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Directeur de la publication : Louis-Jean Calvet.

Comité de direction : Louis-Jean Calvet, Caroline Juillard, Christine de Heredia-Deprez.

Comité de lecture : Louis-Jean Calvet, Caroline Juillard, Christine de Heredia-Deprez, Anne Lefebvre, Andrée Tabouret-Keller, Albert Valdman, Marie-Christine Varol, Glynn Williams.

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Xoán Paulo Rodríguez Yáñez

**SOCIOLINGUISTIQUE
GALICIENNE**

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Ce numéro, le second de l'année 1993, sort avec un retard certain dû à des problèmes de traduction des textes galiciens.

Nous présentons nos excuses à nos abonnés pour ce retard.

*The pigeon house, the octopus and the people: The
Ideologization of linguistic practices in Galiza*¹

0. Introduction.

The relatively growing visibility of 'Galician'² in the public and institutional sphere since the early 1980's has been constituted by significant changes in linguistic behavior ( lvarez-C ccamo, 1990a, 1991). Some of these behaviors are connected, in ways that I will attempt to unveil, to political discourses on Galicianhood, working for the (re)constitution of Galicians in the Spanish State as new social subjects, and to technical discourses on language and linguistic identity (the 're-Galicianization of Galician', as it may be called [ lvarez-C ccamo, 1990a]). As a result, some key technical notions have gone beyond the confines of their initial territories, have spread throughout civil society, and are present in various forms in the daily conversational activities of members of society. As a salient example, terms like 'diglossia,' or, particularly, the slippery 'normalization,' are now common in school curricula, and belong to the repertoire of many members of the new 'sociolinguistic population' (to borrow Urla's notion, 1993), which is for the first time being technically constructed through detailed quantification.³

* Celso  lvarez C ccamo, Departamento de Ling stica Xeral e Teor a da Literatura, Universidade da Coru a; A Zapateira, s/n; 15071 - A Coru a - Galiza - Spain. Fax: 34 81 105641. Electronic mail: lvalvarz@udc.es

¹ I would like to thank Manuel Fern ndez Ferreiro for his detailed comments on an earlier version of this work.

² I will refer to 'Galician' as the native term for the dialect(s) of what structurally constitutes Galician-Portuguese as spoken in the territory of Galiza within the Spanish State. To my knowledge, the relations between cultural identification and language use on both sides of the Minho river which separates the 'Portuguese' from the 'Spanish' Galiza have not been explored from a sociolinguistic perspective. Some of the issues in the technical constitution of 'Galician' as a 'language' are discussed by Herrero Valeiro (1993, this volume). See also  lvarez-C ccamo (1990a).

³ Cf. the RAG's report on the *Mapa Socioling stico de Galicia* (1993, this volume), which shows a bias toward the identification of Galician as a language by itself. Working within the 'Spanish vs. Galician' paradigm, the RAG's pilot study (Fern ndez & Rodr guez Neira 1993)

'Linguistic normalization' is perhaps the core notion which subsumes a new social sense of speaking. 'Normalization' is viewed, in technical discourse, in its popularization in journals and magazines, and in daily discussions, as an expression of the formula 'one people needs its own language' which summarizes linguistic nationalism. I claim that it is this notion that underlies —albeit not always transparently— the new official usages of Galician, and projects a new sort of ideological alignment between the speaker and the very speech he or she produces. This alignment may take, among others, the form of accomplishment, as when one exhibits one's mastery of the authorized standard code, or of submission, as when one purports not to speak 'proper Galician'.⁴

However, no serious academic critique of the 'normalization' notion has been attempted in Galician research. Issues of linguistic mastery of the authorized code(s) (cf. Bourdieu, 1982) as it relates to social power and control are obviated or reduced to the 'Spanish vs. Galician' (or, for reintegracionists, 'Spanish vs. Galician-Portuguese') dichotomy, along which political and intellectual factions align themselves. Within this reductionistic paradigm, some critics of language revindicate 'linguistic commitment' or 'ideologized language loyalty' ('lealdade lingüística ideoloxizada,' Rodríguez, 1980, p.71) —that is, the unconditional allegiance to the daily use of Galician— over the mere 'liturgical uses' of the language observable in formal activities by representatives of the institutions.

But perhaps the ideologues' and activists' critiques toward the lack of 'commitment' is not totally grounded. For one thing, the official 'liturgical uses' are somehow connected to the juridically sanctioned ideology of 'normalization' contained in the 1983 Linguistic Normalization Act and other regulations. Second, in interactional terms, both daily linguistic commitment and official usages consist of a self-reflective, positive alignment toward the use of the *galego* which, interestingly enough, is consecrated in the Statute of Autonomy and nationalist programmes alike as 'Galiza's own language.' Thus, both

includes no options for respondents to identify their own speech as anything such as Portuguese or even Galician-Portuguese.

⁴ A case of the latter may be illustrated by my own encounter with a retail-store owner. To my comment that the word *irmán* in the label of a bottle of wine from Ourense should be *irmao*, as that is how it is said there, the man, also from Ourense, replied in Galician 'Yes, that's how we say it, but *irmán* must be because of that "normalización" thing' ("deve ser por isso da 'normalización'").

'normalization' and 'commitment' reflect a specific 'ideology of linguistic appropriateness' (Silverstein, 1979, 1981), articulated around the equation Language=Nation/People which somehow informs and underlies expectations about language practices.

In a few words, ideologies of linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and national identity pervade language behavior in unprecedented ways. I think that in Galiza we have been recently witnessing the ideologization of speech behavior, while other markers of local ethnic identity like folklore or habits are much less problematically assumed by Galician-users and Spanish-users alike.⁵ The historically ethnic use of Galician is becoming, through its urbanization, ideological and political and, thus, is becoming inextricably linked to the control of the rationales that sustain the institutional apparatus.

