

# The draft of measures to improve attitudes towards the Galician language and the extension of its use

by the Research team of the Seminar of Sociolinguistics of the Real Academia Galega

## Abstract

The Seminar of Sociolinguistics of the Real Academia Galega [Galician Academy of Language]<sup>1</sup> gives in this article an overview of the most relevant research projects carried out since its foundation and which have been funded by public institutions. We focus on the project we are currently developing and which gave name to this article. In the nineties, the Real Academia Galega elaborated the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia (MSG), a wide-range quantitative study, made up of more than 38,000 interviews, where detailed information was given about fourth dimensions of the sociolinguistic situation: initial language, competence, uses and linguistic attitudes.

This new project aims to revise the results of the last dimension by using a different methodology, where triangulation is especially relevant insofar as we combine both quantitative and qualitative (indirect measurement of attitudes, in-depth interviews and discussion groups) methodologies.

The results obtained from this triangulation of different methodologies give attitudinal results which differ in some aspects from those obtained by the MSG, especially those referring to the resistences towards the normalization of Galician, from which analysis we propose a series of recommendations aiming to help to correct and change this situation.

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. *The Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia (MSG)*

The Seminar of Sociolinguistics of the Real Academia Galega has been carrying out several researches about the sociolinguistic situation of Galicia, in cooperation with public institutions since its foundation in 1990. In addition to the project reviewed in this article, the Seminar of Sociolinguistics of the RAG, together with the Directorate General for Language Policy of the Xunta de Galicia [Directorate General for Language Policy of the Government of Galicia], carried out the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia in order to know about the Galician linguistic situation insofar as there was a lack of reliable data regarding the current vitality and reality of the Galician language.

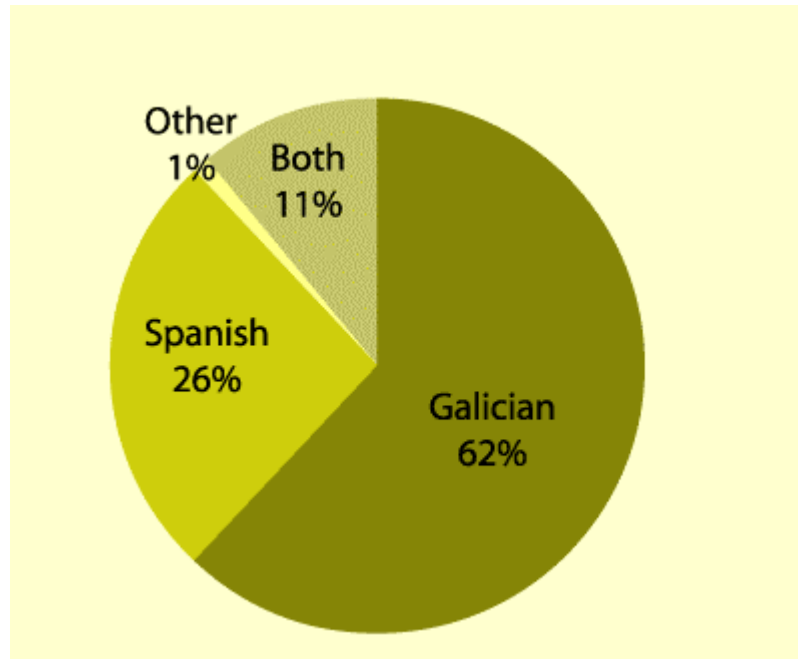
The preparation of this study started in 1992 and ended in 1996 with the publication of the last of the three volumes of the MSG. 38,897 interviews (appendix 1) were carried out among the population aged 16 and over living in Galicia. 36 sectors were established according to the size of the municipality and the percentage of people employed in the different economic activities. Within every sector, the sample was proportionally distributed between the municipalities, and quotas were established according to age group and gender. The questionnaire was made up of 148 questions, some of them with subdivisions, so that the total number of variables gathered was of 170. The issues contained in the questionnaire were as follows:

- a) Personal identification data of the interviewee: name, place of birth and residence, gender, age, occupation, studies, etc.
- b) Linguistic competence: knowledge of Galician of the interviewee and his/her family.
- c) (Socio-)linguistic history of the interviewee: initial language, language used at school, language used by close relatives, etc.
- d) Linguistic uses of the interviewees in different domains: family circle, with friends, at work, with the Administration, etc.
- e) Linguistic attitudes and prejudices with regard to Galician in different domains: towards the use of Galician in different situations, the usefulness of Galician compared to Spanish, the increase of use of Galician, the Galician speakers, the Spanish speakers, etc.
- f) Sociolinguistic awareness of the interviewee: usual language of youngsters, the future of languages in Galicia, level of use of Galician in different moments of the last 50 years, etc.
- g) Check questions (interviewer)

The Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia was published by the Real Academia Galega in three volumes (*Seminario de Sociolingüística*, 1994, 1995, 1996) which contain a synthesis of the most relevant data by using three basic parameters: the competence in Galician, its uses and the attitudes towards this language.

One of the most relevant results stated in volume one of the MSG was the break-up of the intergenerational transmission of Galician as far as even if the majority of the population (62.4%) claimed Galician as initial language, this percentage varies substantially according to the age group. The difference between initial Galician speakers and initial Spanish speakers from the group of elders (over 65) to the group of youngsters (between 16 and 25 y.o.) is more than 70%. Furthermore, among people under 20 y.o., Spanish is in most cases the initial language, no matter characteristics as relevant as the place of residence at birth.

**Figure 1: Initial language in Galicia**

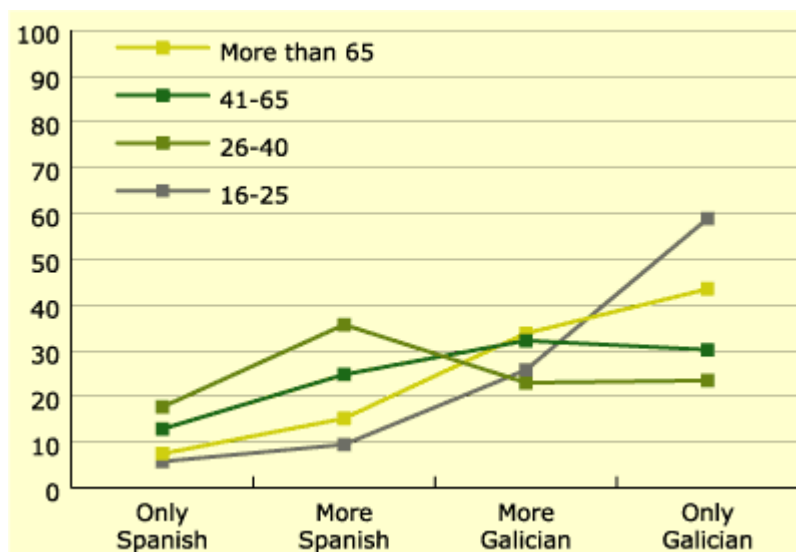


As for linguistic competences, the MSG shows a predominance of oral competences in Galician, as almost all interviewees claimed to understand Galician (97.1%) and a vast majority claimed to be able to speak it (86.4%). Nonetheless, the written skills are more limited as less than half the population can read in Galician (45.9%) and slightly over a quarter can write it (27.1%).

Regarding linguistic uses, the MSG states that the majority language in Galicia is Galician: almost 70% of interviewees claim to speak only (38.7%) or mostly (29.9%) this language. Nevertheless, the use of Galician changes according to variables such as place of residence, age, level of studies or social class. Broadly speaking, the MSG proves a general decrease of Galician from rural areas to towns and from towns to cities. The use of Galician also decreases according to the age and in those groups with a higher level of instruction and a higher socio-economic status.

If we focus on the relation between usual language and age, the MSG shows a worrying process of language shift. In the whole Galicia, Spanish is now the dominant language among youngsters (53.4% of those interviewees aged between 16 and 25 speaks only or mostly in Spanish).

Figure 2. Usual language in Galicia



At the same time a general report was submitted to the Xunta de Galicia [autonomous Government of Galicia] with the analysis of all data and a level of concretion far more higher than the results published in the 3 volumes that, even if detailed, are merely a synthesis of the data collected in the map.

