78</sup>.

Finally, from rather peripheral political-cultural positions, **Reintegrationism** focuses on the linguistic blurring of Galician into Spanish («creolisation»), defending that «Galician is absolutely subsidiary to Spanish» and «the little quality of Galician nowadays comes to prove that it is dying». To confront this fact, Reintegrationism resorts to the referentiality of (Galician-)Portuguese to set the «cultivated standard that might bridge the distance between us and the rest of Lusophony, and provide us with self-esteem and real opportunities so that we could feel the usefulness of the re-

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<sup>76</sup> In this sense, according to majoritarian nationalism «other important yet less influential factors have contributed to weaken the creation of an active positive social mentality with regards to Galician as a language of use in all situations, propitiating instead its mimesis with Spanish or a dialectal, localist conception which sanctifies the uses and phenomena derived from centuries of dominion of the latter. One of those factors was the fracture between the official standard [NOMIG, RAG-ILG], precisely at the beginning of the autonomous period, and the tradition that considers our language and Portuguese the same language, originated in Galicia, yet damaged by the effects of the dominance of Spanish» (Francisco Rodríguez Sánchez, «Visión utópica sobre a vitalidade do idioma no 2050», in Fernando Ramallo, coord. *A lingua en 2050* ..., 227-234, 231.

<sup>77</sup> Xosé Ramón Freixeiro Mato, *Lingua de calidade* (Vigo: Xerais, 2009).

<sup>78</sup> Xosé Ramón Freixeiro Mato, «A lingua galega no ano 2010», in Fernando Ramallo, coord. *A lingua en 2050*..., 85-93.

covery and learning efforts», as the current situation evidences that «education failed» and «school is the main source of Hispanicisation» (hence the self-organisation efforts towards «alternative immersive [educational] models such as the Semente project»).

According to this group, «the elites have been implementing a linguistic policy conceived to normalise Spanish» in Galicia<sup>79</sup>. And even at the political level it is possible to identify within Reintegrationism positions that defend that «Galician is disappearing due to capitalism» and, against that *pseudomercantilisation of language(s)*, they advocate «language as a communal practice» and vindicate «the identitarian role of language», considering that «without [political] sovereignty there is no possibility to reverse the process of linguistic assimilation, with the construction of the social hegemony of Galician/Portuguese as the naturalised, habitual language of interaction»<sup>80</sup>.

Besides, since 2018, the association with greater relative centrality in the reintegrationist subsystem (AGAL) has been promoting «cooperation between autonomist and reintegrationist positions, focusing on the benefits they could bring to Galician». This so-called «bi-normative» strategy (not unanimously accepted by reintegrationism<sup>81</sup>) advocates «the coexistence in legal parity» of two «graphical options in Galicia»: on the one hand, the autonomist linguistic model (identified as local) and, on the other hand, the reintegrationist model (identified as «international Galician» or «Portuguese of Galicia»), for which this proposal seeks to attain a «legal statute»<sup>82</sup>.

Besides the aforementioned unbalance in the naturalisation of each of the nationalising macro projects present in the Galician social arena at this moment (with their margins of conciliation and conflict), in the programmatic proposals summarised so far it is possible to identify an unbalance between the different groups that move within the limits of Galicianism, namely, regarding the centrality of the different positions defended and also regarding the degree of institutionalisation of such positions and their promoters. Similarly, in these four macro positions (or systemic force lines)

<sup>79</sup> Teresa Moure, «Logo que passem vinte e cinco anos», in Fernando Ramallo, coord. *A lingua en 2050...*, 169-179; for the last statement see Mário Herrero Valeiro, *A normalización lingüística, una ilusión necesaria. A substitución do galego e a normalización do espanhol na Galiza contemporánea* (Santiago de Compostela: Através editora, 2015).

<sup>80</sup> Celso Álvarez Caccamo, «Despseudomercantilizar o galego, o portugués: uma língua comunal e socialista», in Fernando Ramallo, coord. *A lingua en 2050...*, 43-50.

<sup>81</sup> Ângelo Cristóvão, «O binormativismo e a inoportunidade do passado», Portal Galego da Língua (09-04-2022), <https://ppl.gal/o-binormativismo-e-a-inoportunidade-do-passado/> (accessed on 09-04-2022).

<sup>82</sup> AGAL, «A estratégia binormativista», <https://a.gal/binormativismo/> (accessed on 09-04-2022).

we can attest three different ways to understand the objectives of linguistic planning, and to perceive the ongoing process of linguistic dispossession and take positions with regards to it. It is also possible to attest points of friction and agreement between the aforementioned programmatic and strategic proposals; also, with regards to the role ascribed to subalternity and the ways to manage or overcome it. This may eventually be taken into account by the different agents on the field in order to plan their actions and establish (or avoid) eventual alliances or consensuses.

Thus, what has been said so far may be understood as a contribution to the organisation of those agents interested in overcoming subalternity and even as a contribution to the development of a joint programme to transition from the subalternity in force to a possible hegemony in the future. As to the eventual programme of that transition<sup>83</sup>, according to the analysis herein presented and given the window of opportunity provided by the current legal-political context in autonomous Galicia, we believe that (only?) an interdependent planning with regards to the corpus, the status and the acquisition, based on the socialisation of linguistic and ideological elements which are not subordinate to Spanish and whose referent is the Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity, may contribute to stop the inertia accumulated in the system, reversing the advanced stage of the process of linguistic interference and substitution and turn Galician(-Portuguese) into the common intra-community language of interaction (used also for foreign relations), social cohesion and identification of the Galician community as a whole.

## About the author

**Roberto Samartim** is a Permanent Lecturer in the Department of Letters of the University of A Coruña (UDC). PhD in Galician Philology, degree in Portuguese Philology and DEA in Classical and Medieval Studies from the University of Santiago de Compostela (USC). He was co-director of *Agália. Revista de Estudos na Cultura* (2010-2016), Vice Dean of the Faculty of Philology at the UDC (2011-2013), General Secretary of the Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas (AIL, 2011-2014), Communication Manager at the AIL and Editor of [www.plataforma9.com](http://www.plataforma9.com) (2014-2018).

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<sup>83</sup> A first possible draft in Samartim, «Português como freio...».

Among his research interests are the study of female participation in the literary system of the Portuguese Renaissance; the study of the construction process of the Galician literary / cultural system in the transition from the Franco regime to the autonomous regime (particularly, the relations that the agents involved maintain with other cultural systems in the Hispanic and Portuguese-speaking areas); or the study of the process of linguistic-cultural elaboration in the Autonomous Galicia. Since 2012, his research has also focused on the study of the impacts of discourses related to the Ways of Santiago on the local community of Compostela, regarding their relationship with touristic practices, policies and cultures linked to the phenomenon of pilgrimages.

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