From the viewpoint of research, when identity is viewed as a social problem and linguistic practice as its corresponding conversational 'problem', we may be able to establish an analytic link between the so-called 'macro' and 'micro' levels or action by examining in detail how the linguistic resources (and, more specifically, standardized forms of language) are used in context. To establish such a link is the primary intention of this work. I will examine a number of discourse practices which reflect linguistic ideologies, in order to better understand the growing political 'semioticization' of the public use of Galician, a use which until recently circulated within well defined social and symbolic territories connected to ethnic identification. The new juridical landscape and dominant political ideologies articulated around group ('national' or 'regional') identity and linguistic identity are the frameworks within which we can map language practices with the tools of interpretive interactional analysis.

A number of conversational procedures revealing the discursive construction of language identity will be reviewed in this work. Formally, they could be grouped in three major categories: (1) metalanguage, including explicit references to language practices; (2) other-language repairs; and (3) code manipulation in reported speech. Interactionally, these procedures are deployed as various

⁵ This argument follows Urban's (1990) framework suggesting that, in the 'semiotic' relationships between minoritized native communities and their respective States in South America, the ideologization of language has developed proportionally inversely to the ideologization of other markers of cultural identity.

framing or alignment tactics around which our discussion will be organized.⁶

1. Searching for the right alignment.

In their search for the right positioning vis-a-vis others, public speakers may resort to metadiscursive tactics, that is, turns aimed at explaining one's verbal behavior. These tactics are connected to the maintenance of interactional face, and their content is varied. It ranges from pronouncements about the speaker's linguistic background ('I've always spoken Spanish,' 'I speak Galician because I am Galician'), to the display of respect toward the integrity of the language ('I wouldn't like to spoil the beauty of Galician with my poor grammar'), or to a pragmatic defense of communication per se, as our first case will show.

The following brief excerpt comes from a television debate broadcast by the Spanish TV in Galiza on May 31, 1984. Galician turns go in the round font. Spanish goes in the *italicized bold font*; for other transcription conventions, see the Appendix.⁷

(1a) O Governador Provincial na TV (DT840531)

M: Moderador; G: Governador.

- 1 M: já sabem que e:h e:h este é um programa aberto -
2 é (di)zir que vamos a recibir chamadas de público -
3 (assi que é) um programa totalmente coloquial !
4 [olhando para G] bem - se ustê quere tomar a palavra -
5 G: *si bue- mm voy a hablar en castellano porque es como
mejor me expreso !*

⁶ Of course, this classification does not exhaust all discursive manifestations of linguistic ideologies. A fourth category is that of marked forms of discourse organization. For instance, a transactional encounter (e.g. a client-waiter interaction) may not respond to the necessary economy of the exchange when the linguistically-aware client reformulates some material from standard Galician to colloquial Galician. An informant once told me he would do so systematically in order to introduce standard forms into common, Spanishized speech, for instance: "Um café com gelo, ou seja, comhielo" ('Coffee with ice [Standard], that is, with ice [colloquial]).

⁷ The detailed transcription of Galician texts into one of the competing spelling systems (cf. Herrero Valeiro, 1993, this volume) presents particular problems due to extensive variability and to interlinguistic influence. In my texts, I have opted for partially adapting the unified Galician-Portuguese norm in order to reflect certain dialectal Galician features.

(1b) The provincial governor on television. English version

M: Moderator; G: Governor.

- 1 M: You all know that this is an open program,
2 so we are going to get phone calls from the audience,
3 (so,) this is a totally informal program.
4 [Gazing at G] Well, if you would like to start then?
5 G: *Alright. Well- uhm I'm going to speak Spanish
because that's how I express myself better.*

Case 1 illustrates the use of metalanguage to justify linguistic behavior. The provincial Governor, a representative of the Spanish State directly designated by it, starts his intervention with the justificatory turn 'Alright. Well...'. His announcement of his choice of Spanish is accompanied by a rationale alluding to communicative needs. The question to ask is, what local definition of the communicative situation presumably underlies the Governor's tactic?

An important aspect to be considered is the public nature of the event, where the television audience is the indirect but ultimate addressee of the pending exchanges. That audience, sociologically speaking, is none but the new 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983) of Galicians who interconnect symbolically and interact materially through television and other public media. It thus appears that the unmarked form to present oneself publicly before that audience is the use of Galician, and that the Governor's self-explanatory tactic is aimed at minimizing the risk of face-loss that his choice of Spanish might cause.

Further, the direct mention of "Castilian (Spanish)" alludes indirectly, by contrast, to the other term of the symbolic and social opposition: the non-use of Galician. Inevitably, such explicit references to the choice of either language bring to surface the sociolinguistic conflict that in interactional terms is viewed as a 'problem' to cope with:

(2a) O prêmio de pintura (A840529)

Durante a apresentação pública (29/5/84) de um prêmio para artistas jovens organizado pelo Concelho de Vigo, um conhecido pintor galego presente na mesa é convidado a falar. A: Artista; P: Público.

- 1 A: bueno eu como não tenho gram facilidá de palabra !
2 ... (pois) queria dizer um::hos renglós (=uns
renglões) -
3 e (vou-nos fazer) pero vou-no fazer em castelão -
4 ([ac] que esta vez os figem em castelão) !
salirom-me -
5 ... ([ac] qué lhe vamos fazer) !
6 <3>
7 A: não vou dar a lata ! eh ?
8 P: [risos]
9 A: é corto !
10 <4>
11 A: e fa- di assi !
[lê um texto em espanhol]

(2b) The art prize. English version

During the public presentation of a prize for young artists organized by the Vigo city council, a renowned Galician painter from the panel is invited to speak. 5/29/84. A: Artist; P: Audience (Public).