### 1.2 Developing Policies to improve the Conversion of Language Competence in Language Use among Young Adults Groups

The Seminar of Sociolinguistics of the Real Academia Galega carried out the Galician part of the project *Developing Policies to improve the Conversion of Language Competence in Language Use among young Adult Groups*. The objective of the study was to develop systems to improve the step between competence and use in groups of young people. The work was coordinated by Pádraig Ó Riagáin of the Linguistics Institute of Ireland and the other participants were the Seminar of Sociolinguistics of Galicia, the Directorates General for Language Policy of Catalonia and Basque Country, the Research Centre Wales, and the afore-mentioned Linguistics Institute of Ireland.

The part referring to Galicia is a macro-quantitative study about the congruence or non-congruence between oral competence and use of the Galician language among a sub-sample of people aged between 16 and 34, which was the source for a subsequent study about the influence of social networks over this congruence. On the other hand, the influence of the changes occurring in the social networks of daily interaction over the linguistic behaviour of speakers was also studied.

The results of this research in Galicia were published in two articles: Fernández Rodríguez, M. & Rodríguez Neira, M. (1998a) and Fernández Rodríguez, M. i Rodríguez Neira, M. (1998b).

### 1.3 Deseño de medidas para mellorar las actitudes cara ó galego e incrementa-lo seu uso

The Seminar of Sociolinguistics of the Real Academia is carrying out the project *The draft of measures to improve attitudes towards the Galician language and the extension of its use* which is being funded by the Directorate General for Language Policy of the Galician Government [Xunta de Galicia]. This project began in March 1999 and is now almost completed. The results will be published as a monograph in the near future.

*The draft of measures to improve attitudes towards the Galician language and the extension of its use* arises as a response to a need clearly stated by the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia (MSG), (RAG: 1994, 1995, 1996), to establish actions designed to halt the decline of the use of Galician among young people. The major aim of the project is to determine which factors are causing the decline in the use of Galician among specific groups. Those responsible of the areas concerned (Sociolinguistics, Psychology and Sociology) set up common goals and methodological research guidelines which can be summed up as follows:

1. To detect from the data provided by the MSG attitudes of latent rejection towards Galician among young people.
2. To link possible negative attitudes with the linguistic history of individuals.
3. To explore the possible relation between the decrease in the use of Galician and the loss of presence in highly relevant domains of interaction.

Even though the MSG data provided a global perspective on the sociolinguistic situation in Galicia, the study did not pave the way to the setting up of active measures to increase the use of the language insofar as, among other issues, there was little *correlation* between attitudes and linguistic use among the general population, especially young people. Furthermore, the MSG showed the existence of positive attitudes towards Galician among young people indicating that there were latent attitudes which made it difficult to explain this apparent inconsistency.

As a result, the decision was taken to establish a set of experimental tools in order to which would enable the carrying out of qualitative analysis, as well as indirect measurements of this sociolinguistic situation. This would be to explore issues related to this phenomenon that could not be approached through quantitative methods of social research or indeed by means of a direct measurement of attitudes. The techniques chosen were as stated below:

- Matched-guise technique; (appendix 2)
- In-depth interviews; (appendix 3)
- Discussion groups. (appendix 4)

Thanks to the complementarity of the data obtained through these tools it should then be possible to check out the relation between life-stories, attitudes and linguistic behaviours of individuals with different sociolinguistic and sociodemographic characteristics.

This should also make it possible to draft a series of measures aiming at halting the decline in the use of Galician among young people.

## **2. Tools and methodology**

### *2.1 Matched-guise technique*

An initial requirement for the establishment of these tools was the need to evaluate attitudes indirectly, i.e. to explore indirect assessment of attitudes among young Galicians by means of a young male and a young female speaking in four different linguistic varieties ("Galician without Galician accent", "traditional Galician", "Spanish with Galician accent", "Spanish without Galician accent"). *Accent* was understood from a technical point of view as forms of pronunciation (Laver 1994) and was defined in phonetic and prosodic terms (especially the vowel system and the intonation in enumeration pauses).

To this end an adaptation of the matched-guise technique (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillebaum, 1960) was set up so that individuals listened to 16 voices (8 male and 8 female voices) from people aged from 24 to 34 years. The 4 (*matched*) male and female voices were those of the same man and woman, and each of them used the four chosen linguistic varieties. The other eight (*padding*) voices were those of different people and were equally distributed among the linguistic varieties under consideration.

#### *2.1.1 Sample description*

To obtain comparable conclusions we established a representative sample made up of 400 individuals ranging from 14 to 20 years old. who were in non-university education (secondary education, higher secondary-education, or training cycles) in Galician education centres. We took into account the place of residence and the gender of the interviewees according to the data provided by the 1998 revision of the 1991 population and housing census.

<b>Area</b>	Galicia
<b>Population</b>	Pupils ranging 14-20 years with non-university education
<b>Type of sample</b>	Clusters with proportional affixation according to gender and place of residence (last unit=pupil)
<b>Worst hypothesis</b>	$p=q=50$
<b>Highest error expected at global level</b>	$\pm 5\%$
<b>Level of confidence</b>	95% ( $\alpha= 0.05$ )
<b>Size of sample</b>	400 individuals
<b>Data gathering</b>	Adapted implementation of the matched guise technique in the chosen Galician education centres.

### 2.1.2 Analysis and goals

The statistical methods we used (general linear model of repeated measurements, cluster analysis, analysis of individual differences, analysis of linear regression and analysis of correspondences) aimed to:

- a) Establish the existence of relevant differences in the assessments of linguistic varieties according to intra-individual (gender, language and matched accent) and inter-individual variables (place of residence, usual language, language of parents and gender of the interviewer);
- b) Study the perceived similarity between different linguistic varieties;
- c) Analyse which are the personal features constituting the underlying dimensions in the evaluation of linguistic varieties; and
- d) Analyse the physical stereotypes associated to the different linguistic varieties used in the study.

### 2.2 In-depth interviews

By means of in-depth interviews with listed questions we sought to determine out the personal story and experience of the selected individuals. This technique is considered especially useful when obtaining information about how the subjects actually act and rebuilding the social representations system in their individual attitudes and behaviours. Thus we tried to get closer to the representations associated with the two languages in contact and to the related individual events experienced by the subjects.

#### 2.2.1 Structure of the interview

The interviews were divided into thematic sections to gather information on the wide variety of issues which can, to one extent or another, have an influence on the object of the research:

##### *Life stories*

Life history appears to be a relevant factor in the linguistic choices of speakers and can explain -at least partially- some of the differences reflected in the MSG, for instance those related to the mother tongue and the place of residence. We studied what we called "citizen story", i.e. the social class of the family plus the origin and destination of family migrations and other actors in their socialization as well as relations with people living outside Galicia. On the one hand, the dimension "work, leisure and consumption" set out to explore the life-style of the interviewees and that of their families to the extent that this can reflect the self-identification of the individuals with a given social group. We also took into account the professional background of the subjects and those characteristics by means of which the individual interacts in the work domain, leisure activities and the possible relation between the linguistic behaviour and the social trajectory of the family.

### *Ethnicity and history*

Through these dimensions we checked the relevance of the ethnic self-identification and the associated level of self-esteem. In order to deal with this issue we went through aspects like the knowledge the interviewees had of the historical development of their group and the level of support they gave to the traditional folk culture, the requirements considered necessary for being a member of the group (i.e. for being Galician) and the group solidarity.

### *Metacommunicative awareness*

This dimension brings us to the last and most extensive section of the interview which includes questions designed to find out the subjects' own assessment (broadly speaking) of the language, the domains of use and the speakers.

We explored the subjects' assessment of the legitimate uses of the language and the perception of their own capacity to use it correctly, as well as the level of language loyalty and the reactions towards the language, and the perception of which is the proper language to be used in each context. We furthermore analysed the prestige accorded to the language by the interviewees in different domains of use.

The interviewees' perception of the linguistic situation in terms of social setting looks to determine on the one hand the opinion of the subjects towards the dominant language in their environment and on the other, their point of view as speakers about the relation between two languages in contact. The personal experiences of the subjects were studied against the background of their individual linguistic histories. Lastly, due to the relevance of the schooling system in the process of normalisation, we paid attention to the assessment of the teaching of Galician as a subject and to the work of teachers.

