

**Portuguese as a Contact Language in Galicia:
Convergence, Divergence, Ideology and Identity**

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1. Introduction

Studies on language contact tend to focus on linguistic codes, regarded as entities that are external to the people who speak them and which can be analysed as if they were natural objects (hence the frequent metaphors taken from biology or other areas: languages are born, die, decay or are purified, hybridise, etc.). This perspective dominated linguistics during the twentieth century, as encapsulated in the idea expressed explicitly by Saussure (1995, 31) in *Cours de linguistique générale*: “La langue, distincte de la parole, est un objet qu’on peut étudier séparément”. This perspective, which regards language as a natural object, also dominated studies of linguistic change: “‘language changes’ - it is not (necessarily) speakers that change it” (Lass 1980, 120). Contact studies have followed a similar path since their very foundation (Weinreich 1953), although in recent decades other, more comprehensive perspectives have made inroads, from works such as that of Le Page/Tabouret-Keller (1985), or more recently, the most valuable and complex visions of linguistic contact developed by Jan Blommaert (2010). However, these studies are still limited (or non-existent) regarding contact between the Iberian languages, and Romance languages in general.

Galician, the Ibero-Romance language spoken in north-western Spain, is closely related in genetic terms to Portuguese. The common written and literary language in the Middle Ages, known as Galician-Portuguese, led to both languages emerging at the end of the Middle Ages, as Portuguese developed a standard language based on Lisbon dialects and departed from the northern varieties, while Galicia remained under the rule of the Kingdom of Castile and Galician vanished as a written language. From that point on, Galician has been in contact with Spanish and separated from Portuguese by a political border. In this situation, Portuguese is not usually regarded as a contact language for Galician.

From the literary Renaissance in the 19th century and the recovery of Galician as a written language, kinship and shared history with Portuguese has been invoked as a feature of prestige and Portuguese has an important role as a language of reference, whether as a preferred language for the adoption of loans, through proposals for greater alignment between the two languages, or unification of the written standard. This has led to different grammatical and lexical features, taken from the Portuguese, currently being found in standard and literary Galician. Moreover, some minority groups (known as “Reintegrationist”) advocate further alignment with Portuguese spelling and grammar or simply the adoption of the Portuguese standard for written Galician. At the same time, the continuity of phonetic, grammatical and lexical features between linguistic varieties of Galicia and northern Portugal, which were historically maintained across the political border (Cintra 1971), are disappearing due to the diffusion of standard Portuguese on the south side of the political border (Regueira/Ginzo, 2019), and of standard Galician, and also contact with Spanish on the north side (González et al. 2002).

In this context, the apparent paradox of numerous features being taken from written Portuguese (mainly lexical and grammatical), while at the same time forms of contact with Spanish appearing (especially phonetic and grammatical, but also lexical and other kinds), can be encountered in some public discourses. On the basis of sociolinguistics focused on the agency of speakers (Eckert 2012, 2018) and the theory of indexical orders (Silverstein 2003), this article intends to demonstrate that these are resources used by speakers to build and strengthen identities at different levels (social, ideological and political, amongst others). At another level, it can be argued that some of these Reintegrationist groups constitute an alternative public sphere (Habermas 1962), or more precisely what Nancy Fraser (1990) refers to as *subaltern counterpublics*.

Regarding the organization of this article, it will begin with an introduction to the relationship between Galician and Portuguese, focusing on linguistic continuities detected across the political border and the divergence between the standards of both linguistic communities, as well as the importance of Portuguese in the standardization of Galician. Subsequently, the method employed is described, and the corpus considered for this study analysed, before the results are discussed in the conclusion.

2. Galician and Portuguese: continuity and divergence

The Galician and Portuguese languages have their origin in Ibero-Romance linguistic varieties spoken in the ancient Kingdom of Galicia. This kingdom extended southward with the “Reconquista” (the conquest and recovery of lands held by the Arabs), and by the end of the 11th century the southern part of the Miño river became the County of Portugal, which became an independent kingdom in the first third of the 12th century. Although Galicia and Portugal were already different kingdoms when this area stopped using Latin and began to use Romance in documents, translations, chronicles and, later, as a literary language, on both sides of the border a fundamentally similar language was written, which is known as Galician-Portuguese.

This unity was ruptured when, at the end of the Middle Ages, Portuguese started the standardization of the language based on the variety spoken in the power centres of Lisbon and Coimbra, located in the southern centre of the country, far from Galicia and the County of Portugal (Neto 1979, 381-390; Teyssier 1982, 35; Vázquez 1998; Venâncio 2019). As Paul Teyssier affirms (1982, 40): “E assim é que o galego, que nas orixens da lingua tanto contribuiu para definir a lingua literaria, veio a encontrar-se no pólo oposto desta mesma norma” [“And that is how Galician, which when the language was originating contributed so much to defining its literary language, came to be at the opposite pole of this same norm.”]. In standardization processes undertaken during the following centuries, the trends towards unification continued to act “no sentido desgaleguizador e latinizante” “[in the distancing from Galician and Latinising sense”] (Vázquez 1998, 59), increasingly separating standard Portuguese from the language spoken in the north of the country (and from Galician) (see Venâncio 2019, 105-150). Galicia, meanwhile, was subjected to the crown of Castile and eventually annexed by the kingdom of Spain. The Galician language ceased to be written in the early 16th century, until it was recovered in the 19th century as a literary and written language and initiated an independent standardization process. Currently, Galician is the official language of Galicia, along with Spanish.¹

In the 20th century, social changes, the urbanization of society, education and the media have caused standard languages to extend to all corners of both Portugal and Galicia, where Spanish spread as the language of the Spanish state, and in recent decades

¹ For a linguistic comparison of current Galician and Portuguese, see Dubert & Galves (2016).

standard Galician also. One of the effects of this has been that the longstanding linguistic continuity between Galician territory and northern Portugal, which persisted through the centuries in traditional rural society on both sides of the political border, has started to fade away quite quickly. This process seems to be more advanced in Portugal (Regueira/Ginzo 2019). For example, the Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula (ALPI, data collected in 1953-1956, presented partially in Cintra 1971) detects the preservation of a system of six fricative sibilants, as well as another system of four sibilants, two apico-alveolars and two postalveolars, with voice opposition in each pair (which contrasts with the standard system, with two lamino-dentals and two postalveolars, cf. Mateus/D'Andrade 2000, 13-14), while Martins/Saramago (1993) show that in the Atlas Linguarum Europae (ALE, data obtained in 1975) the presence of these systems is already greatly reduced. Note that these atlases list the most conservative forms of rural speech patterns, with NORM speakers (non-mobile, old, rural, males). Furthermore, Cintra (1983 [1958], 27) states: “No Norte e no Centro de Portugal [...] o facto de grande parte das diferenças existentes em relação à linguagem normal ser sentida muito vivamente como rusticismo e evitada na medida do possível, desde que haja algum conhecimento da linguagem-padrão, obrigou-nos a escolher quase sempre aldeias isoladas, fora das principais vias de comunicação” [“In Northern and Central Portugal [...], the fact that most of the differences related to the normal language are perceived very strongly as backward, and have been avoided as much as possible ever since there was some knowledge of the standard language, has forced us to almost always choose isolated villages, away from the main thoroughfares.”]. These features that are “perceived as backward” largely coincide with Galician. It would seem, therefore, that the continuities presented in ALPI are not representative of the general state of the language up to the 1950s, and that the loss of the native varieties was already far advanced. In Regueira/Ginzo (2019), with data of university students from central and northern Portugal, these systems that diverge from the standard language are no longer registered. Moreover, in the Galician part, the divergent standard systems that displayed continuity in the north of Portugal are disappearing (González et al. 2002), even though in general greater dialectal diversity is retained.