- 1 A: Well, since I am not terribly articulate
2 (then) I'd like to say (=read) a few lines.
3 And (I'm going to do it), but I'm going to do it in
Spanish,
4 because this time I did (=wrote) them in Spanish,
they turned out that way.
5 What can we do about it?
6 <3>
7 A: I won't be boring, uh?
8 P: [laughs]
9 A: It's short.
10 <4>
11 A: And it says- it goes like this:
[Reads a text in Spanish]

As in the previous case, the effect of the Artist's self-justification is to pave the way for the audience's acceptance of his language choice. The text is, additionally, punctuated by a number of mitigatory devices such as the contrastive item 'but' (3), the deictic hedge 'this time' (4) (as opposed to 'other times'), the formulaic, apologetic expression 'what can we do about it' (5), and others (7, 9).

The problem of language choices is most visibly reflected in the following exchange between two political adversaries during a meeting of the board of directors of a local museum.

(3a) A ponte románica (J840707-1)

De uma reunião do conselho directivo de um museu local (7/7/84). P: Presidente; S: Secretário; A, M, H, C: membros do conselho.

- 1 P: .h.h.h.h.h.h *otra cosa es el puente prerromano:* -
2 e:: [el] puente
3 S: (xx) de petilos -
4 P: = el puente: .. de:: ([risos] petilos hh) !
5 A: sí !
6 P: .. ([p] prerromano no) !
ehh
7 M: [pues yo creo que] e:: -
8 A: [es románico] !
9 P: [román] ico !
10 M: [e:- e:-] ([b] eu creo [que:] -
11 H: románico xx xx [xx
12 M: [olhando a P] {[a][ac] [tu que estavas
falando !
em ga⁴lego ou: em castelão) !
14 P: [*b u e]no -
15 ? : [hh hh
16 C: e[m castelão] !
17 S: [xx xx xx xx" xx
18 P: p[arte e parte] !
19 M: [ah en caste llano] !
20 [pues yo cre[o que:: -
21 P: ([f][ac] [s:egum a quem me diri[ja]] -
22 M: [hom[bre -
23 P: ([f][ac] [porque alguns
[médio FALAM em castelão - outros em galego]) -
24 M: -(JÁ O SEI) ! *YO: - SI EL PRE' sidente
habla en castellano -
como comprendes -
26 P: (n[ão - por que]) !
27 M: vamos yo tengo que expresarme en
castellano - vamo[s -
28 P: [com]o-
29 M: [por lo menos en el
caste llano que sé] !
30 P: [como vós que] irades ! n(ão) ?
31 M: ESTo: -
32 ... e:h yo creo que . . .

(3b) The Romanesque bridge. English version

From a meeting of the board of directors of a local museum (7/7/84). P: Chairman; S: Secretary; A, M, H, C: board members.

- 1 P: Another thing is the pre-Roman bridge,
2 uh the bridge...

3 S: In Petilos.
 4 P: ...the bridge in Petilos.
 5 A: Yes.
 6 P: Not Pre-Roman, uhh?
 7 M: Well, I think that -
 8 A: It's Romanesque.
 9 P: Romanesque.
 10 M: ...uuh, uuh, I think that -
 11 H: Romanesque xx xx xx.
 12 M: [Gazing at P] What were you speaking (in)?
 13 In Galician or in Castilian (=Spanish)?
 14 P: Well... (=Here we go (?)).
 15 ? : hh hh
 16 C: In Castilian.
 17 S: xx xx xx xx xx
 18 P: Fifty-fifty.
 19 M: Oh, in Castilian.
 20 Well, I think that -
 21 P: Depending on whom I'm addressing...
 22 M: Well...
 23 P: ...because some people sort of speak in Castilian,
 others in Galician,
 24 M: (I know). I - IF THE CHAIRMAN speaks in
 Castilian,
 25 as you will understand...
 26 P: No, why?
 27 M: ...I mean, I must express myself in Castilian,
 right?
 28 P: Whatev-
 29 M: At least in the (type of) Castilian I know.
 30 P: Whatever you guys say, ok?
 31 M: Soo,
 32 Uh, I think that,

The Chairman's (P) frequent switches between Galician and Spanish precede member M's ironic question 'What [language] were you speaking...?' (12-13). What follows afterwards is a rich sample of discursive expressions of sociolinguistic competence. The Chairman explains that he chooses Spanish or Galician depending on who the addressee is (21), 'because some sort of speak in Castilian, others in Galician...' (23). Member M ironically retorts by suggesting that, if the Chairman speaks Spanish, then he himself should follow suite and express himself 'at least in the (type of) Castilian I know' (30). Finally, the Chairman accepts M's rhetorical triumph in this metalinguistic *tête-à-tête* (31): 'Whatever you guys say'.

The exchange must be seen in the light of the *local linguistic ideologies* informing language choices at the meeting. That M's turns are sarcastic is evident. The 'type of Castilian' he knows (29) is nothing but standard Spanish, which would not need any preparatory work to be

introduced as a legitimate style in the context. Rather, M seems to be reacting to the way in which the effective legitimation of Galician as an official code has been carried out by the Chairman since the very beginning, by his reading the minutes in Galician, presenting most of his on-record report in Galician, etc. Thus, M seems to be indirectly implicating, 'Let's not play games. We all know that we also (perhaps most of the time) speak Spanish. I don't know why I shouldn't speak it now, as in fact some of us, including the Chairman, lapse into it frequently.'

2. Speaking 'Linguistically Correct'.

Another frequent tactic which expresses ideological alignments toward the standard language or toward linguistic purity is the *other-language (or other-style) repair*. Other-language/style repairs consist of the 'recycling' or reformulation of previous material in standard Galician.⁸ The following case comes from the same museum meeting as Case 3:

(4a) O pombal (J840707)

O Presidente está a ler as actas da sesión anterior para a sua correcção e aprovação. S: Secretário; P: Presidente; A, B: Membros do conselho directivo.