### *2.2.3 Participants*

We did not look for significance in the informants' profiles in the in-depth interviews given that the relation between the different kinds of discourse and the socio-structural characterization of the individuals was thoroughly analysed by means of the discussion groups.

The sample consisted of 12 individuals, seven females and five males aged from 21 to 31. The geographical origin of the informants was heterogeneous: three were born in the Galician countryside, two in villages, seven in cities and the remaining two outside Galicia. As for their usual language, half of them claimed to be Galician speakers and the other half Spanish speakers. Three of the informants were new Galician speakers and two had shifted from Galician to Spanish as usual language.

To avoid skewing and the notable impact of social desirability -- that is, the pressure to give socially desirable answers, the interviewees were not informed about the real goal of the interview and they replied to the questions related to language at the end of the session. Furthermore, to ensure empathy with the subject, the interviewer adapted him/herself to the usual language of the interviewee, as we knew the latter's sociolinguistic characteristics beforehand, and this helped them feel comfortable with the linguistic context.

### *2.4 Discussion groups*

The choice of the discussion group as a tool of research for linguistic attitudes is based upon the need to establish the relationship between attitudes inherent to the different social discourse types and the sociostructural characteristics of those social groups which produce and reproduce them.

Although the production of the different groups had to be as free and relaxed as possible, it was necessary to set up a list of relevant topics for the research. Once the general moderator chose the subject of the debate, only small interventions were needed to introduce new issues related to the phenomenon concerned. The topics under discussion were as follows:

- The perception of the current situation of Galician.
- Opinions concerning the reasons for the current situation of the language.
- Social perception of the institutional actions to promote the social use of the language.
- Assessments of the situation of Galician in education.
- Assessments of the situation of Galician in the work environment.
- Ethnolinguistic stereotypes.
- Diagnosis of the situation.

The criteria we considered beforehand as fundamental in setting up the groups were age, usual language, gender and place of residence. We decided to create groups of young people speaking only or mainly in one or other language and living in one or other of the places of residence (countryside, villages and cities)<sup>2</sup>, seeking also to ensure intra-group heterogeneity in terms of age and gender of the participants. One of the stipulations we made was that the members of a given group should not become acquainted and that the moderator and the informants should not have met before the discussion.

#### *Participants*

Groups were made up of Galician speakers and Spanish speakers in each of the three types of place of residence (countryside, villages and cities) and two for each place of residence, plus a bilingual pilot-group. Due to the heterogeneity of urban linguistic usage in Galicia, we considered it necessary to establish a typology of Galician towns and cities according to the dominant language. Through an analysis of correlations which determined the association between Galician cities and their linguistic usage we then proceeded to choose the cities where the discussion groups would take place, i.e. Santiago de Compostela, Ourense, Vigo and A Coruña, while Pontevedra, Lugo and Ferrol were excluded. The other discussion groups (villages and countryside) took place in Baiona (Pontevedra) and Maceda (Ourense) respectively.

### **3. Results**

The first round of analysis of results from the matched-guise tests aimed at determining which variables have an influence on the attitudinal assessments of Galician young people. For this we used a multivariable technique (general linear model of repeated measurements). We deduced from the results that young Galicians show rather homogeneous attitudes towards those speaking in matched linguistic varieties: their assessments were not influenced by their place of residence, or by their gender, mother tongue or usual language.

By means of this analysis we obtained thirteen significant contrasts. Eight were determined by the presence or absence of Galician accent in the matched voices. Young people perceived the voice without Galician accent as more *clever, attractive, educated, innovative, with leadership skills, practical, interested in making progress and self-confident*.

Another variable which influenced the assessments of the young people was the gender of the speaker interacting with accent, such that they assessed the female voices more negatively, less *attractive, less clever and with fewer leadership skills* when they had a Galician accent.

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<sup>2</sup> Population centres below 10,000 inhabitants, from 10,000 up to 50,000 and above 50,000 inhabitants, respectively.



It is worth noting the lack of importance of the variable 'language' in the **attitude assessments** of the subjects, whether in isolation or interacting with other variables. The results given by the cluster technique confirmed that the language used (i.e. Galician or Spanish) has less influence than either Galician accent or the gender of the matched voice in the social categorisation of the subjects. For the youngsters, the combination of variables which most determined the social categorisation was female gender combined with a "matched" accent (i.e. traditional Galician and Spanish with such an accent).

Once the variables which influence **on the attitude assessment of young Galicians were determined**, we set about establishing speaker characteristics constituting the dimensions against which the subjects categorised the speakers, by taking into account studies using the same technique (Bradac, 1990; Edwards, 1999; Fasold, 1984; Giles and Coupland, 1991)

Through the Analysis of Individual Differences (INDSCAL) we noted that males speaking with no Galician accent were accorded higher scores in the status dimension (i.e. *leadership, interest in making progress or self-confidence*) and lower scores in the solidarity dimension (i.e. *physical attractiveness, funny, sense of humour and friendly*). Nonetheless, where females spoke with no Galician accent, it was *pride* which determines the social success dimension but in a markedly pejorative way.

The varieties with a Galician accent were positively rated on characteristics belonging to the solidarity dimension and associated with personal integrity such as *friendly or generous*, or on the empathy dimension such as *funny or with sense of humour*, altogether related to aspects of status in terms of traditional values (i.e. *hard working*).

In addition, the Galician-accented varieties were negatively correlated with characteristics on the status dimension such as *leadership skills, physical attractiveness, intelligence, culture* and *pride*. In contrast with what was found with the previously mentioned dimension, when the voice was that of a female speaking in varieties with a Galician accent, the most relevant characteristic was *loyalty*, on the solidarity dimension and was associated to traditional values, especially when coupled with the *hard working* characteristic. Least relevant was *physical attractiveness*.

As for qualitative analysis (in-depth interviews and discussion groups) we found some differences as compared to the results of other studies exploring the same situation but using other methodological tools to gather and analyse the data, as for example the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia (Seminar of Sociolinguistics, 1994, 1995, 1996).

In the in-depth interviews, the issues related with identity (i.e. being *Galician*) were defined by the participants in subjective terms such that language is not the object of consensus in the definition of Galician identity among the younger generation. The subjects considered that speaking Galician is a necessary requirement for being considered as Galician but varying with the usual language of the interviewee, i.e. the Galician speakers, more than those speaking Spanish, that a Galician is someone who speaks Galician. Furthermore some Spanish speakers were more reluctant to give relevance to language as a marker of group identification or even to accept any kind of ethnic classification because it is perceived as potentially excluding.

To define oneself as Galician outside Galicia is not positive, and moreover to live outside Galicia does not seem to awaken a feeling among the young a feeling which favours greater attachment to Galicia and the Galician language, but rather the contrary.

Shift in the usual language is negatively considered, with the particularity that those individuals who shifted from Galician to Spanish are usually generously assessed, and their behaviour is viewed as the result of ignorance while those who shifted from Spanish to Galician are assessed with intransigence, their attitude being considered as *ridiculous, pretentious* and the result of a nationalist ideology. The interviewees who are new speakers of Galician tell stories of exclusion and marginalization on linguistic grounds. Those who changed their accent towards more traditional phonology are also worse assessed than those having adopted phonological features closer to Spanish.

The knowledge members of the groups had of celebrities in the past is limited to writers, showing a predisposition to yield to cultural Spanish identity markers (represented by celebrities).

The informants associated the dissemination of the written norm with an oral standard negatively characterized considered to be imposed. The majority place individual freedom before adoption of a standard language,<sup>3</sup> so in fact indicating a certain scepticism towards the norm. Furthermore, and in rather contradictory fashion, non-normative orthographic options were also negatively rated. The criteria determining linguistic authenticity were based upon such factors as *naturalness*, *spontaneity*, *convenience*, the *rural world* and *traditional customs*.

Linguistic convergence was a demand made by many Spanish speakers and a concession Galician speakers both understood and justified when it occurs in the direction of Spanish. Convergence towards Galician had a kinship meaning. Broadly speaking, in convergence on Spanish the status dimension was highly relevant while for convergence on Galician, the main dimension was that of *solidarity*. There was nevertheless a tendency in some Galician-speaking interviewees, for whom language was the corner stone of personal identity, to be very critical towards the lack of convergence on Galician.