In spite of this, the Galician phonetics of “traditional” speakers (i.e., who speak Galician as L1 and live in Galician-speaking environments) differs in many aspects from Spanish and is even closer to Portuguese phonetics with regard to nasalization (Carvalho 1988, Regueira 2010), or the word-final unstressed vowels (Regueira 2007). The

pronunciation of stressed vowels is also very similar to that of Portuguese, with a system of seven vowels with contrastive differentiation between mid-high and mid-low vowels: /e/ *bebe* ‘drink (imperative)’ [ˈbɛβi] vs. /ɛ/ (*el/ela*) *bebe* [ˈbɛβi] ‘(s/he) drinks’; /ɔ/ *bóla* [ˈbɔlə] ‘ball’ vs. /o/ *bola* [ˈbolə] ‘bun’ (see Regueira/Fernández Rei in press). Some recent developmental processes also seem to approximate Galician to Portuguese phonetics, such as the development of [ʃ] at the end of words in certain rural dialects (*meses* [ˈmeʃi] ‘months’, Pt [ˈmezɨ]), cf. Regueira/Ginzo 2019), or the lowering of the mid vowels in pretonic position, mainly in learned words such as *electricidade* [ɛlektriθiˈðaði] ‘electricity’ or *obsesión* [ɔbseˈsjon] ‘obsession’ (cf. Regueira 2008, 276-280; Martínez-Gil 2019), coinciding with a similar process in Portugal (Mascarenhas 1996; Barbosa 1988).

In Galicia, there was a process of rapid urbanization, accompanied by increasing language substitution. According to data from the *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* (*Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia*) (RAG 1994), speakers with L1 Spanish went from 11.3% in the oldest generations to 45.9% in the youngest; in the MSG 2004 (RAG 2007), 37.2% of speakers between 16 and 25 claim to have L1 Spanish and 32.5% more Spanish than Galician. Although some of these young people use Galician, to a greater or lesser extent, it is obvious that contact with Spanish is very high in the majority of the population, especially in urban environments. Furthermore, most of the media is received in Spanish (television, radio, the Spanish press, and also most of the Galician media), which continues to be the language of the state.

Galician is the majority language used in the regional and local administration. A radio station and two television channels that are local in scope broadcast in Galician, as is the case for different programmes on Spanish networks broadcast in Galicia. It is also present in education at all levels, and cultural and political life takes place mostly in Galician. Galician employed in public life therefore displays the effects of contact with Spanish, especially in phonic aspects, and therefore a greater separation between public Galician and the media, and the Galician of ‘traditional’ speakers, is taking place (Regueira 1994; Kabatek 1996).

3. The standardization of Galician and its convergence with Portuguese: the debate on linguistic norms

From the start of the recovery of Galician as a written language, Portugal and the Portuguese language played a prominent role in Galician culture. The frequent references to the Portuguese language, as the "legitimate daughter of Galician" (Hermida 1996), stem, as stated González Seoane (1996, 123), from “un desexo de subliña-la importancia do galego como berce dunha moderna lingua de cultura” [“a desire to emphasize the importance of Galician as the cradle of a modern cultural language.”]. To highlight the similarities and the close historical relationship with the language of a colonial empire and an important literature is a method for the legitimization of Galician, Galician identity and cultural sovereignty (Torres 1999, 273).

Despite these statements, Portuguese played a marginal role in the standardization of Galician until the 1970s. In the final years of the dictatorship of General Franco (1939-1975), Galician recovered social spaces while at the same time the political recognition of Galicia as a nation or a "historic nationality" within the Spanish state was requested. At the end of that decade, Galician began to be used in compulsory education, administration, political and cultural acts, and thus began a process of "linguistic normalization" (Regueira 2006).

Part of that process was the “corpus planning” or standardization (see Fernández Salgado/Monteagudo 1995, Alonso 2006, Ramallo/Rey-Doval 2015). The Real Academia Galega (RAG) [Royal Galician Academy] and the Instituto da Lingua Galega (ILG) [Instituto of Galician Language] were the main actors in this process, and despite some disagreements both institutions promoted a language form based upon the literary tradition since the “Rexurdimento” [Resurgence] in the 1860s and upon the spoken language. That was when a debate on the form of standard Galician took place.

This debate had its starting point in an article by Manuel Rodrigues Lapa (1973), in which he disqualified attempts to recover Galician for learned communication from the spoken language as "ineffective" and “ridiculous” and formulated the proposal to adopt Portuguese: “Nada mais resta senão admitir, que sendo o português literário actual a forma que teria o galego se o não tivessem desviado do caminho próprio, este aceite uma língua que lhe é brindada em salva de prata” [“There is nothing left to do but admit that with literary Portuguese being the current form that Galician would have had if it had not been deviated from its own path, the latter should accept a language which is offered to it on a silver platter” (p. 286)]. Lapa's argument, in addition to being an exercise in counterfactual history, consciously ignores the fact that the Portuguese standard was built

on the southern models, at a remove from the Portuguese of the north and from Galician (see above 2). Lapa (1973, 283) comments, among other, on a Galician expression found in a poetry translation, arguing that “quadrará ao labrego que se deixa cair para baixo do ervedeiro, com a barriga ao leu e a camisa encharcada em suor” [“it would suit the farm worker who lays down beneath the arbutus, with his belly bare and his shirt soaked with sweat”], but that it is not consistent with “modos decentes e a compostura do caçador de ocios” [“decent manners and the composure of the leisure seeker”]. The contrast made by Lapa is revealing of his social and cultural prejudices towards Galician and linguistic diversity in general.

Lapa’s proposal was rejected by the leading figures of the Galicianist movement, such as Ramón Piñeiro (1973) and Álvaro Cunqueiro (1973). The answer of the latter, who was a writer and journalist, in the journal *El Faro de Vigo* was clear and direct: “bríndasenos unha lingua que non é a nosa” [“we are being offered a language that is not ours.”]. He accuses Lapa of being a “colonialist” and reminds him that a language into which Shakespeare, Rilke, Yeats, or Elliot were translated, is capable of expressing Heidegger’s thought (*Vom Wesen der Wahrheit* was translated into Galician before Spanish) has proven that it is suitable for learned communication. This proposal did not, therefore, have major repercussions at the time, but would be resumed some years later (see below).

In 1982, the Galician government established the *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma galego* [*Orthographic and Morphological Norms of the Galician Language*], as developed by the Real Academia Galega and the Instituto of Lingua Galega in 1982 (RAG/ILG 1982). At that time, Galician was already an official language, together with Spanish, and the “language of Galicia”, as established by the Statute of Galician Autonomy, passed in 1981.

In the official standard, a certain convergence with Portuguese is promoted. In the official normative it is expressly stated that:

As escollas normativas deben ser harmónicas coas das outras linguas, especialmente coas romances en xeral e coa portuguesa en particular [...]. Para o arriquecemento do léxico culto, nomeadamente no referido aos ámbitos científico e técnico, o portugués será considerado recurso fundamental, sempre que esta adopción non for contraria ás características estruturais do galego (RAG/ILG 2012, 10).

[Normative selections must be in keeping with those of other languages, especially with the Romance languages in general and in particular with Portuguese [...]. For the enrichment of learned lexicon, particularly in regard to scientific and technical fields, Portuguese will be considered a primary resource, provided that this adoption is not contrary to the structural features of Galician.]