1 S: .. (pro qué) lhe engadimos aqui !
 2 <2>
 3 P: .h.h.h e::h *bueno as cousas concret(o)s !
 4 [lendo as actas] mm {[a][ac] despois disto fala o
 senhor #presidente# -
 5 da reforma de reparaciónes -
 6 que vão se iniciar axinha -
 7 na zona de jardins } -
 8 .. {[dc] muros !
 9 .. parque geral !
 10 e::: ... o: palomar } !
 11 A: [pom]bal !!
 12 ? : xxx
 13 P: o pombal perdão !
 14 B: {[p][b] o pombal } !!
 15 P: .h.h.h o pombal - e::: !

⁸ In Gumperz's classic terms (1982), some of these cases fit the function of code-switching listed as 'repetitions'.

(4b) The pigeon house. English version

The Chairman is reading the minutes of the previous session for their correction and approval. S: Secretary; P: Chairman; A, B: board members.

- 1 S: But, what shall we add here?
2 <2>
3 P: Uuh, ok, the specific things,
4 [reading the minutes] mm "After this Mr. #Chairman's
surname# talks
5 about the maintenance work
6 which is to be initiated soon
7 in the area of the gardens...
8 walls...
9 main park...
10 uuh... these *pigeon house* [*palomar*]..."
11 A: Pigeon house [*pombal*].
12 ?: xxx
13 P: The pigeon house, excuse me,
14 B: The pigeon house.
15 P: .h.h.h ...the pigeon house, aaand...

Extensive, other-prompted repair-work (cf. Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977) is done collectively in order to provide and appropriately place the standard Galician item *pombal* instead of the Spanish loanword *palomar* within the institutional discourse at hand. The discursive repair is explicitly assumed by P with an excuse (13), and the problem is minimized by the resumption of the reading (15 and following).⁹

The exchange illustrates a simple communicative expectation by participants A and B: the need to produce an institutionally accountable-for discourse in Galician, and, more precisely, in that type of Galician which best expresses its user's disposition to conceive of it as its 'own language': namely, 'correct' Galician, that is, the authorized code.

Significantly, self-corrections may involve reformulations of previous Galician material in a cultivated form which we may call Literary Standard Galician (LSG). Frequently, public speakers and conversationalists alike rephrase expressions by replacing common items (whether Galician or Spanish loanwords) with equivalent terms

⁹ The very possibility of interactional conflict arising from the Chairman's linguistic faux pas (his misuse of Galician) is further evidenced by a joking sequence based on a pun, where the Secretary and A cooperatively play with the word *pombal* and with the reference to *o Pombal de Santiago*, the red light district in the city of Santiago.

or grammatical forms of what is beginning to be known as *galego de televisión* or *galego da escola* ('TV/school Galician'). Let us examine two cases:

(5a) A entrevista do presidente - 1 (ET900731)

De uma entrevista televisada com o presidente do governo autónomo galego (Junta de Galiza), Manuel Fraga Iribarne, emitido pela Televisão Galega, 31/7/90. J: Jornalista; P: Presidente da Junta.

- 1 J: eh ustê fala da riqueza -
2 da riqueza forestal !
3 galícia sigue ardendo !
4 hai encontrei } -
5 P: } moito menos !
6 J: {[ac] moito menos} = !
7 =atopei duas .h duas actitudes -

(5b) An interview with the president - 1. English version

From an interview with the president of the Galician autonomous government, Manuel Fraga Iribarne. Broadcast by the Galician Television, 7/31/90. J: Journalist; P: President.

- 1 J: Uh you speak of the wealth,
2 of the wealth of our forests,
3 [but] Galiza continues to burn,
4 there are, I found₁ [encontrei] -
5 P: Much less.
6 J: {[ac] much less.} =
7 =I found₂ [atopei] two .h two attitudes,

(6a) A entrevista do presidente - 2 (ET900731)

- 1 J: eh que se olvida um pouco -
2 esquence-se um pouco -
3 do parlamento !

(6b) An interview with the president - 2. English version

- 1 J: Uh [they say] that you forget₁ [olvida] a little,
2 you forget₂ [esquence] a little
3 about the Parliament.

In both Cases 5 and 6, the Journalist's reformulation involves a lexical doublet (marked in English with subscript 1 and 2). Interestingly, both contrasting quasi-synonyms of each doublet are

genuinely Galician, but only the second, LSG forms (atopei and esquence) evoke the written literature, the school world or the public discourse. Reformulations of this sort constitute switches of frame and claims to linguistic expertise. In each case, while the referential content of the second utterance (containing LSG 'to find₂' or 'to forget₂') remains unchanged, the speaker realigns himself within the realm of 'the correct Galician' spread by the educational and political institutions and their representatives.¹⁰

2.1 Linguistic repossession: The people and the people.

Many of these standard or LSG forms are repossessed by language technicians, intellectuals, and writers, from everyday language that previous generations had almost lost under Spanishization. In fact, lexical doublets exist in daily speech which carry not only significant semantic specialization (see note 10) but are ideologically marked as well. Two salient cases are those of *escuela/escola* 'school' and *pueblo/pobo* 'people'. Originally, both *escuela* and *pueblo* were Spanish loanwords, but now they are perhaps the most widespread forms. In contrast to these spontaneous usages, the use of the standard *escola* and *pobo* now alludes metaphorically to the very institutions where such forms are produced and from where they are disseminated as passwords or 'shibboleths' of a new sense of political belonging, as this case illustrates:

¹⁰ Curiously enough, sometimes semantic contrasts between doublets existing in native monolingual speech are lost when one of the terms is privileged as 'proper Galician' at the expense of the other(s). Thus, the preferred form for 'to find' in public Galician is *atopar*, which for many speakers means natively 'to find by chance, to run into' and contrast with *encontrar* 'to find'. Similar doublets are the standard *pechar* 'to lock', which has taken over its quasi-synonym *cerrar* 'to close', *intre* 'interim, pause', which now frequently replaces *momento* 'moment', or *derradeiro* for *último* 'last'. Tracing the intertextual history of such terms might be a revealing exercise. Some questions to answer would be: how, where and by what groups these words were reappropriated; from what literary texts or programmatic political material they were taken; how they became formulaic in particular speech genres (e.g. political meetings); how their use became, in sum, a password for group membership and a claim to differentiability.