Regarding the usefulness of the language, Galician was not perceived as having social profitability outside the social group of reference, except in some university circles and in public administration. Related to this, the informants considered that Galicians have to speak both languages, and their articulation of this systematically confused two dimensions: competence and use, usually giving more relevance to competence which is the dimension that accepts an asymmetrical situation. Among Galician speakers, it was considered that the Galician language deserves special attention on the part of society and agents devoted to the process of normalisation.

The main role of Galician in the education system was also focused on the competence dimension, since for many young Galicians the school should not be used as a tool for identity issues, i.e. there is no reason school should promote the use of Galician.

Furthermore, the usual language of the informants seems to determine the general attitudes towards the topics discussed during the interview and to constitute a *continuum* from negative to very positive attitudes, arranged in the following order: urban Spanish speakers or inhabitants of villages, rural Galician speakers and urban new speakers of Galician.

From the analysis of the discussion groups, we can conclude that the production and reproduction of representations of the current situation of the Galician language is conditioned by the social group of reference to which the participants belong. The creation of settings where the subjects share characteristics as the usual language and the place of residence (especially the latter) strengthens the feelings of belonging to the reference group and favours the articulation of notions associated with the *common sense abilities* relevant for the group.

The study revealed the existence of an attitude *continuum* that, in its negative side includes attitudes of rejection linked to the lack of identification with identity markers related to the language, and in its positive side includes attitudes linked with its use as an external feature of symbolic adhesion to the cultural Galician identity. This two poles of the *continuum* coincided with the social representations of two minority groups of young people. The first one was made up of individuals living in cities, monolingual Spanish speakers, with little active competence in Galician. In this group the relations between the two languages were perceived as conflictive and progress in the extension of the social use of Galician was considered to be a threat for Spanish. The second group was made up of monolingual Galician speakers living in cities who, in some moment of their lives, decided to use Galician as they considered the language a core issue of the Galician collective identity. The majority of the young people who took part in this study were situated on the continuum between these two poles.

In the Spanish-speaking groups we found some factors that were important obstacles to the extension of the social use of Galician: the habit of using Spanish in all relevant domains of interaction, the perception of an environment mostly made up of Spanish-speaking people, the negative assessment of the usefulness of speaking Galician in most social domains, and the existence of prejudices based on the persistence of traditional stereotypes (*rude*, *stupid*) and the arising of new stereotypes (*nationalist*, *snob*).

Within the work domain, the use of Galician was usually linked to low prestige employment or with the education and administration spheres, constituting therefore a

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<sup>3</sup> The informants understand *norm*, *standard*, *educated Galician*... as a whole in the written language which furthermore they extrapolate to the oral language.

factor influencing the low assessment of the usefulness of the use of Galician as usual language.

The perception of a greater concern in other autonomous regions towards their languages awakes ambivalent feelings, mixing culpability for not doing enough for the Galician language and the rejection of these models on the basis of a supposed greater tolerance among Galician people.

There is a dominant theme voiced about the situation of Galician in the education system which can be defined as that of "multilingualism" by expressing positive assessments towards the learning of different languages. Nonetheless, the debate is usually limited to the question of linguistic competence and avoids the question of linguistic use.

Responsibility for the maintenance of Galician is delegated to supra-individual institutions thus avoiding possible contradiction caused by the inconsistency between the expressed attitudes and individual behaviour.

Broadly speaking, we found in the Galician-speaking groups an important commitment to the use of Galician and a wish to extend it in all domains of social life. There are differences worth noting in the representations of the situation among urban new speakers of Galician (the latter evincing the worse assessments of the current linguistic situation) and the rural speakers who have Galician as a first language.

The Galician speakers living or born in the countryside and who still keep up close links with it assess the overall situation of Galician and the improvement of its social prestige in a much more positive way, due to the presence of Galician in the mass-media and public administration.

The comparison of this negative situation with that of other regions having their own language results in a feeling of inferiority and articulation of self-blame which seeks to explain the situation by means of supposed anthropological features of the Galician ethnolinguistic community (*lack of proudness, absence of leaders...*).

In the Galician-speaking group made up of people with Galician as first language we found elements that can influence the shift of the usual language towards Spanish. To the extent that members of this group include in their discourse the values of the committed speakers, this can set up procedures to preclude shift to Spanish.

#### 4. Proposals for action

Based on the conclusions of this research on linguistic attitudes in Galicia, the Seminar of Sociolinguistics of the Real Academia Galega proposes a series of recommendations and proposals for action. It is obvious that the interest of this study lies in making a diagnosis taking as its point of departures **the described lack of suitability**. The measures to be adopted should therefore follow this direction.

The measures of action should be based on the different types of factors determining in every social group the reluctance towards a greater use of Galician as usual language. The main guidelines that should guide these measures are listed below.

In order to overcome resistance based on environmental factors such as the perception of a predominantly Spanish-speaking social setting, especially among young people living in cities, measures have to be drafted to promote the contact of Spanish speakers with domains where Galician is the dominant language.

It is also necessary to promote in this same group the improvement of self-perception of oral competence.

Regarding the resistances related to attitude issues, we need to carry on actions aiming at improve assessment among young people of the usefulness of the Galician language. The dissemination of models of prestige linked to some varieties of Galician needs to be promoted and to be associated with domains like the socio-economic world and to a lesser extent with the political or cultural domains.

Models of prestige associated to the oral use of Galician perceived as *normative* must also be offered. It is furthermore necessary to disseminate the message that Galician is a single language with different varieties.

It is fundamental to improve the prestige of the only group of Galician speakers whose figures are rising (i.e. that of the new speakers) in order to avoid the perception linking the use of Galician by this group with nationalist membership.

It is also necessary to set up actions aimed to strengthen a positive ethnolinguistic identity among the young Galician speakers of the countryside due to their worrying predisposition to language shift.

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## Appendix 1

### Questionnaire of the sociolinguistic map of Galicia

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Good morning/Good afternoon

We are carrying out, a survey commissioned by the Real Academia Galega about the use of Galician and the factors that determine this use. It is highly relevant for us to know your ideas and opinions about this issue. This is why we ask you to be so kind to reply to some questions.

#### P1 Gender of the interviewee

Male 1  
Female 2

#### P2 How old are you?

\_\_\_\_\_

#### P3 Where were you born?

Place \_\_\_\_\_

District \_\_\_\_\_

Galicia 1  
Catalan-speaking  
regions. Basque Country 2  
Rest of Spain 3  
Other with 1 language 4  
Other with more than 1 language 5

#### P4 Where is this place located?

Nearby the sea 1  
In the mainland 2  
In hills 3

#### P5 Did you live outside Galicia?

Yes 1  
No 2

#### P6 Where did you live?

Catalan-speaking  
regions. Basque Country 1  
Rest of Spain 2  
Other with 1 language 3  
Other with more than 1 language 4

**P7 How many years?**

Number of years \_\_\_\_\_

**P8 At what age did you went back to Galicia?**

Years \_\_\_\_\_

**P9 What was the profession of your father?**

Profession

\_\_\_\_\_

**P10 What was the profession of your mother?**

Profession

\_\_\_\_\_

**P11 What is/was your profession?**

Profession

\_\_\_\_\_

**P12 How many people live with you in your family circle?**

Number of people

\_\_\_\_\_

**P13 Which is your studies' level?**

None	1
Incomplete primary	2
Complete primary	3
Vocational	4
Highschool	5
Short cycle university	6
Long cycle university	7
Other	8

**P14 What language do you speak?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1

**P15 In which language did you learn to speak?**

Galician	1
Spanish	2
Both	3
Other	4

**P16 What are your linguistic skills in Galician?**

	Good	Fairly	A little	None	N.A.
<b>Understand</b>	4	3	2	1	9
<b>Speak</b>	4	3	2	1	9
<b>Read</b>	4	3	2	1	9
<b>Write</b>	4	3	2	1	9