Since the 1970s, the Galician linguistic standard has experienced a gradual drift towards Portuguese (Regueira 2003). This approach may be seen in morphological aspects, such as the selection of certain forms of co-occurrence with Portuguese (such as the plural form of the oxytonic nouns and adjectives ending in *-l*, such as *animais* ‘animals’, or verbal forms such as *sexa* (3rd p. present subjunctive of *ser* ‘to be’, instead of other variants such as *seña* or *sea*), *íra* (3rd p. imperfect of *ir* ‘to go’, instead of the most frequent *iba*), in the selection of lexical variants (*igrexa* ‘church’, *parafuso* ‘screw’, etc., instead of *eirexa* ~ *iglesia* ~ *ilesia*, and *tornillo*, see Regueira 2003), as well as in the adoption of learned terminology and lexicon: *orzamento* ‘budget’, *adestrar* ‘to train’, *vestiario* ‘wardrobe’, amongst others. There are also variants that are not present in the vernacular language, but which coincide with Portuguese, such as the suffix *-bel*, together with *-ble* (*amábel* ~ *amable* ‘kind’), the suffix *-aría*, together with *-ería* (*zapataría* ~ *zapatería* ‘shoe shop’), or forms such as *até* ~ *ata* ‘until’, *se callar* ‘maybe’ etc.

However, around the time when Galician became an official language, alternative proposals appeared which, based on Lapa’s idea that Galician had been deviated from its natural path by Spanish colonization, accused the official standard of being a castilianized form of Galician, proclaiming the need to “reintegrar o noso idioma no seu espazo natural, o galego-portugués” [“reinstate our language in its natural environment, Galician-Portuguese”] (Rodríguez 2008), hence the name of this movement: “Reintegracionismo”.

Proponents of these proposals were divided into two main groups: on the one hand, the "minimum Reintegrationism" position, which maintained a “Reintegrationist” discourse that postulated Portuguese as the main guideline for standard Galician, but in practice only diverges from the official normative in minor aspects; and on the other hand, "maximum Reintegrationism", which adopted numerous written, grammatical and lexical features from standard Portuguese, but not the phonetic features (for example, the written representations *-s-* / *-ss-* and *-j-*, *-g-* / *-x-* were introduced, but not the distinction between voiced and unvoiced fricatives, the *-z-* and *-ç-* spellings are read as [θ], a fricative inexistent in Portuguese, etc.). Numerous differential features are maintained with

Portuguese (nasal vowels are not represented, the morphology is basically that of Galician, the lexicon contains many more Lusisms but retains features which differentiate it from Portuguese). This was the position of the Associação Galega da Língua (AGAL, see AGAL 1983, 1985).

During the 1980s and 1990s, "minimum Reintegrationism" enjoyed a social presence of some significance because it was adopted officially by the main nationalist party, the BNG (Galician Nationalist Bloc), and the most important trade union in Galicia, the CIG (Galician Inter-Union Confederation), linked to the BNG. Standard Galician therefore became a political battleground, in which an important part of Galician nationalism fought the official normative as a way of symbolizing opposition to the current law (Galicia as an "autonomous community" within the Kingdom of Spain) that was felt to be insufficient. In 2003, an agreement was reached between representatives of this tendency with the RAG and ILG, which led to certain modifications in the selection of variants of this norm being made (the greater relevance of some variants that match Portuguese, like *-bel*, *-aría*, *ao*, *até*, *Galiza*, amongst others, with respect to the more usual variants *-ble*, *-ería*, *ó*, *ata*, *Galicia*). From 2003, therefore, the BNG, CIG and associations within the nationalist spectrum use the official standard, but "maximum Reintegrationism" continued to be used by some cultural (Associação Galega da Língua, Academia Galega da Língua Portuguesa) and separatist groups (most importantly, Nós-Unidade Popular, formally dissolved in June 2015).

The products that emerge from the linguistic practices of maximum Reintegrationism are not, therefore, texts in Portuguese, since they maintain a form of differentiated Galician (in the spelling, phonetics, grammar, and partly in the lexicon). On the other hand, the texts are conditioned by the low level of knowledge of Portuguese in Galicia, despite the similarities and linguistic proximity. There are certainly intellectual minorities who have a good knowledge of the literary language and erudite knowledge of aspects of Portuguese history and culture, but the language and culture of Portuguese ordinary life is scarcely known. As stated by the Portuguese anthropologist Antonio Medeiros (2003, 335-336): "As referências ao país vizinho feitas no discurso galeguista podem ser caracterizadas como apropriação de aspectos muito selectivos da cultura portuguesa. Surgem-nos como percepções estereotipadas, invariavelmente positivas, mas por regra muito desfasadas do que é familiar e julgado relevante no quotidiano dos nativos do país vizinho" ["References to the neighbouring country made in Galicianist discourse can be characterized as the appropriation of highly selective aspects of Portuguese culture.

They appear to be stereotyped perceptions, invariably positive but usually very removed from what is familiar and judged relevant in the daily life of the natives of the neighbouring country."] Thus, the texts produced by these groups very often fail to meet their objective of approximating Galician to Portuguese. In that sense, Medeiros (2003, 330) comments on the “maximum Reintegrationist” texts: “Foi em textos que observavam esta regra –sobretudo aqueles que a aplicavam de forma mais imaginosa, mimando tanto quanto possível a ortografia portuguesa– que encontrei algumas das dificuldades mais intrincadas de compreensão do galego” [“It was in texts that observed this rule - especially those who applied it more imaginatively, mimicking Portuguese orthography as much as possible - that I found some of the most intricate difficulties of understanding Galician.”]. Even in texts supposedly written in Portuguese, this type of problem often appears, as indicated by Tiago Vidal, a teacher of Portuguese, concerning an article published in the journal *A Trabe de Ouro*, which “pasaría, para a redacción da revista e para moitos lectores, como escrito en portugués. Pero non é certo. [...] O texto [...] está composto cunha extravagante mestura de ingredientes da lingua galega, española e portuguesa” [“it would, for the writing of the journal and for many readers, pass for Portuguese. But it is not true. [...] The text [...] is made up of an extravagant blend of ingredients ranging from Galician and Spanish to Portuguese.”] (Vidal 1994, 142; see also Venâncio 2019, 193-194, 227-230, 233-235).

In spite of the discourses of approximation to Portugal, there is still little cultural exchange and virtually no social communication with Portugal. Each country’s media shape disconnected communicative spaces, and all Spanish electronic media and press are received in Galicia, in contrast to those from Portugal. Even those that can be received (like radio in the southern part of Galicia) are not followed by the Galician public. The Galician and Portuguese public and political spheres remain, as such, disconnected (Regueira 2016). After more than two decades after the disappearance of the border, following the Schengen Agreement of 1992, the border is still there: “La desaparición completa de los controles fronterizos y de cualquier marca visible de división no ha supuesto la desaparición de la ‘frontera mental’” [“The complete disappearance of border controls and any visible mark of division has not meant the disappearance of the 'mental border'”] (Kavanagh 2011, 45).

3. Method

The corpus on which this work is based is formed by three recordings that are part of the *Corpus Oral Informatizado da Lingua Galega* [Computerized Oral Corpus of Galician] (CORILGA) (García-Mateo et al. 2014; Seara et al. 2016). They consist of two statements made by Bieito Lobeira, a BNG deputy, in the Galician Parliament in 2010 and 2012, and a speech read at the closing ceremony of the VII Nós-Unidade Popular National Assembly by spokesperson Rebeca Bravo in 2013.