(7a) Os políticos e o "pobo" (C921022)

Três vizinhos falam da corrupção e ineptitude dos políticos profissionais (22/10/92).

1 A: .. e:: ... e conozco:: ali a algum -
 2 {[p] que está no aiuntamiento } -
 3 e (é de) 'puta 'pena !
 4 .. *valga la expresión* !
 5 .. que vamos que não 'tem nem a mais remota idea de
 *nada !
 6 de *nada ! de *nada ! de *nada !
 7 'de *nada !
 8 .. aora tendrá alguma de oídas -
 9 claro como leva aí já umos anos -
 10 pois xx vas colhendo o ritmo ! e::: -
 11 pim pam pim pam !
 12 todo pa o pobo pa o pobo e listo ! (não)?
 13 C: hh [hh
 14 A: (como dice él)
 15 .. está pois no aiuntamiento e vive exlussivamente
 disso !

(7b) Politicians and the "pobo-people". English version

Three male neighbors are talking about corruption and ineptness among professional politicians (10/22/92).

1 A: .. and ... I know someone there,
 2 who is on the city council,
 3 and he's fucking pitiful.
 4 .. *If I may say so*,
 5 .. a person who, I mean, who has absolutely no idea
 about anything.
 6 Nothing nothing nothing.
 7 (And I mean) Nothing.
 8 .. Now he may have some (idea), from hearing things.
 9 Of course, since he's been there for some years now,
 10 then xx one sort of gets the rhythm, and...
 11 pim pam pim pam.
 12 "Everything for the people for the people [pobo]," and
 that's it, (isn't it)?
 13 C: hh hh
 14 A: (*As he says.*)
 15 .. So, he works at the council and lives exclusively on
 this.

Participant A uses *pobo* 'people' (12) to quote an expression commonly used by a public worker in the city council, who is, furthermore, characterized as an opportunist. In contrast, the same speaker had earlier referred to the common people as *pueblo* in his own words:

(8a) Os políticos e o dinheiro do "pueblo" (C921022)

Os três vizinhos falam da corrupção financeira entre políticos profissionais.

- 1 B: eu o que admito é - que haja isso -
2 pero aparte que trate de solucionar os problemas que tem
o::] -
3 A: } pois precisamente | precisamente |
4 B: o: .. a so[CIEDAD -
5 A: } eu admito-o - admito-o hasta certo punto |
6 sempre que seam quartos que:: -
7 que não:: que não seam do:: .. do::: ... do *pueblo |
8 C: claro |

(8b) Politicians and the money of the "pueblo-people". English version

The three male neighbors are talking about financial corruption among professional politicians.

- 1 B: What I do accept is that - that (=illegal financing) exists,
2 but, besides that, (the politician should) try to solve the problems of...
3 A: Well, exactly. Exactly.
4 B: ... (of)... (of)... society,
5 A: I accept it - I accept it to a certain extent.
6 As long as these are moneys which,
7 which don't... which don't belong to... to... to the *people [pueblo].
8 C: Of course.

Clearly, *pueblo* and *pobo* have two different referents for speaker A.¹¹ Interestingly, *pueblo* is originally a Spanish loanword, but it no longer sounds like it: the Galician *pueblo* [ˈpweβlo] contrasts with the Spanish [ˈpweβlo] in much more than vowel quality - it is the most common self-referent, with all the interactional implications that this may carry. Thus, regardless of the word's origin, this *pueblo* subsumes the common people, like the speaker of Cases 7 and 8 himself, like his neighbors who resist within their daily, real invisibility.

On the other hand, the official *pobo* of Case 7 is linguistically and genuinely Galician, but perhaps it no longer sounds as such. *Pobo* now

¹¹ The unified, not sanctioned Galician-Portuguese spelling is *povo*, also pronounced [ˈpoβɔ]. The "b" / "v" contrast carries no difference in pronunciation in Northern Galician-Portuguese dialects. I am using the official spelling *pobo* to respect the ideological indexicality of orthography (cf. Schieffelin and Charlier Doucet, 1992). In other words: in principle, I am assuming that *pobo* and *povo* ideologically do not mean the same.

sounds like the political construction of the collective, its institutional and imaginary counterpart. As Bourdieu (1990, p. 150) argues,

The fact of being or feeling authorized to speak about the 'people' or of speaking *for* (in both senses of the word) the 'people' may constitute, in itself, a force in the struggles within different fields, political, religious, artistic, etc. -a force that is all the greater the weaker the relative autonomy of the field under consideration. It is at a maximum in the political field, where one can play on all the ambiguities of the word 'people'.

Within this struggle for the symbolic control of the definition of a given social order, professional politicians address the 'people' as *pobo*, while the very people, here and now, view themselves as *pueblo*. In the speaker's opinion, (who is a member of the 'people'), while politicians talk to/for/about the political *pobo*, they steal from the real, social *pueblo*.

2.2 Linguistic disobedience: The octopus and the octopus.

As we see, it is, precisely, (meta)linguistic awareness that provides powerful discursive tactics for interactional alignment (Jacquemet, 1992). In an apparent twist of expectations, the authorized language -and the ideologies of linguistic correctness it channels- may become the very site for resistance through linguistic disobedience.¹²

¹² See, in this respect, Briggs' (1992, p.399) insightful account of linguistic ideologies and power in Warao discourse: "Linguistic ideologies do not simply constitute underlying frameworks that implicitly shape the discourse of particular individuals or social groups... I have rather claimed that linguistic ideologies are crucial resources for according social power to strategies for the production and reception of discourse. My analysis... further suggests that linguistic ideologies provide key tools for naturalizing unequal access to particular discourses as well as control over their production and reception. This is not to say that such uses of dominant -and dominating- linguistic ideologies are always successful. The crucial role of ideologies of language in this process renders them excellent loci for challenging dominant discourses, institutions, and individuals."