**P17 How did you learn Galician?**

Family	1
School	2
Friends	3
Neighbours	4
Workplace	5
Other	6
N.A.	9

**P18 What are/were the linguistic skills in Galician within your family?**

	None	Understand	Understand and speak	Understand, speak and read	Understand, speak, read and write	Understand, read and write	N.A. NS/NC
<b>Father</b>	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
<b>Mother</b>	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
<b>Grandfather</b>	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
<b>Grandmother</b>	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

**P19 Which language did your father speak with you?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P20 Which language did your mother speak with you?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P21 Which language did your parents speak to each other?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P22 Which language did your grandparents speak to each other?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P23 Which language did your maternal grandfather speak?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P24 Which language did your maternal grandmother speak?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P25 Which language did your paternal grandfather speak?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9



**P26 Which language did your paternal grandmother speak?**

Only Galician 4  
More Galician than Spanish 3  
More Spanish than Galician 2  
Only Spanish 1  
N.A. 9

**P27 Which language do/did you speak with your brothers?**

Only Galician 4  
More Galician than Spanish 3  
More Spanish than Galician 2  
Only Spanish 1  
N.A. 9

**P28 Have you always spoken the same language than nowadays?**

Yes 1  
No 2

**P29**

<b>Which L did you speak</b>	Only Galician	More Galician than Spanish	More Spanish than Galician	Only Spanish	N.A. NS/NC
<b>Until 13</b>	4	3	2	1	9
<b>From 14 to 18</b>	4	3	2	1	9
<b>From 19 to 30</b>	4	3	2	1	9
<b>From 31 onwards</b>	4	3	2	1	9

**P30 Why did you make this language change/s?**

By myself 1  
Influence of school 2  
Due to work reasons 3  
To adapt to the environment 4  
Due to the social assessment of Galician 5  
Other reasons 6  
Ns/nc 9

**P31 What was the language spoken in your workplace?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P32 (Liberal professions) What language did you speak with your customers?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P33 (Non-liberal professions) What language did you speak with your workmates?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P34 (Non-liberal professions) Which language did you speak at work with your employees?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P35 (Non-liberal professions) Which language did you speak at work with your superiors?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P36 Did the language used at work influence your usual language?**

yes	1
no	2

**P37 In which sense?**

In favour of Galician 2

In favour of Spanish 1

**P38 What language do/did you speak with your husband/wife?**

Only Galician 4

More Galician than Spanish 3

More Spanish than Galician 2

Only Spanish 1

N.A. 9

**P39 What language do/did you speak with your male children?**

Only Galician 4

More Galician than Spanish 3

More Spanish than Galician 2

Only Spanish 1

N.A. 9

**P40 What language do/did you speak with your female children?**

Only Galician 4

More Galician than Spanish 3

More Spanish than Galician 2

Only Spanish 1

N.A. 9

**P41 What language do/did you speak with your youngest children (male/female)?**

Only Galician 4

More Galician than Spanish 3

More Spanish than Galician 2

Only Spanish 1

N.A. 9

**P42 What language do/did you speak with your elder children (male/female)?**

Only Galician 4

More Galician than Spanish 3

More Spanish than Galician 2

Only Spanish 1

N.A. 9

**P43 In what language do you reprimand your children?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P44 What language when you argue or get angry?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P45 What language do/did you speak with your brothers?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P46 What language do/did you speak with your sisters?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P47 What language do/dis you speak with your youngest brothers/sisters?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P48 What language do/dis you speak with your brothers/sisters?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P49 And with your father?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P50 And with your mother?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P51 And with your paternal grandparents?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P52 And with your maternal grandparents?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P53 And with other elder parents?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P54 And with other younger parents?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P55 Does/did the language of your partner influence your own language?**

Yes 1  
No 2  
N.A. 3

**P56 In what sense?**

In favour of Galician 1  
In favour of Spanish 2

**P57 What language do you speak with neighbours?**

Only Galician 4  
More Galician than Spanish 3  
More Spanish than Galician 2  
Only Spanish 1  
N. . 9

**P58 And with neighbours from outside Galicia ?**

Only Galician 4  
More Galician than Spanish 3  
More Spanish than Galician 2  
Only Spanish 1  
N.A. 9

**P59 What language do you speak with friends?**

Only Galician 4  
More Galician than Spanish 3  
More Spanish than Galician 2  
Only Spanish 1  
N.A. 9

**P60 What language do you speak in food shops, bakeries, etc?**

Only Galicia 4  
More Galician than Spanish 3  
More Spanish than Galician 2  
Only Spanish 1  
N.A. 9

**P61 And when you make non-daily shopping: clothes, electrical household appliances, etc?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P62 What language do you use to speak to a stranger?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P63 For which reason?**

Because it's my usual language	1
By my own will	2
For if he/she does not understand another language	3
It depends on the place	4
According to the age of the person	5
According to his/her appearance (clothes,...)	6
Because it's not fair to speak in another language with a stranger	7
According to the gender	8
For other reasons	9

**P64 What language do you use with somebody with whom you are in close terms?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1

**P65 What language do you use when you have to solve affairs in some office of the city council?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P66 And when you have to solve affairs in some office of the regional government?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**67 What language do you use with your family doctor?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P68 And with a specialized doctor?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P69 Compared to Spanish, what is your opinion about the use of Galician in local and regional offices of the administration?**

Much more appropriate	5
Fairly more appropriate	4
Equally appropriate	3
Much less appropriate	2
Fairly less appropriate	1
N.A.	9

**P70 Compared to Spanish, what is your opinion about the use of Galician in a testament or contract?**

Much more appropriate	5
Fairly more appropriate	4
Equally appropriate	3
Much less appropriate	2
Fairly less appropriate	1
N.A.	9



**P71 In type event of a lawsuit, if your lawyer uses Galician, you would**

Agree completely	5
Partially agree	4
Indiferente	3
Partially disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P72 Compared to Galician, what is your opinion about the use of Spanish during the mass?**

Much more appropriate	5
Fairly more appropriate	4
Equally appropriate	3
Much less appropriate	2
Fairly less appropriate	1
N.A	9

**P73 In what language do you read usually?**

Always in Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Always in Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P74 What is your opinion about the use of Galician in sports and daily newspapers?**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indiferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P75 The place names and road-signs in Galicia should be only in Galician**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indiferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P76 When you leave a note for somebody, in what language do you write it?**

Always in Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Always in Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P77 What is the language of the TV programmes you watch?**

Always in Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Always in Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P78 What is the language of the radio programmes you listen to?**

Always in Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Always in Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P79 Compared to your way of speaking Galician, the Galician spoken in radio and TV programmes is**

Very similar	5
Fairly similar	4
Similar	3
Fairly different	2
Very different	1
NS/NC	9

**P80 There should be more programmes in Galician in TV and radio**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indifferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P81 Galician should be used more in advertisements.**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indiferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P82 Did you study Galician at school?**

Yes.	1
No	2

**P83 How many years?**

--	--

**P84 All subjects except Spanish language and literature should be taught in Galician**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indiferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P85 In what language do/did you write at school?**

Always in Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Always in Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P86 In what language did you speak with your classmates?**

Always in Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Always in Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P86 And during the playtime?**

Always in Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Always in Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P87 In what language do/did you speak to teachers?**

Always in Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Always in Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P89 In what language do/did you prefer the lectures?**

Galician	4
Indifferent	3
Both	2
Spanish	1

**P90 Compared to Galician, do you think Spanish is more suitable for teaching mathematics courses?**

Much more appropriate	5
Fairly more appropriate	4
Equally appropriate	3
Much less appropriate	2
Fairly less appropriate	1
N.A.	9

**P91 Compared to Galician, do you think Spanish is more suitable for teaching History courses?**

Much more appropriate	5
Fairly more appropriate	4
Equally appropriate	3
Much less appropriate	2
Fairly less appropriate	1
N.A.	9

**P92 Did the language of lectures at school influence your usual language?**

Yes	1
No	2

**P93 In which sense?**

In favour of Galician 2  
In favour of Spanish 1

**P94 Galicia should be the usual language in schools**

Completely agree 5  
Fairly agree 4  
Indifferente 3  
Fairly disagree 2  
Completely disagree 1  
NS/NC 9

**P95 What is your opinion about Galician-speaking parents who speak Spanish to their children?**

Completely agree 5  
Fairly agree 4  
Indifferente 3  
Fairly disagree 2  
Completely disagree 1  
NS/NC 9