These discourses have been selected because they are some prime examples of the public use of Reintegrationist Galician, which usually only appears in peripheral areas (Herrero 2011, 75). These can be cultural events in certain groups or associations, which tend to not go beyond the scope of the group itself, or certain acts of political protest, precisely where the "non-standard" linguistic form conveys some ideological contents of Lusophile or countercultural nationalism (Herrero 2011, 73-79), and as such is very visible in graffiti (Rodríguez/Ramallo 2015). I try not to use written texts as they do not have a phonetic form and are affected by a corrective factor (the author's own or that of other people). However, Rebeca Bravo's speech consists of the reading of a written text, and this factor must be considered when assessing deviations that may arise. In examples in this text, I have followed the spelling used by the Associação Galega da Língua (AGAL 1985) and the manual by Maurício Castro (1998), a former leader of Nós-UP.

The deputy Bieito Lobeira is one of those political figures who have declared themselves to be Reintegrationist and who occupy a space of political relevance, although within a party that since 2003 has abandoned Reintegrationist discourse. Therefore, although a Reintegrationism supporter, he finds himself in a situation (delivering a formal speech in Parliament) in which standard Galician is the usual variety, and as a representative of a party that is not officially Reintegrationist. On the other hand, Nós-UP was the most important party that defined itself as a defender of the "maximum" Reintegrationist position until its dissolution in 2015, but was nevertheless marginal in the Galician political scene (at the 2005 Galician elections it won its best election result, a total of 1749 votes, or 0.12%).²

The first statement by Lobeira is a response during a debate concerning a popular legislative initiative in defence of the Galician language in the plenary session held on

² See article "Nós-Unidade Popular" in Galician Wikipedia https://gl.wikipedia.org/wiki/N%C3%B3s-Unidade_Popular [last accessed 12.07.2020].

14.12.2010, with a duration of 6 minutes, and the second is the defence of a non-legislative proposal on Marine SAR (Servizo Aéreo de Rescate [Air Rescue Service]), in the plenary session which took place on 27.06.2012, with a duration of 10 minutes 32 seconds. These are two oral speeches that are available on the Galician Parliament website and also on YouTube.³ These parliamentary sessions were attended by representatives of public organizations that defend Galician and representatives of seafarers, respectively.

Rebecca Bravo read a speech, lasting 16 minutes and 40 seconds, which contains the main conclusions of the conference as well as the presentation of the political lines to be followed by the formation.⁴ The event took place in a hotel in the municipality of Teo, near Santiago de Compostela on 30/11/2013, and members of the group and guests from other parties and organizations are present.

The interventions were transcribed using the ELAN program (Brugman 2004), which allows transcripts to be aligned with the sound file. From there, a description was given of the most significant aspects, taking standard Galician into account, features of Portuguese which are introduced and do not form part of standard Galician, as well as the forms introduced from Spanish as a contact language. It should be noted that the presence of Spanish in Galicia spans for several centuries (Mariño 2000) and many forms (mostly loanwords, but also some grammatical features) historically taken from Spanish are part of vernacular Galician, although they are not admitted in the standard language.

The analysis and interpretation of these oral texts will be undertaken on the basis that the speakers are not monolithic entities who employ linguistic codes that are susceptible to being analysed as objective entities external to themselves (see Section 1), but who engage in linguistic practises “in which speakers place themselves in the social landscape through stylistic practice” (Eckert 2012, 93-94), therefore focus will be placed, following Blommaert/Rampton (2011, 5), on “the ways in which people take on different linguistic forms as they align and disaffiliate with different groups at different moments and stages”.

3 The statements can be found on the Galician Parliament's website: <http://mediateca.parlamentodegalicia.gal/library/items/actos-institucionales-8-lexislatura-pleno-2010-12-14>, and <http://mediateca.parlamentodegalicia.gal/library/items/pleno-ordinario-2012-06-27> [last accessed 12.07.2020]. On YouTube: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XgHvulg_fJ0&ab_channel=BloqueNacionalistaGalego\(BNG\)](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XgHvulg_fJ0&ab_channel=BloqueNacionalistaGalego(BNG)), and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=APSVF10O1f4&ab_channel=galicia24horas [last accessed 12.07.2020].

4 The recording of the event can be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xMW24iHOch4&ab_channel=IrmandadeTV and also at <http://gzvideos.info/?p=8956&lang=pt> [last accessed 12.07.2020].

This approach is consistent with a constructionist view of identity, which understands identity as “the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore is a social and cultural rather than primarily internal psychological phenomenon” (Bucholtz/Hall 2005, 585; see also Joseph 2004, 2010; Benwell/Stokoe 2006; Bucholtz/Hall 2010; Bamberg et al. 2011). The mechanism through which identities are produced is indexicality (Silverstein 2003; Johnstone 2010; Blommaert 2010). Indexicality acts at different levels or orders (Silverstein 2003), therefore a form which can signal geographical or social origin in a primary way, can index ideological values or those of another kind, such as loyalty to a social group, a social or linguistic ideology, etc. in another order (Silverstein 2014, 183). Indexicality acts at different levels simultaneously to produce identity, and this process occurs through linguistic interaction. In the words of Bucholtz/Hall (2005, 607-608):

The linguistic resources that indexically produce identity at all these levels are therefore necessarily broad and flexible, including labels, implicatures, stances, styles, and entire languages and varieties. Because these tools are put to use in interaction, the process of identity construction does not reside within the individual but in intersubjective relations of sameness and difference, realness and fakeness, power and disempowerment.

Therefore, in the analysis presented here, the focus falls on features from different levels, such as the pronunciation of some phonetic segments, the employment of grammatical forms, syntactic structures, lexicon, set expressions and other discursive elements, in order to show identity creation practices that emerge in each case. From there, the function that linguistic elements of Portuguese perform will be discussed in relation to the identitarian practices displayed.

4. Linguistic description

4.1. Parliamentary statements by Bieito Lobeira

The current standard of Galician allows a reduced number of morphological variations that are revealing of the users’ linguistic ideologies, as were the subject of lengthy discussions and debates before the 2003 orthographical agreement, including the preposition *ata / até* ‘until’ or the suffix *-ble / -bel* (*amable / amábel* ‘kind’). The first

forms were proposed in the official normative, and those that were defended by Reintegrationist groups are in second place (cf. Pt *até*, *-vel*).⁵ Similarly, the name of the country has been the subject of debate and continues to have a dual use: *Galicia* (the official name) / *Galiza* (the medieval form recovered in the 20th century in written uses and used mostly by nationalist groups, cf. Pt *Galiza*). The deputy Lobeira always use the forms closest to Portuguese: *até* ‘until’, *Galiza*, *favorábel* ‘favourable’, *posíbel* ‘possible’, *estabelecer* (< *estábel*) ‘establish’, etc.

On the other hand, he also uses the pronoun *vosté* (StGal *vostede*, Pt *você* ‘you [formal]’), which was a form proposed by the "minimum Reintegrationist" normative sponsored by the BNG before 2003. It uses lexical forms that diverge from standard Galician and coincide with Portuguese: *eleitoral* (StGal *electoral*), *aceitación* (StGal *aceptación* ‘acceptance’), *gostar* (*gustar* ‘like’), *parlamentar* (*parlamentario* ‘parliamentary’), *sofrer* (*sufrir* ‘suffer’), *inteiras* (*enteiras* ‘whole’), *nen... nen...* (*nin... nin...* ‘neither... nor’), *cúmplice* (*cómplice*), etc.