(9a) Bons chouriços e bom pulpo

De uma entrevista com o alcalde de Vedra com motivo da celebração da Feira do Vinho do Ulha. Rádio Galega, 1/4/93. O Alcalde (A) invita os ouvintes a assistirem a degustar os produtos oferecidos na Feira.

- 1 A: aí terão bos produtos da 'terra -
2 boas empa'nadas - bos chou'riços - bo 'pulpo -
3 perdoem-me pero eu sigo lhe chamando *pulpo -

(9b) Good sausages and good octopus. English version.¹³

From an interview with the Mayor of Vedra regarding the upcoming Wine Fair of the Ulha region. Broadcast by the Galician Radio on 4/1/93. The Mayor (A) invites the listeners to attend the fair and enjoy the food it offers.

- 1 A: There you will find good produce/food from the land,
2 good meat pies, good sausages, good octopus [[pulpo],
3 excuse me but I continue to call it *octopus [[pulpo],

Through the contrastive intensity accent on *pulpo 'octopus' (3) (originally a Spanish loanword), the speaker selects this form over its standard Galician rival polbo. Several features lead us to interpret the metalinguistic statement in line 3 not as an excuse for A's lexical choice, but merely as an explanation. Including the rhetorical politeness formula 'Excuse me', the prosody used in line 3 is the same as in the preceding and following turns; particularly, the sustained cadence and the rhythmic accents signal continuity in the expository activity of listing. That is, the utterance does not show any pitch obtrusion or any other prosodic feature that may indicate recontextualization and realignment (cf. Gumperz, 1982, for the importance of prosody and pitch obtrusion in contextualization). The rhythmic continuity of discourse is not broken, as it would be in an aside or off-record comment. On the contrary, the material 'Excuse me, but I continue to call it pulpo' comes across as a matter-of-fact, on-record statement of difference — a difference presumably based on the speaker's awareness and rejection of the standard polbo.

The sequence powerfully expresses a symbolic combat between the national Galician and the local, between the standard and the native. Polbo is, indeed, a native term, and in this sense it potentially carries local values. But in that specific social location, polbo may be felt as

¹³ The case was not recorded, but transcribed immediately after it took place.

more foreign than the Spanish loanword pulpo. Significantly, this foreignness of a Galician word may be mainly due to the itinerary of its circulation, alchemically planned in the laboratories of linguistic 'normalization': indeed, many standard forms circulate from the old pobo-people, back to the current pueblo-people, who are thus becoming transformed into a new speaking population: a new, linguistically aware pobo-people.¹⁴

3. *Revealing Linguistic Ideologies in reported speech.*

Finally, reported speech is among the richest of sites to observe the ideologization of speech behavior. As we saw in Case 7, speakers tactically represent the speech of others according to typifications about the relationships between the character's social identity, ideology, and language use.

To be sure, however, the analytical problem is not to find out whether the language of the quotation corresponds with that originally used. For one thing, systematic tactical distortions or 'code displacements' (Álvarez-Cáccamo, 1990a, p.224ff) of code choice do occur in reported speech in order to depict the intervening characters. The issue is, rather, to reveal how in Galiza's social context of identity-searching, reported speech practices are visible markers of linguistic ideologies or positionings. Since a discussion about reported speech per se would exceed the purposes of this paper,¹⁵ I will instead concentrate on a few cases of metalinguistic reported speech to illustrate underlying linguistic ideologies.

In narratives or descriptions of characters, information about the character's language allegiances may be included in order to facilitate identification. When reference to the character's speaking Galician is

¹⁴ An inverse itinerary in the alchemical transformation of Language-Matter has been carried out in the laboratories of the food industry since the introduction of the market economy in the countryside. Thus, the hen's fragile ovos have long since turned into perfectly regular Spanish huevos; the heavy leite 'milk' has long since turned into skimmed tetra-brik leche; for most people, toucinho has become tocino, and nowadays it is turning into what it has always really been: bécicon.

¹⁵ For a fuller discussion of reported speech and power in the Galician context, see Álvarez-Cáccamo (1989).

made, reporters frequently use Galician as well, even within a Spanish discourse (e.g. with expressions of the type 'una persona que fala galego', 'a person who speaks Galician').

Importantly, these depictions are evaluative in nature, in that they reflect positive or negative alignments toward the characters being represented. The same description of someone as a Galician speaker may carry different connotations depending on the user, the context, the local linguistic ideology, or emerging social stereotypes.

The following two cases will illustrate this point. In the first one (10), the expression 'speaking [Galician] like this' is used by a Socialist to characterize the members of the nationalist faction of her party who, despite their being 'nationalists', had failed to attend a Galicianist cultural event organized by her.

(10a) A facción nacionalista (A8405)

Trás de um acto cultural do PSOE-PSdG com motivo do Día das Letras Galegas (5/84). A organizadora (M) comenta o acto com o investigador e com duas mulheres (N, O). M é de fora da Galiza.

1 M: .. pero aquí claro !
 2 ([a] como eso (=a recuperação cultural) es un patrimonio de unos) !
 3 pues los otros se ponen ([p] enfrente) !!
 4 N tú tranquila !
 5 salió todo [muy bien !
 6 M: ([f] -mía (-mira) no ves) ?
 7 por ejemplo ! la línea nacionalista de mi partido -
 8 pues no vino ni uno !
 9 O: y: (entonces) pues
 10 M: [([f] vaya nacionalistas ! vaya (qué bien xx xx xx xx)
 11 de los que llaman (xx xx xx xx) naciona*listas !
 12 en el periódico -
 13 y salen por ahí -
 14 .. .h.h.h falando assi }
 15 O: s[í] !
 16 M: [eh] ?
 17 O: y no vienen !