**P96 Do you think that Spanish is more, less or equally useful than Galician?**

More than Galician 1  
Equally than Galician 2  
Less than Galician 3  
Ns/nc 9

**P97 If you talk to somebody in Galician and this person replies in Spanish, what do you think?**

I like it 1  
It's normal 2  
Indifferent 3  
It is not fair 4  
It is rude 5  
N.A. 9  
NS/NC 9

**P98 If you talk to somebody in Spanish and this person replies in Galician, what do you think?**

I like it	1
It's normal	2
Indifferent	3
It is not fair	4
It is rude	5
N.A.	9
NS/NC	9

**P99 What language must learn children at home?**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P100 Why?**

Because it's the usual language of the region	1
Because it's one of the languages of Galicia	2
Because it's the language of the State	3
Because it's useful (communication purposes; wider culture)	4
Because the other language is useless	5
Due to the social assessment of the language	6
Other reasons	7

**P101 What is your opinion about Spanish-speaking parents who speak Galician to their children??**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indiferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P102 At present, young people speaks**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P103 At present, elder people speaks**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P104 At present, educated people speaks**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P105 At present, people without studies speaks**

Only Galician	4
More Galician than Spanish	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
N.A.	9

**P106 What language should Galicians speak?**

Galician	3
Both	2
Spanish	1
NS/NC	9

**107 In ever Galician should disappear, the culture and identity of Galicia would**

Disappear	3
Maintain	2
NS/NC	9

**P108 What is your opinion about the increase and promotion of the use of Galician?**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indiferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P109 The measures aiming to promote the use of Galician are**

Too many	1
Fairly excessive	2
Adequate	3
Not adequate enough	4
Far not adequate enough	5
NS/NC	9

**P110 Who and to what extent should take the responsibility in promoting the Galician language?**

	A lot	Fairly	Some	Little	None	NS/NC
<b>Central gov.</b>	5	4	3	2	1	9
<b>Schools</b>	5	4	3	2	1	9
<b>Mass media</b>	5	4	3	2	1	9
<b>Companies</b>	5	4	3	2	1	9
<b>City councils</b>	5	4	3	2	1	9
<b>Regional gov.</b>	5	4	3	2	1	9
<b>Region</b>	5	4	3	2	1	9
<b>Intellectuals</b>	5	4	3	2	1	9

**P111 What will be the future of languages in Galicia?**

Only Galician will be spoken	5
Galician will be more spoken than Spanish	4
Both will be spoken on an equal basis	3
Spanish will be more spoken than Galician	2
Only Spanish will be spoken	1
NS/NC	9

**P112 In your opinion, the issue of language is**

Very important	5
Rather important	4
Important	3
Little importante	2
Not important at all	1
NS/NC	9



**P113 Every person living in Galicia should know Galician**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indifferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P114 In you are in a group where the majority speaks Spanish but all understand Galician, what language do you speak?**

Only Galician	5
More Galician than Spanish	4
Both	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
NS/NC	9

**P115 In you are in a group where the majority speaks Galician but all understand Spanish, what language do you speak?**

Only Galician	5
More Galician than Spanish	4
Both	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
NS/NC	9

**P116 In you are in a group where the majority speaks Galician, what language do you speak?**

Only Galician	5
More Galician than Spanish	4
Both	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
NS/NC	9

**P117 Do you think that Galician is spoken**

	more	similar	less	NS/NC
<b>Than 10 years ago</b>	3	2	1	9
<b>Than 25 years ago</b>	3	2	1	9
<b>Than 40 years ago</b>	3	2	1	9

**P117 In the recent years, your appreciation towards Galician**

Increased	3
Maintained	2
Decreased	1
NS/NC	0

**P118 If you took some Galician course outside regular school, what was the main reason?**

To improve the socio-professional situation	3
My interest towards Galician language	2
NS/NC	0

**P119 What diploma or degree did you obtain in this course?**

Officially approved by the regional gov	1
Without official approval	2
NS/NC	0

**P120 Would you like to improve your skills in Galician?**

A lot	5
Fairly	4
Indifferent	3
A little	2
Not at all	1
NS/NC	9

**P121 What is your opinion about the Galician spoken in your area?**

Very good	5
Good	4
Neither good or bad	3
Bad	2
Very bad	1
NS/NC	9

**P122 What is your opinion about the Galician spoken in TV.?**

Very good	5
Good	4
Neither good or bad	3
Bad	2
Very bad	1
NS/NC	9

**P123 Who is more Galician?**

Those speaking Galician	3
Those born in Galicia	2
Those living and working in Galicia	1
NS/NC	9

**P124 Those speaking Spanish are more educated than those speaking Galician**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indifferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P125 Who speaks Spanish deserves more social consideration than who speaks Galician**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indifferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P126 Those speaking Spanish should be given more possibilities in their career than those speaking Galician**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indifferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P127 Those speaking Spanish with a strong Galician accent have lesser possibilities in their career.**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indifferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P128 Those speaking Spanish have more possibilities to make friends than those speaking Galician**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indifferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P129 Those speaking Spanish have more possibilities to have social relations than those speaking Galician**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indifferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P130 Those speaking Spanish are more realistic or practical than those speaking Galician.**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indifferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P131 Those speaking Galician are at first sight more friendly and warm than those speaking Spanish.**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indifferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P132 It's easier to talk with those speaking Galician than with those speaking Spanish.**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indifferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P133 Those speaking Spanish deserve more respect than those speaking Galician Completely**

agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indiferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P134 Galician is more beautiful than Spanish**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indiferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P135 In your opinion, what is the language of Galicians?**

Galician	3
Both	2
Spanish	1
NS/NC	9

**P136 Spanish is more appropriate than Galician to speak in cities.**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indiferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P137 Spanish is more appropriate than Galician to speak in towns**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indiferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P138 Galician is more appropriate than Spanish to speak in villages.**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indiferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**P139 Spanish is more appropriate than Galician for the modern world**

Completely agree	5
Fairly agree	4
Indiferente	3
Fairly disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
NS/NC	9

**INTERVIEWEE: SELF-ANSWERING QUESTIONS**

**P140 What are the monthly incomes of your household?**

Les than 56,000	1
From 56,000 to 74,000	2
From 75,000 to 99,000	3
From 100,000 to 149,000	4
From 150,000 to 199,000	5
From 200,000 to 300,000	6
More than 300,000	7
NS/NC	9

[amount expressed in PTA. 1 PTA=166.386€]

**P141 To which political party do you feel closer?**

BNG	1
CDS	2
PSG-EG	3
EU	4
PP	5
CG/CNG	6
PSOE	7
Other	8
NS/NC	9

**INTERVIEWER: REGISTER, WITHOUT ASKING, OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE FOLLOWING ISSUES.**

**P142 Social class of the interviewee**

Low	1
Middle-low	2
Middle	3
Middle-high	4
High	5

**P143 The opinions about the language given in margin of questions were**

Very positive	5
Positive	4
Neutral	3
Negative	2
Very negative	1
N.O.	9

**P144 What language/s did you observe in the family circle of the interviewee?**

Only Galician	5
More Galician than Spanish	4
Both	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
NS/NC	9

**P145 ¿ What language/s did you observe in the social environment of the interviewee?**

Only Galician	5
More Galician than Spanish	4
Both	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
NS/NC	9

**P146 What language did use the interviewee?**

Only Galician	5
More Galician than Spanish	4
Both	3
More Spanish than Galician	2
Only Spanish	1
NS/NC	9

**P147 Did he/she express doubts while speaking?**

Yes                    1  
no                      2  
sometimes.        3

**P148 Did he/she look tense or influenced?**

yes                    1  
no                      2

**Other observations:**

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## Appendix 2

### Matched-guise Questionnaire

#### QUESTIONNAIRE

INTERVIEWEE N° \_\_\_\_\_

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

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Number of replies	1	2	3	4	5	6
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<b>The person who is speaking,</b>	<b>Very little</b>			<b>A lot</b>		
Looks intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks educated	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks physically attractive	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks being worth of trust	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks having sense of humor	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks interested in making progresses	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks open-minded	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks having self-confidence	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks accepting new uses and customs	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks generous	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks being able to be a leader	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks funny	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks hard-working	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks proud	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks faithful	1	2	3	4	5	6
Looks practical		1	2	3	4	5

6

What kind of work do you think this person is carrying out?