In the statement referring to the language (Stat-1), with the presence of a public from cultural associations and teachers, the use of a greater amount of marked forms is registered, especially in grammatical forms such as the future subjunctive (*cando dos debates de lingua se tratar*) and inflected infinitives: *falaren*, *aproveitárense*, etc. Note that these forms are amongst those that some Galician linguists regard as indexes of a “quality” language: “A calidade do galego recoñécese en trazos concretos: o uso do futuro de subxuntivo, do infinitivo flexionado, das interpolacións pronominais entre outros aspectos que non detallarei agora” [“The quality of Galician is recognized in specific traits: the use of the future subjunctive, inflected infinitive, pronominal interpolations amongst other aspects which I will not detail at this point”] (Moure 2011, 108; see also Freixeiro 2009). The future subjunctive is not used in vernacular Galician and has a very limited use in the written language; the inflected infinitive is losing ground in spoken Galician, although it is employed in the contexts of formal speeches and written language. Conversely, both tenses are frequently used in Portuguese.

Lexical Lusisms also appear in this statement, such as *suceso* (StGal *éxito*), significantly in a self-correction: “é a proba empírica do éxito... do suceso, da política lingüística do Partido Popular” [“This is the empirical proof of the success (StGal)... success (Pt) of the language policy of the Partido Popular.”]. Another lexical Lusism is

⁵ Abbreviations used: fem. = feminine; masc. = masculine; pl. = plural; Pt = Portuguese; Sp = Spanish; StGal = Standard Galician.

crianzas ‘children’, alongside the corresponding Galician term: “prohiben que até crianzas, nenos e nenas de tres anos, poidan aprender a ler e escribir no idioma propio deste país” [“they prohibit even children (Pt), three-year old children (StGal), from learning to read and write in the language of this country.”]. Furthermore, at this point he ends the speech with an “Obrigado”, an expression of gratitude taken from Portuguese, although both at the beginning and the end he uses the standard Galician form, *grazas*: “grazas, señora presidenta”; “Obrigado. Moitas grazas” [“Thank you (StGal), Madame President”; “Thank you (Pt). Thank you (StGal) very much.”]. These traits are not found in statements concerning Marine SAR (Stat-2).

However, the use of forms taken from Spanish, as a contact language in Galicia, is also significant: there are lexical forms, syntactic structures, and above all different features of the phonological and phonetic system, which I shall discuss below.

Some lexical Castilianisms appear, such as *asignatura* ‘subject’ (StGal *materia*, Pt *matéria*) (Stat-1), *tasas* ‘fees’ (StGal and Pt *taxas*) (Stat-2), *cortos* ‘short’ (StGal and Pt *curtos*) (Stat-2), *acomplexados* ‘complexed’, pronounced with [ʃ] (StGal and Pt [ks]) (Stat-1). There are also some morphological Castilianisms, such as *moito desorde* ‘a lot of disorder’ (masc.; StGal *moita desorde*, Pt *muita desordem*, fem.) (Stat-2), and expressions such as *con arreglo a* ‘in accordance with’ (StGal *consonte, de conformidade con*; Pt *consoante, de conformidade com*) (Stat-2). In Stat-2, syntactic structures with reflexives that are typical of Spanish also appear: *quedámonos cortos* ‘we have fallen short’ (StGal *quedamos curtos*) or *pensarse: vai haber moita xente no mar [...] que se vai pensar dúas veces a posibilidade de chamar ou non ao servizo de salvamento* [“there are going to be a lot of people who work at sea [...] who are going to think twice about calling the rescue services or not”] (StGal *que vai pensar*) (Stat-2). Most of these lexical and grammatical Castilianisms are common in spoken vernacular Galician, but are not part of the standard language (cf. Schulte in this volume for a similar observation in vernacular Valencian Catalan).

The most striking aspect of these speeches is the use of a phonological system that is very close to the Spanish one, and distant from Galician and Portuguese. Particularly notable is the presence of a system of five stressed vowels, coinciding with Spanish, given that there is no distinction between mid-low and mid-high vowels: *prop[o]n a instauraci[o]n* (StGal [ɔ] / [o]) ‘proposes the installing’, *t[e]n que l[e]r* ([ɛ] / [e]) ‘s/he has to read’, and the same happens in the words in which a mid-low vowel is expected

but which are pronounced with a mid-high vowel: *fixera* ‘had made’, *mesmo* ‘same’, *cóbrase* (6 times) ‘is charged’, *Bloque* (Bloc, the name of his party), *logo* ‘then’, *trintesete* ‘thirty-seven’, *leva* ‘carries’, *nosso* ‘our’, *cento* ‘hundred’, *a pé* ‘on foot’, etc. In fact, an acoustic analysis⁶ of all the stressed vowels of these statements reveals a triangle of 5 vowels, with slight differentiation between the back mid-vowels, as shown in Figure 1 (cf. for a similar convergence pattern in phonetics of Colloquial Valencia due to contact with Spanish, see Schulte in this volume):

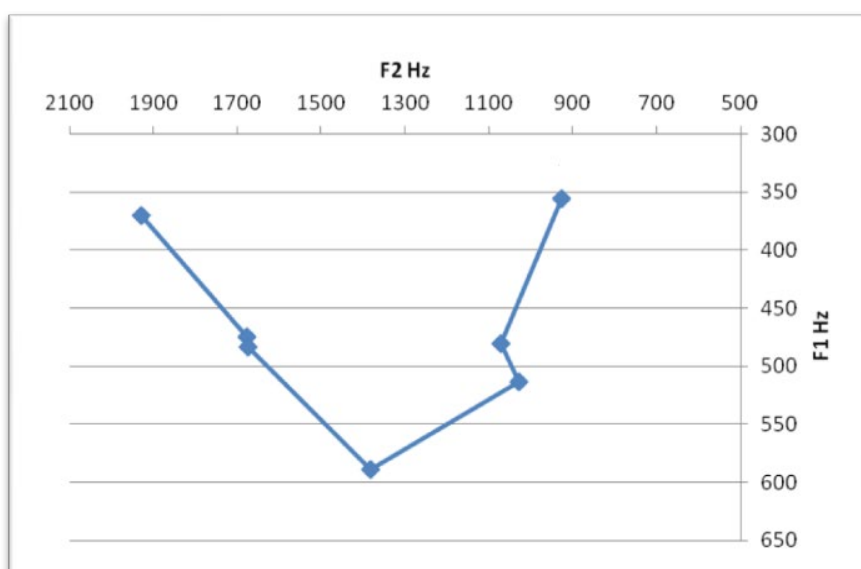


Figure 1: Triangle of Lobeira's stressed vowels in the two parliamentary statements (the vowels from left to right, following the line [i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u])

Moreover, the word-final unstressed vowels are closest auditorily to their counterparts in Spanish and not Galician, although vernacular Galician and spoken Portuguese present striking similarities in this respect, as demonstrated by Regueira (2007), who presents and compares acoustic results for stressed and unstressed word-final vowels of recordings of two sets of speakers of vernacular Galician and Northern Portuguese (Braga).

Furthermore, as concerns the the consonant system, sufficient differentiation between the apical [ʃ] and postalveolar [ʒ] sibilants does not manifest itself, although these sibilants are quite differentiated in Galician, except in certain marginal dialects and

6

The acoustic analyses were carried out with Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2016).

the speech of some speakers whose first language is Spanish (Regueira/Ginzo 2019). Lobeira, instead, presents numerous cases in which a sibilant that is very close to the apico-alveolar is detected where one would expect a lamino-postalveolar: *xa* ‘already’, *inxenuos* ‘ingenuous’, *lexislatura* ‘legislature’, *xestionouse* ‘was organized’, *fixera* ‘had done’, *Xunta* (the Galician government), *demagoxia* ‘demagogy’, *axuda* ‘help’, *sexa* ‘may be’, *xeral* ‘general’, *baixo* ‘beneath’, *axilidade* ‘agility’, etc.