(10b) The nationalist faction. English version

After a cultural event organized by the Socialist Party with the occasion of the Day of Galician Letters, on May 1984. The organizer (M), a woman from outside Galiza, is commenting on the event with the researcher and two women, N and O.

1 M: But here, of course,
 2 since that (=cultural revival) is the patrimony of a few

3 then the others confront you.
 4 N: You don't worry,
 5 everything went very well.
 6 M: See, you see?,
 7 for example (from) the nationalist faction of my party
 8 not one showed up.
 9 O: Gee, (then), what kind of nationalists, let me tell you
 10 M: Those they call (xx xx xx xx) "nationalists"
 11 in the newspapers,
 12 and they appear here and there
 13 .. .h.h.h speaking like this,
 14 O: Yes.
 15 M: Ah? (=Right?)
 16 O: And they don't show up.

For the speaker, language use ('speaking [Galician] like this', 13) is inextricably linked to political ideology. Here, metalanguage expresses common sociolinguistic typifications, and is tactically deployed to channel a criticism about the inconsistencies between the "nationalists" programme and their linguistic behavior.

In contrast, 'speaking Galician' becomes a positive descriptor in the following conversation among siblings of a middle-class intellectual family, some of whose members are publicly known in the spheres of Galician literature and art:

(11a) O tipo interessante (C8707)

Vários membros jovens de uma família (37-24 anos) estão a falar de um conhecido comum: Irmã; Irmão 1; Irmão 2; Cunh(ada), mulher do Irmão 1; Amigo. Os homens mantêm nesta passagem uma conversa paralela (omitida). Julho 1987.

1 Irmã: ([f] y iba con un 'tío:) -
 2 Irmão 1: eh:: je je je je {[risos]} !
 3 Irmã: ib[ra con un tío muy *guapo] !
 4 ?:
 5 Amigo:
 6 Irmã:
 7 [así:: - que falava] galego ! y muy:: -
 8 Irmão 2:
 9 ?
 10 Irmão 1: [(.)] !
 11 Cunh: A AH uno de pelo blanco ?

(11b) The Good-Looking Guy. English version

Several young family members (37-24 years old) are talking about a common acquaintance. Sister; Br(other) 1; Br(other) 2; S(ister) in-1(aw), married to Brother 1; male Friend. In this passage, the male participants are maintaining a parallel conversation (omitted from the transcript). July 1987.

1 Sister: *And she was with this guy*
2 Br. 1:
3 Sister: [*she was with a very good-looking guy*]
4 ?:
5 Friend:
6 Sister: [*very*
attractive,
like, who was speaking Galician, and very -
7 Br. 2:
8 Br. 1:
9 S.in-1: [*Oh, yeah, one with whitish hair?*]

'Speaking Galician' is treated here as a personality trait, a categorial descriptor to help identify someone in an urban context where the use of Galician continues to be the marked term of the sociolinguistic conflict. Moreover, the descriptor is inserted as the third member of a list of positive evaluative expressions, being preceded by 'very good-looking' (3) and 'very attractive' (6).

As we can see, talk-in-interaction is a multifarious arena where various linguistic ideologies compete for hegemony. Our last case comes from a conversation between two upper-middle class siblings from a family linked to industry, where references are made to a working man 'from the countryside' who is simultaneously depicted through direct reported speech as follows:¹⁶

¹⁶ I thank Nancy Vázquez Veiga for providing me the material for this case.

(12a) Um homem "autêntico" (C930220)

Conversa de sobremesa entre uma irmã (S, 27) e um irmão (B, 30) de classe meia-alta urbana. 20/2/93.

1 S: {[b] *y es auténtico el hombre porque:* } -
2 {[b] *t- es que te partes de risa con él* } !
3 B: (*de*) *dónde es ! de aquí de #cidade#* !
4 S: *n::o ! debe de ser de un p-*
5 *yo p- ([a] *debe de ser de un pueblo*) -*
6 *([a] *además cada vez que le vas a hablar*) -*
7 *es así un poco:*
8 .. {[b][ac] *'si ó 'si* } !
9 *'mira* !
10 *ma'ria ! ma'ria* !
11 *'mir[a* } !
12 B: [*ahá h h h ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha*]
13 S: {[b] *vem a ver dos cadelinhos ó ! 'vem 'vem* } !
he he
14 B: *ahá ahá* [*ahá*
15 S: [*a mí me hace una gracia -*
16 *yo ah cuando mucho nos* [*reimos - =*
17 B: [*ah he he*
18 S: *= es cuando le va amanuel con los problemas de los*
cadelos !
19 *mir(h)a(h)* } -
20 B: [*sí ?*
21 S: [*sí ! imagínate -*
22 *.h.h.h y bueno ! y es tremendo !*

(12b) A "unique" man. English version

Dinner conversation between S[ister] (27) and B[rother] (30) from an urban, upper-middle class family. 2/20/93.

1 S: *This man is unique/a real character, because*
2 *he cracks you up.*
3 B: *Where is he from? From here, from The City?*
4 S: *Noo, he must be from a vill-*
5 *I th- He must be from a village,*
6 *besides, every time you go talk to him*
7 *he's a little, like...*
8 *"Yeah, uh, yeah,*
9 *listen,*
10 *María, María,*
11 *listen..."*
12 B: *aha h h h ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha*
13 S: *"...come 'ere to see two puppies. Come, come", ha ha*
14 B: *aha aha aha*
15 S: *I think he's so funny,*
16 *I- uh when we laugh a lot =*
17 B: *ah ha ha*
18 S: *= is when he goes to see Manuel about the puppies'*
problems,
19 *let me tell you,*
20 B: *Really?*

21 S: *Yeah, can you imagine,*
22 *.h.h.h and anyway, he's incredible.*

In the previous sequence of the conversation, the sister (S) had depicted the man with expressions such as 'he is quite tough/solid' (*"es bastante duro"*), and 'he is one of these [men] from the countryside' (*"es de éstos de pueblo"*). The descriptions were seasoned with direct reports of the man's words in an unmarked register of Galician which did not break the prosodic flow of the reporter's own discourse.