\_\_\_\_\_.

To which which portrait does this voice correspond? Males 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Females 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

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**QUESTIONNAIRE OF EVALUATION**  
**Questionnaire**

**NAME:** \_\_\_\_\_

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It was funny	1	2	3	4	5	6
Which level of success do you think this will obtain?	1	2	3	4	5	6

Did you observe some anomaly or fault while filling in the questionnaire?

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Should you change something?

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## Appendix 3

### Outline for in-depth interviews

#### INTERVIEWS

*We are carrying out a study about the social relations of Galicians. That's why we would like to know about some issues related to your past and current personal experiences. The confidentiality of your answers is completely guaranteed. We would be grateful if you could reply as much sincerely as possible. If ever you consider a question is too personal, then feel free not to answer. It is possible that in some moment we will ask you for names or initials of people and concrete places with the only objective to understand better your experiences. We thank you beforehand for your cooperation.*

#### Personal particulars

Complementary personal data of the interviewees will be collected in order to establish a friendly atmosphere between the interviewer and the interviewee.

#### TO ESTABLISH AN INFORMAL CONVERSATION

*The data to be collected are as follows:*

#### TO TURN ON THE RECORDER

- When were you born?, where? (*specify to the maximum*).
- Where do you live now? (*Specify neighbourhood*)?
- Which level of studies do you have and which formation did you follow? (*Specify speciality*).
- Which is your occupation?

#### ASK PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE INTERVIEWEE AS "TU" (2nd person sing.)

*"Now I will ask you to remember some facts and persons from your childhood and youth".*

1. Where were born your parents?, where did they live (*if in a rural area specify **places**, if in urban areas specify **districts***)? Describe shortly which was their occupation, which studies do/did they have?
2. And your grandparents (MATERNAL and PATERNAL), which is/was their occupation?
3. (YOUNG PEOPLE and ADULTS) And your partner, where was he/she born, where did he/she live, which is his/her occupation (studies)?
4. Who lived in the house during your childhood?, (*ask about brothers and sisters*), whom of them do you remember with more affection? (**who especially**), did you spend time in another house (**place** or **district**)? where?
5. Where have you been living (changes of city, town or district), for what reasons?, which changes were more positive for your life?, which were the most relevant differences between the people of one and another place (socio-economic level, behaviour, attitudes, **language**...)?

6. Where did you go to school?, what kind of school was it?, how many years did you attend? If you moved to go to school, how many hours a day do/did you spend at the place where you school was?; and where was your highschool?, what kind of highschool was it?, *If you moved to go to highschool*, how many hours a day do/did you spend at the place where you highschool was?
7. Did you ever change of school?, why?, how old were you? Do you think it was a positive change in your life?, which were the most relevant differences between the people of one and another place? Also changes between primary and secondary school (socio-economic level, **language**...).
8. Which **subjects** do you consider more important for the formation of pupils?, and those less important?, why?
9. Do you remember some teacher with special affection? Which subject did he/she teach?
10. Do you remember who were your **most important** companions until you were 14 y.o.?, did you speak often with them?, did they do intermediate or superior studies? (Specify who and which studies). (*If the interviewee lost contact with them, then ask for the last known occupation and level of studies of his/her companions*), which is their occupation?
11. Do you remember where from were your most important companions until you were 14 y.o.?, did you speak often with them?, did they do intermediate or superior studies? (Specify who and which studies). (*If the interviewee lost contact with them, then ask for the last known occupation and level of studie of his/her companions*), which is their occupation?
12. What is/was the wish of yours parents for your future? *If the interviewee answers he/she doesn't remember, then ask::* which level of studies wish them you got? As for you, what were your plans?, *If the answer doesn't match with the wish of parents, then ask* do you think the adequate circumstances existed within the family to fulfil this wish, why? How do you see the future from both a **personal** and **profesional** point of view?
13. Did you have relatives outside Galicia?, where?, how often did you meet? When you met, how did you feel with them: very comfortable, indifferent or not comfortable at all? How did their lifestyle look compared to that of other neighbours?
14. (MEN) Where did you do the military service?, which was your destination?, did you make good friends?, where from were them? Are you still in touch with them?, what did they do, had in mind to do or did from the professional or academic point of view?  
*Now we'd like to know a little bit more about your daily life:*
15. Which is the occupation of the majority of your neighbours (for example, those of your building, would they like to change of place of residence? If ever you could, would you like to change yours? Where to would you like to move? why?

16. What have been your different occupations until now?, where were they located? In which did you feel more comfortable? And less?, why? *If you move to go to your workplace*, how many hours a day do you spend at the place where your job is? *If autonomous professional*: what kind of customers do you have? (rural-urban, occupation, age, etc.)  
*If you have employees*: where are they from?, what are their qualifications?, do you have contacts with them after working hours?  
*If you have bosses*, how would you define your relation with them? (merely professional, friendship, companionship...).
17. What activities do you carry out during your free time? *If the interviewee states reading*, what kind of books do you prefer?, do you read often?, how often?, in Galician or in Spanish? *If the interviewee states music*, what kind of music, groups...?
18. Does the rest of your family read often?, how often?, in Galician or in Spanish?
19. Where do you spend holidays? *If you travel for holidays*, to what places do you like to travel? How often do you visit your city/town?, with whom?, who do you visit? Where do you feel more comfortable, in city or town? why? Where do you spend week-ends? When you hang out, do you prefer towns or cities?, why?, what kind of activities do you do? (shopping, movies, clubbing...)?
20. In which leisure activities do you spend more money? (travel, clubbing, books, music...).
21. When you do not do daily shopping as for example clothes, cosmetics, books, where do you feel people treat you better, in shopping malls, luxury shops or neighbourhood shops?, why?
22. Which are the **requirements** for a person to be considered as a Galician by other Galicians? Do you think that the personality of Galicians has **characteristics** that made them different from other Spaniards?, which ones?, do they favour or harm Galician people?
23. What are the positive or negative aspects of moving from a rural environment to towns and cities?, why?, do you think Galician culture suffers from this change?, how come?
24. Do you take part in organised activities or cultural events? Of what kind? (hunting, association of rural women, folklore groups, sports clubs...? According to your own experience, those who ensure the good functioning of the group are: rather people from Galicia or outsiders, those speaking Galician or Spanish, those having a high or low level of studies?
25. Do you know some Galician public figure who stood out in the past in the field of politics, culture, science, etc., in Spain or in the rest of the world?
26. What is the usefulness of Galician popular customs (practices, proverbs, healers, composers...)?, Do you think that people should turn to them or that they are not useful anymore in the modern society?

27. In your opinion, to what period dates back the scientific and technical backwardness associated to Galicia?, for which reasons?, do you think this backwardness has been overcome?  
*"Now we would like to know your opinion about some current controversial topics"*
28. Do you think men and women express their emotions in the same way?
29. Do you think deprived persons, especially gays and lesbians, are marginalized because they are sick persons and they need more help, because they do not control their vices or because they express their sexuality in a different way?
30. Do you think obedience and respect to authority are the most important virtues that must be taught to children?
31. In your opinion and compared to that of your parents, your social status is higher, equal or lower? In the interviewee replies higher or lower, which are the reasons for the changes with regard to the status of his/her parents?
32. How should behave a person in order to pretend (*no matter whether true or not*) to have a high social status (identikit picture with regard to physical appearance, **language**, possessions, etc.) (vague answers such *"to be well-mannered"* are not allowed, *the interviewee should specify what does he/she means by saying "well-mannered"*), and a high cultural level?
33. *We are going now to ask some questions about the way of speaking of Galician people.*
34. In your opinion, what does "to speak well Galician" mean?
35. Do you think speakers can change their accent? (*Not to deal with the varieties of Galician, but to speak about the accent in general*). Do you think it has to be done?, is it useful to do this? when?
36. Do you think that as a result of changes of place of residence, occupation, acquaintances, people can change the language they speak? Do you know any case among your relatives or friends? And how do react relatives and friends when a person changes the usual language he/she used to communicate with them?, with whom do/would you feel uncomfortable if he/she would like to change his/her usual language?
37. In order that your children (real or hypothetical) could have success both from the personal and professional point of view, do languages matter? Do they have to use in a different way Galician and Spanish?, when one and another?
38. Which is the dominant language in the area where you live? Do you think people speak well this language? And the other one? Why?
39. Do you think Galician is necessary as a subject in school? Why? What do you think about teachers who teach this subject (prototypical *image if necessary*)?, At school, is it more important to know the written form of a language or to practice it orally? And in the case of Galician?, why?