4.2. Speech read by Rebeca Bravo at the Nós-UP VII National Assembly

In the variety used by advocates of maximum Reintegrationist, an orthographic, morphologic, syntactic and lexical approximation to Portuguese is sought, since they argue that Galician and Portuguese are the same language: Galician-Portuguese. However, a full identification is not sought, but the existence of many differential traces, at all levels, as can be seen, for example, in *Manual de iniciación à lingua galega [Beginner’s Manual for Galician]*, by Mauricio Castro Lopez (1998), who at the time was a member of Nós-UP and also the Fundação Artabria, as was Rebeca Bravo. In this manual, "Galician" is used to refer to the variety of Galician-Portuguese spoken in Galicia. As usual in this type of manual, the focus falls on the written language, and it is not a matter of the phonetics or phonology of the language, although from the few references made to pronunciation (when discussing orthographical representations, for example), it is deduced that it would be the phonetics and phonology of standard Galician.

Given that the present description is of an oral text, and there thus no written representation is, I employ the AGAL system of spelling to transcribe the speech (as stated earlier in Section 3), although spelling will not be the focus of this analysis. Therefore, the presence of features taken from Portuguese is limited to grammatical and lexical items. In this language model, the morphology generally maintains the characteristics of Galician while introducing some elements taken from Portuguese, especially in the verbal inflections, where forms such as *conduz* ‘s/he drives’ (StGal *conduce*) and *há* ‘there is’ (StGal *hai*) can be found. However, it generally maintains Galician conjugation: *fago* ‘I do’ (Pt *faço*), *atoparedes* ‘you (pl.) will found’ (Pt *atopareis*), etc.

In the nominal morphology, the most visible element is that of the endings *-çom*, *-som* (according to the written representation proposed by AGAL 1983 or Castro 1998), where StGal presents *-ción* and Pt *-ção*. Despite this partial assimilation to the Portuguese spelling, it is not accompanied by the pronunciation, as the Galician phonological system

is maintained: [ʰθoŋ], cf. StGal [ʰθjoŋ], Pt [ʰsẽw̃]. And this is the pronunciation found in Bravo's speech: *configuraçom* 'configuration', *consolidaçom* 'consolidation', *refundaçom* 'refoundation', *naçom* 'nation', amongst others. In the same way, *fusom* 'fusion', *cohesom* 'cohesion' [-ʰʃoŋ], cf. StGal [-ʰʃjoŋ], Pt [-ʰzẽw̃]. However, there are also cases of *-ción, -sión*: *satisfacción* 'satisfaction', *expulsión* 'expulsion'.

In the same way as Lobeira, whose discourse was analysed previously (see Section 4.1), the current speaker also uses the inflected infinitive: *crescermos* 'to grow (we)', *sermos* 'to be (we)'; however, it also appears in contexts where it is considered ungrammatical both in Galician and Portuguese: *por iso queremos abriremos de par en par as portas da unidade popular* ["this is why we wish to open ajar the doors of popular unity"].

Variants such as *depois* 'after' (StGal *despois*), *naquele* 'in that' (StGal *naquel*), *sim* 'yes' (StGal *si*), *quase* 'almost' (StGal *case*) are taken from standard Portuguese, and so are the non-contracted sequence of preposition *com* + article (in contrast with the contracted form in Galician, *co / coa*): *com a* [koŋ a] *patria* 'with the country', *com a súa práctica* 'with his/her practical'.

Lexical loans are common: *pena* 'pen' (StGal *pluma*), *efeitos* 'effets' (StGal *efectos*), *eleitoral* 'electoral' (StGal *electoral*), *carregados* 'loaded' (StGal *cargados*), *parlamentar* 'parliamentary' (StGal *parlamentaria*), *autóctone* 'autochthonous' (StGal *autóctono*), *rumo* 'course' (StGal *rumbo*), *greves* 'strikes' (StGal *folgas*), *protestos* 'protests' (StGal *protestas*), *maciça* 'massive' (StGal *masiva*), *factos* 'fats' (StGal *feitos*), *policia* 'police' (StGal *policía*), *democracía* 'democracy' (StGal *democracia*), *persoal* 'personal' (StGal *persoal*), *embora* 'however' (StGal *aínda que*). However, in some cases hybrid forms appear: *leição* 'lesson' (StGal *lección*, Pt *lição*), *respeitoso* 'respectful' (StGal *respectuoso*, Pt *respeitoso*), *útis* 'useful (pl.)' (StGal *útiles*, Pt *úteis*).

Despite being read from a written text, occasional recourse to the standard forms is observed, such as when the speaker says: *satisfacción per |persoal* 'personal satisfaction', in which the standard form from *satisfacción* is read and corrects itself as *persoal*. Also, the phrase *face a* is used in the sense of the Galician *cara a* 'towards': *avançando face ao precipício a que nos conduz o capitalismo espanhol* ["Approaching the precipice to which the Spanish capitalism is driving us"]. Some words are pronounced following Spanish and not standard Galician or Portuguese: *complexos* 'complexes', *complexa* 'complex', are pronounced with [ʃ] and [s̺] respectively (adapting the Spanish words *complejos*,

compleja, pronounced with [x], after other equivalences between Sp [x] = Gal [ʃ], such as Sp *jamón* = Gal *xamón* ‘ham’), as opposed to the StGal and Pt [ks]); *seductora* (pronounced as [θt]) ‘seductive’ (StGal and Pt *sedutora*), *estruturais* [kt] ‘structural’ (StGal and Pt *estruturais*), *paradigma* [xm] ‘paradigm’ (StGal and Pt [gm]), or *reforzarla* ‘reinforce it’ (StGal *refozala*, Pt *reforça-la*).

In addition to Lusisms, there is a remarkable emergence of a number of lexical Castilianisms, such as *pertrechos* ‘gear’, *oleage* ‘swell’, *dietas* ‘allowances’, *plasmar* ‘to project’, *enemigo* ‘enemy’, *corsé* ‘corset’ (*abandonar o corsé español* [‘abandon the Spanish corset’]), *timoratismos* ‘spineless acts’, *diferencia* ‘difference’ (together with *diferença*). Some other words that are shared by Spanish and Portuguese are used in the figurative senses pertaining to Spanish public discourse. In some cases, hybrid forms based on Spanish appear: *cansaço* ‘fatigue’ (Sp *cansancio*, StGal *cansazo*, Pt *cansaço*), or *curtoplacismos electorais* ‘electoral short-termism’, on the basis of the Sp *cortoplacismo* (note also *electorais*, as compared with *eleitoral* in other places). It also employs the periphrasis *vamos a rematar* ‘we are going to finish’, regarded as a Castilianism in vernacular Galician (StGal *imos rematar*; Pt *vamos rematar*).