Now she adds 'the man is unique/a real character' (*"es auténtico el hombre,"* 1), 'he cracks you up' (*"te partes de risa con él,"* 2), and 'he is a little like...' (*"es así un poco,"* 7). The vagueness of the latter descriptor is again followed by direct reported speech (8-11, 13), but this time she uses a mimicking, stereotyped Galician rural prosody composed of three-syllable circumflex tonal groups. Laughs ensue, and the sister concludes '[the man] is incredible]' (*"es tremendo,"* 22). In the entire, twenty-minute conversation, the man happens to be the only character "from the countryside" and the only one represented through this marked prosody.

Here the iconic representation of the character's speech in conjunction with the reporter's assessment of his "toughness" and his "funniness" reveals the traditional, prejudicist linguistic ideology which has hegemonized the country's life until very recently. This ideology viewed (and views) Galician and its stereotypical speakers, peasants, as the marked elements of social life, that is, as the Other. While this ideology and its corresponding linguistic expressions perhaps are not as common nowadays among educated speakers, native prosody and accent still do not carry the same positive symbolic value as does the de-ethnicized, neutral (and neutered) Spanish-based prosody that dominates public discourse - particularly the mass media.

4. Conclusion: Claiming access to linguistic experience.

In discussing members' competition for the control of a given 'domain of discourse', Goodwin (1986) suggests that knowledge display about a given referent provides a claim of access to the experience that triggered the knowledge about this referent. In the cases discussed here, by explicit references to language usages and other tactics that

present language itself as a referent, speakers effect a sort of knowledge display which may have significant interactional consequences. Through these tactics speakers claim access to the discursive domain of language itself, and strategically locate themselves within those realms of social life where language and 'the language question' are emerging as active protagonists. In Galiza people talk about language. In Galiza, now more than ever, people consider language a problematic reality.

For instance, the statements 'I use Galician depending on whom I'm addressing' (Case 3) or 'The tough guy spoke like this' (Case 12) reflect typifications about the associations between addressee's identity and linguistic choices; metaphorically, access is claimed to situations where language alternation is observed. The positioning statement 'I use Spanish because that's how I better express myself' (Case 1) implicates by contrast that the use of Galician is now recognized to be potentially valid for formal, rigorous expression for others, even though for this speaker Spanish enjoys those properties too.

In a similar sense, by providing the word *pombal* instead of *palomar* (Case 4), the speaker performatively implicates something such as 'I hereby authoritatively express that I know that in correct Galician it is said and it should be said *pombal*, not any Spanish loanword'. Similarly, self-corrections in the direction of LSG (*esquencer* instead of *olvidar*, Case 6) visibly reflect the ideological struggle between tradition (regardless of how apparently Spanishized this tradition may be) and modernity, between ethnic linguistic identification and the technical construction of speech carried out in the official philological laboratories. We also saw how a simple metalinguistic explanation ('I continue to call it *pulpo*', Case 9) may become a statement of local identity, an emblem of cultural resistance. Finally, we saw (Cases 10, 11 and 12) how depictions of characters' speech may channel various positionings toward the utility, value, and social-indexical meaning of language and speech behavior.

An unexplored issue remains how these discursive practices, when publicly displayed, are locally interpreted by the collective addressee, the 'people'. For one thing, lexical-grammatical choices (that is, 'language') interplay in complex ways with another channel of significations, that of prosody, which may be similarly viewed as either native Galician or else as alien (Álvarez-Cáccamo 1990b). One

may say without forcing the issue that many public figures or neo-falantes ('new speakers'), while appearing to speak standard Galician, actually speak Spanish in Galician, typically on television and radio. Conversely, native bilinguals often speak Galician in Spanish when they produce discourses which are grammatically Spanish but prosodically (and thus, indexically) Galician.

Most of these facts about language practices, however, go unnoticed by current research on language and cultural critique. For the technicians of linguistic and cultural unity, it may be hard to swallow that there exist other identities, allegiances, and resistances than those organized around the core notions of 'normalization', 'language', 'nation', and the 'Galician vs. Spanish' dichotomy.

Because, doubtless, the new *língua galega*, this re-Galicianized galego (not anymore *gallego*, not galego-português) is achieving a prominent place in the appetizing region of symbolic power. If only as a marker of distinction, the use of standard or cultivated Galician becomes, through contextualizing and frame-switching tactics (what many within discourse analysis tradition still call code-switching) a rich resource to signal ideological alignments. The issue, therefore, is no longer (or not only) what 'language' to speak, but what linguistically-based, sequential discourse to weave in order to indexically reflect the central notion of current political ideology: Selfness. This Selfness, no matter what color it takes, pokes through the tense fabric of talk-in-interaction and claims its centrality, its power in defining interactional boundaries and bridges.

APPENDIX. TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS.

Galician; *Spanish*

-	rising, sustained, or falling tone at the end of intonation group
-	truncated intonation group; truncated sound
[ac]	accelerated, faster tempo
[dc]	decelerated, slower tempo
[f]	<i>forte</i> , louder volume
[p]	<i>piano</i> , softer volume
[a]	higher pitch register
[b]	lower pitch register
[]	voice overlapping
=	latching
..	short pause (about .5 seconds)
...	longer pause (about .75 seconds)
< >	pause in number of seconds
'	emphatic, rhythmic accent
*	contrastive phrase accent
:	sound lengthening
xx	unintelligible syllable
()	unclear segment
# #	personal or place name deleted
.h.h	inbreath
hh	outbreath, laugh
ha ha	laughs

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