40. Do you have had some conversation about which language should speak Galicians? With whom?, what is your opinion? (*the interviewee has to chose one of them*), which is the opinion of your neighbours and friends regarding this topic (*the interviewee has to chose one of them*)?, do you think Galicians should become monolingual or why do you chose this or that language?
41. Did you notice in some occasion that somebody got annoyed because you talked to him/her in another language? Who? Where?
42. Do you think speaking Galician is in fashion or old-fashioned? Is there one single Galician language or different?, which are the differences?
43. Do you think that some people can be treated in a different way according to the language they speak?, do you know any case?, do you know any person having experienced this?, why did it occur?
44. Do you think a teenager can feel ashamed of his/her parents when they speak with a strong accent, when they have a low cultural level or a peasant's appearance?: **(to sort out by importance)** (to provide examples if necessary such as "in a clothes shop", "on Galician TV", "with teachers"), why?
45. Do you mix the two languages when you speak? Is it fair to do it? (It is recommendable, convenient ...).
46. In which language do you express yourself better?, why? Do you ever speak the other language?, in which situations and with whom?, why do you prefer that language in these situations?
47. What happens when you have to address a stranger and you are the person starting the conversation?, for example to ask for time in the street.
48. *If the answer is "Spanish"*, why do you think you have to use Spanish if the majority of Galicians (more than 90%) understand the other language?
49. *If the answer is "if I see the addressee doesn't understand or is not from here"*, then ask: why do you think this person does not understand or is not from here?
50. Do you know in what language did you say your first words?, *if the answer is "no"*, then ask: in what language did you learn to speak?, did you start in some moment of your life to speak more frequently the other language?, Did this change coincide with some other important event in your life, which were the reasons for this change?
51. In the school were you were studying, do you remember what subjects were taught in Galician and what subjects in Spanish? And in highschool? (*If you ever remember especially some teacher*) You told earlier that you remember with special affection a teacher, could you tell me in which language did he/she teach the subject?
52. When a teenager, did you prefer your parents talked to you in Galician or Spanish?

53. As for teachers, which language do you prefer they use ? And you to talk with them?, And with classmates or they with you? Do you remember to have felt uncomfortable in some occasion because you spoke one or another language?
54. What language did you speak with your best friends before you were 14 y.o.?, and later on?, and now?, what language do they speak with you?
55. To what leisure, cultural or associative activities were you implied on a regular basis in every place where you have been living (associations, dancing and singing groups, sports clubs, etc. classes), which was the dominant language of these associations?
56. In your childhood, which language did you speak with your relatives living outside Galicia? And now?
57. (MEN) Which language did you speak with your companions while in the army?, and with your superiors?, did you notice any pression to use one or another language?
58. In which language do you feel more comfortable when you want to seduce a person?, Do you ever tried to seduce somebody in the other language?
59. In which language did you address your partner the first time? And she? Which language do you speak usually with her?
60. How did you get your current employment? What is to be done and what is to be avoided in a job interview (*we are especially interested in what to say, how to say it, in which **language***)?
61. Can the spoken language favour some kind of jobs? To what kind of jobs are associated one and other language?
62. Which language do usually speak the workers in your workplace? And with the boss? Is there any formal or informal norm about the use of languages? Is this norm accepted by all workers?
63. What do you think about the fact that some Galician-speaking parents speak Spanish to their children? What do you think about the fact that some Spanish-speaking parents speak Spanish to their children or at least want them to learn it? Do you think that what some of these parents do is positive?



## Questionnaire of socio-demographic settlement

### QUESTIONNAIRE

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Questions:

Identity data (name and surname):

Age:

Where were you born?.

Which is your usual place of residence

Which is your level of studies?

In which language did you say your first words?

In which language did you parents talk to you?

Which language do you speak usually

Which language do you speak usually with your partner?

**Answer alternatives:** *Galician*      *Spanish*      *Both\**

\* In this case state the most frequently spoken language.

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## Appendix 4

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### Outline for discussion groups

#### Introduction:

Good afternoon and welcome to the meeting. We thank you for spending your time in this discussion group. My name is Isabel Suárez, my assistant is Antonio Fernández and we are working on a project funded by the Ministry of Education and Universities of the Galician government. We are trying to gather information about Galician culture and language.

You have been shortlisted because you share in common some characteristics which are especially interesting for us. We would like to know what do you think about some topics as far as your ideas are representative of the ideas of many other people.

This afternoon we're going to talk informally about language. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers, only points of view which can be very different. We therefore kindly request you to feel completely free to let us know your point of view even if they differ one from another.

Before to start, let us give you some general rules. Try to speak one by one: we're going to record this session because we don't want to miss any single of your comments and if different people are speaking at the same time, we will hardly hear the tape. We will call you simply by your name but this does not mean that your names will be mentioned in the report. You can be sure that all the information will be collected on a strictly confidential basis.

This meeting will last more or less one and an half hour and there will be no formal closing.

**First topic:** To begin with, we would like to know your opinion about the current situation of Galician.

*Which is your perception about the use of Galician, i.e., which has been the evolution of the use of the language during these last years?*

*Which could be the reasons for this evolution?*

**Second topic:** You know that a series of institutional actions/campaigns aiming to promote the use of Galician are being carried out.

*Do you remember some of these actions/campaigns and how do you evaluate them? (both positive and negative sides)*

*Which results did they obtain?*

*Should efforts be invested in actions aiming to promote the use of Galician? What kind of actions?*

**Third topic:** Now we would like to know your opinion about the situation of Galician in the schooling system: do you know there is a norm regulating the number of subjects that have to be taught in Galician?

*What is your opinion about this?*

*What would you think if the number of subjects taught in Galician would be increased?*

*And what if all subjects, except Spanish language and literature, were taught in Galician?*

*Broadly speaking, in your opinion, does the schooling system favour or hinder the use of Galician?*

**Fourth topic:** Referring to the work environment:

*In your opinion which is the dominant language in this environment?*

*Are there professions where Spanish or Galician is the dominant language?*

*State briefly those professions associated to one or other language (if applicable).*

**Fifth topic:**

*Do you think that there are stereotypes associated to the speakers of one or other language? Which ones?*

**Sixth topic:**

*Which are the reasons that hinder the use of Galician? What should happen in order to push youngster to speak more Galician?*

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## Composition discussion groups

**Lenda??:**

**Gender:**

1. Male
2. Female

**Mother tongue:**

1. Spanish
2. Both
3. Galician

**Usual language:**

1. Only Spanish
2. More Spanish
3. More Galician
4. Only Galician

**Domains of acquisition:**

1. Family
2. School
3. Friends
4. Neighbours
5. Other

**Place of residence:**

1. City
2. Town
3. Rural

**Profession:**

Class 0: (Students)

Class 1 (Housewives, unemployed, retired, cleaning personnel ...)

Class 2 (unskilled industrial workers, peasants, cattle-raiser, sailors ...)

Class 3 (Waiters, construction workers, caretakers ...)

Class 4 (Shop assistants, nursing auxiliaries, drivers, plumbers, electricians ...)

Class 5 (Clerks, typists, owners-managers commerce ...)

Class 6 (Foremen, accountants, owners-managers hotel business ...)

Class 7 (Teachers of primary and secondary, draughtsmen/women, journalists ...)

Class 8 (Biologists, artists, psychologists, lawyers, bankers, construction company owners ...)

**Studies:**

1. Without studies
2. Primary studies
3. Secondary studies
4. University studies (graduate)
5. University studies (post-graduate)

**Language parents, grandparents:**

1. Low
2. Fair
3. High

**Reasons for language shift:**

1. Ideological
  2. School
  3. Friends
-