This abundance of above all lexical elements taken from Portuguese in the written text contrasts sharply with the phonology employed and the phonetics with which the speech is pronounced: indeed, the phonetics of the Nós-UP spokesperson is much closer to that of Spanish than to standard Galician, and therefore even further from the Portuguese system. As with Bieito Lobeira, the vowel system comprises five phonemes, as shown in Figure 2, which represents the vowel triangle resulting from the acoustic analysis of stressed vowels of this read text:

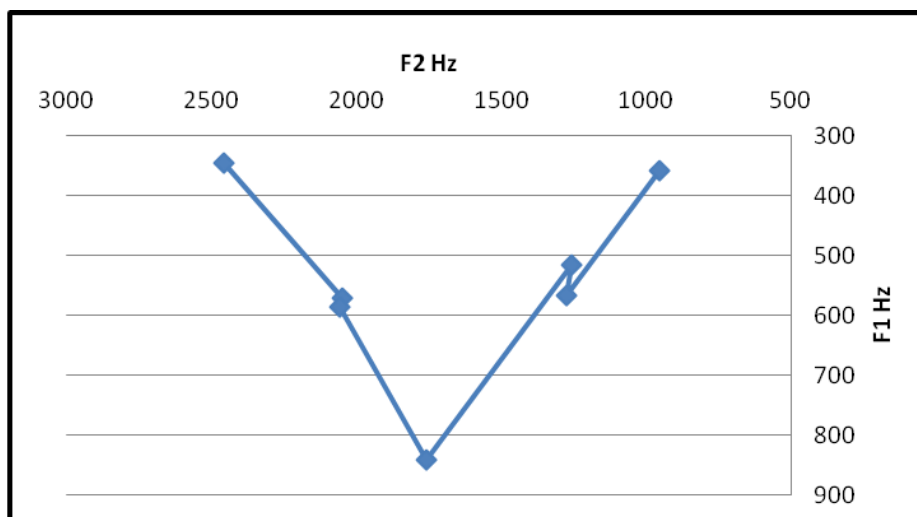


Figure 2: Triangle of Bravo's stressed vowels in the reading of his speech (the vowels from left to right, following the line [i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u])

There is no opposition or appreciable difference, therefore, between the realization of the mid-low and mid-high vowels: *tamén sempre tivemos e temos* [ɛ ɛ ɛ ɛ] (cf. StGal [ɛ ɛ ɛ ɛ]) ('also we always had and have had'), and throughout the speech. The contractions necessary for understanding the text are not formed either: *forza expulsión* [ɐ] is heard, regarding *forza a expulsión* [a:] ('it forces the expulsion'). Word-final vowels occasionally present pronunciations that are more similar to Spanish than Galician: *máis fortes* [e] (for [ɪ]) 'stronger'. Occasionally the diphthong [ow] appears reduced to [o], as in Spanish or certain varieties of Portuguese: *entregó* (for *entregou*) 's/he submitted', *Pachi Vázquez o Besteiro* (for *ou* 'or').

With respect to the consonant system, Bravo also deviates from Galician at the more difficult points for speakers who come from the phonological system of Spanish: the opposition between the sibilants [ʃ] and [ʒ] and the pronunciation of the velar nasal [ŋ]. In sibilants, cases in which a fricative apico-alveolar [ʃ] is found, sometimes more backed (apico-postalveolar [ʃ]), instead of the lamino-postalveolar [ʃ], are frequent: *tra[s]ecto* 'journey', *[ʃ]enuinamente* 'genuinely', *[ʃ]uventude* 'youth' etc. There is no contrast in

fricatives in words like *seja* [ʃ ʃ] (StGal [ʃ ʃ]) ‘to be (subj.)’, or *mensaxe* [ʃ ʃ] (StGal [ʃ ʃ]) ‘message’.

Regarding the velar nasal [ŋ], it is replaced by an alveolar nasal [n] in most cases where it appears systematically in Galician. Such is the case with the indefinite article: *u[n]a casualidade* ‘a coincidence’, *u[n]a alternativa* ‘an alternative’, *u[n]a vida de suor* ‘a life of toil’, *nu[n]a organización* ‘in an organisation, etc. (StGal [ŋ] in all cases). On some occasions, she places a velar at the end of a word before a vowel (*u[ŋ] apelo* ‘an appeal’, for example), but mostly she pronounces an alveolar: *Unio[n] Europeaia* (2 cases) ‘European Union’, *se[n] enganos* ‘without deceit’, *e[n] España* ‘in Spain’, *so[n] organizaçons* ‘they are organisations’, etc. (StGal [ŋ] in all cases). This includes at the end of words before a pause: *nova tripulaçõ[n]* (StGal [ŋ]).

Finally, there are also other cases of consonants from Spanish and not Galician, such as *apo[ɰ]o* ‘support’, *ma[ɰ]oria* ‘majority’ (StGal and Pt [j]), or as a result of the delateralization of [ʎ], one of the points where Galician separates from Portuguese and coincides with Spanish, or which in Galician can present different phonetic variants (Rogueira 2008), but not as open as we find in this speaker: *ve[ʎ]as* (StGal [j] or [ʎ], Pt [ʎ]) ‘old (fem. pl.)’.

All these features, together with other issues of prosody, mean that this speech causes a very similar aural impression to that of Spanish and quite distant from Galician phonetics, and even more so from Portuguese phonetics in any of its varieties.

5. Discussion

In the current sociolinguistic situation in Galicia, Spanish is the language associated with cities, prestigious professions and social success, as shown in studies on linguistic attitudes and perceptions:

Os que se expresan nas variedades con acento galego percíbense como un grupo social pouco dotado para o éxito social, mentres que os que o fan en lingua galega cunha fonética similar á do castelán son caracterizados como un grupo innovador e

socialmente competente, se ben esperan escasos sentimentos de empatía social na mocidade (González 2003, 185).

[Those that speak in varieties with a Galician accent are perceived as a social group poorly equipped for social success, while those who do so in Galician with phonetics similar to Spanish are characterized as an innovative and socially competent group, although they would have awoken scarce feelings of social empathy among young people]

Therefore, the characteristic features of the "Spanish accent" act as indexing features (first-order indexicality, in the sense of Silverstein 2003) of urban social origin. If we take into account that the Spanish of Galicia presents many of the features of Galician phonetics (such as the velar nasal, mid-open and -closed vowels), especially in classes that have greater contact with Galician (the working class, cf. Faginas 1998), the phonetic characteristics presented by these speakers would indicate their origin from non-lower classes. This is most notable in the case of Bravo, with characteristics that reveal little contact with Galician-speaking social groups (at least with L1 Galicia).

Furthermore, the level of the language used, in keeping with parliamentary and political discourse, abundant in learned words and foreign loans (what Agha 2003 and Silverstein 2003 call *enregisterment*), indexes professional competence, while users are aware of the linguistic and discursive practices of this register. They can be found, therefore, in a certain *order of discourse*, in the terms of Foucault (1996 [1971]) (see also Blommaert 2005, 2010). This fact is especially notable in the statements by Lobeira, who employs the resources of parliamentary discourse (Galician and Spanish). However, Galician political discourse is registered within the scope of political Spanish discourse (Regueira 2016), and often shows a great dependence upon it, whilst being generally disconnected from political discourse in Portuguese.

Furthermore, the inclusion of unusual items in Galician political discourse (mainly loans from Portuguese), as well as marked forms (inflected infinitives, the future subjunctive, amongst others), expresses a concern about the linguistic shape of their speeches. In the case of Lobeira, he approaches what Freixeiro (2009) calls a "lingua de calidade" ('quality language'), a linguistic ideology which advocates a "learned" Galician that is "liberado de interferencias espurias" ('freed from spurious interferences') and "máis auténtico" ('more authentic') (p. 7), which in certain respects approaches Portuguese ("cada vez máis galego-portugués e menos galego-castelán" ["increasingly

more Galician-Portuguese and less Galician-Spanish"], p. 7), on the basis of the rejection of popular language, "distorted" by contact with Spanish. This politician clearly expresses that very linguistic ideology (a kind of "ideology of the standard", cf. Milroy/Milroy 1993) in his speech on the initiative concerning Galician (Stat-1), in which many more marked items, more Lusisms and less Castilianisms appear, whereas in his speech on Marine SAR, on the contrary, forms of contact with the Spanish are much more frequent.

Regarding the use of features taken from the Portuguese, we have a sample of what Medeiros (2003, 335) denominates the "apropriação de aspectos muito selectivos da cultura portuguesa" ('appropriation of highly-selective aspects of Portuguese culture'). In Bravo's speech, they are much more abundant and used more systematically. This said, we must not forget that she reads out a speech written in the "maximum Reintegrationist" standard. From the point of view taken in this paper, I argue that the use of Portuguese plays a role in the construction of social and ideological identities: on the one hand, of linguistic ideologies (Reintegrationist, approaching Portuguese), on the other, of ideological identities that are linked to nationalism. Although, as Herrero states (2011, 77), "seria um erro fazer uma inferência rígida que identifique o independentismo com o reintegracionismo político" ('it would be a mistake to make a rigid inference that identifies the pro-Galician independence movement with the political Reintegrationist position'), the use of a linguistic form that symbolically (in written and lexical aspects, especially) is much closer to Portuguese, as presented in Castro (1998), symbolises a rejection not only of (i) Spanish (the language and the political structure of the Spanish state), but also of (ii) "official Galician" of the Galician autonomous institutions, and especially the Galicianists and nationalist groups who accept, to a greater or lesser extent, the game of political institutions. That way, "a maior parte dos usos do galego lusista apresentam uma ideologização evidente de orientação linguística e cultural, inserida no nacionalismo galego lusófilo" ('the majority of uses of Lusist Galician present an evident ideologization that is linguistic and cultural in nature, inserted into Lusophile Galician nationalism') (Herrero 2011, 75), in such a way that it represents in itself a political and linguistic ideology (Cordal 2009).

In this sense, Nós-UP lies symbolically within a different political sphere than that occupied by the BNG, which defended "minimal Reintegrationism" and eventually accepted the official normative. In addition, the BNG is a party present in the institutions: it formed part of the Galician government during 2005-2009 and runs various city councils. The linguistic and ideological uses made by Reintegrationists firmly cohere with

what Bucholtz/Hall (2007, 383-385), using Bourdieu's (1979) term, call tactics of *distinction*, "the mechanism whereby a salient difference is produced". Through this tactic, they emphasise the difference between their openly separatist position and less radical nationalist groups like the BNG itself, and also with respect to other non-nationalist groups.

Galician occupies a series of public spheres (in political and cultural activity, etc., see Regueira 2016), for which Reintegrationism is seen as occupying marginal positions (Herrero 2011). In her criticism of the theory of the public sphere of Habermas (1962), Nancy Fraser (1990, 67) argues that "they are parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter discourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs", and denominates these alternative spheres as "subaltern counter publics". Given that cultural groups and Reintegrationist politicians define themselves as an alternative to language ideologies and policies dominant in society overall, and to those that are dominant in the ideological nationalist field, it can be argued that a counter political and public sphere is being constructed that very clearly demarcates borders with dominant ideologies through visible linguistic labels (and hence all the issues related to writing stand out above all others) (cf. Venâncio 2019, 221). Alternative orthography functions as a symbol that demarcates this public counter sphere.

In this sense, the use of features from a linguistic repertoire that builds an ideological, pro-independence, radical, advanced and modern identity, becomes compatible with the use of markers of urban, modern and non-lower class in social origin. Given that this kind of language ideologies has its best expression in university and cultural fields (Herrero 2011), the use of a Reintegrationist standard and the use of a phonetic form that largely corresponds to Spanish are not incompatible, but they are reinforced as they are sharply distinct from the speech of the lower and rural classes, which use a Galician variant that is closer to Portuguese phonetically, but which lexically displays many Spanish features.

The linguistic behaviour and the identity moves of the two speakers analysed here are not per se emblematic of all reintegrationists nor do we conclude that they are representative of their ideological or linguistic groups, although similar situations are quite frequent in the public space. Since identity is understood here as a product of linguistic interaction, it is contextually mediated, and significant differences have been found not only between both speakers, but even between the two speeches of Lobeira (see

4.1). The main objective of this paper is thus to show how these speakers use some Portuguese linguistic features, along with others of Spanish origin, to create identity in different and complex ways.

6. Conclusion

Portuguese occupies an important place in the recovery process of Galician as a written language and as a language of culture, and also in recent decades in the process of standardization of the language. If, during the 19th century and most of the 20th century, it was primarily a resource employed to confer prestige upon Galicia, in the last 40 years the impact has been much greater, both from the linguistic and sociolinguistic point of view. “Reintegrationist” proposals seeking to “reinstate” Galician in its “natural” place (that is, like another variety of Portuguese) have led to a certain confluence or convergence with Portuguese occurring in the standard language, through the selection of variants from Portuguese shared by Galician and also of features taken from standard European Portuguese, albeit in a minority and marginal manner.

However, the approach to Portuguese by these groups is relatively shallow and is generally limited to a few written morphological and lexical features. Hence, it is a language variety used in the internal communication of different minority groups in the political and cultural sphere, with little impact on most of society, although with a certain social and public visibility in the areas in which these groups operate, particularly in literary culture and in political nationalism.

This paper has analysed three speeches by two Galician nationalist politicians whose ideology is “Reintegrationist”. The first two were given by the deputy of the Galician Parliament, Bieito Lobeira, a leading member of the BNG (a group that does not currently defend Reintegrationism) and the third by Rebecca Bravo, spokesperson for the pro-independence party, Nós-UP (a party that defends “maximum” Reintegrationism) at the closing of the assembly where she was elected to her position. In her speech, there are elements from both Portuguese and Spanish. However, it should not be forgotten she was reading a written version of her discourse, while the statements by Bieito Lobeira were oral. They also take place in two very different contexts: in the Galician Parliament, before members of the plenary and with an audience in attendance that is related to initiatives that the Nationalist deputy is defending (one regarding Galician and another

Marine SAR), whilst Bravo speaks for an audience made up by fellow party colleagues and by guests from affiliate organisations.

Using interactional sociolinguistics, and more specifically the theory of identity construction in linguistic interaction, with the concept of indexicality, I have shown how the use of features from Portuguese allows identities to be constructed, both as regards political ideology (nationalism) as well as linguistic ideology (Reintegrationism, purism). These indexing features are, moreover, compatible with characteristics from standard Galician and even with material taken from Spanish, in the lexicon and especially in the phonology and phonetic systems. Given that Spanish and Galician with Spanish phonetics have greater prestige in society (González 2003), in terms of indexes from an urban middle-class background, I argue that the use of phonetic elements that clearly coincide with Spanish acts as a social identity feature (not rurality nor lower class), while the use of features from Portuguese contributes to the creation of an ideological identity and also to the strengthening of social, urban and class identity, concretely in being fundamentally an urban ideology present mostly in university environments.

It therefore becomes clear that study of language contact should appropriately address the agency of speakers, their performance in specific speech acts in a specific context and with specific interlocutors. From the point of view that languages are not something external to the speakers and that speakers build their identities through linguistic and semiotic acts, the analysis of speakers' performance can serve to elucidate the role that different linguistic elements play in a particular discourse, in a specific speech act. In order to realize these objectives, speakers avail of different linguistic repertoires to which they have access (Blommaert 2010). The presence of Portuguese in certain Galician social and political circles has increased the wealth of these repertoires in such a way that they are available for the symbolisation of political and ideological differences, for the construction of new identities and the creation of *subaltern counter publics*.

7. References

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