Reversing Language Shift in Galicia
A Present-Day Perspective

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1. Introduction

The present paper is about the current linguistic situation in Galicia and about the prospects of the Galician language in modern times. The language situation in Galicia is that of diglossia; two languages, Spanish and Galician, are spoken in the region. In a situation of diglossia, the two languages are rarely used by the speakers to an equal extent and in the same spheres; most often, there is a relation of competition and/or conflict between the languages; one language enjoys greater prestige than the other, and sometimes, there is a risk for the less prestigious language to be displaced by the dominant one, in a process called language shift. The speakers of the less prestigious language will normally want to preserve it, restore its prestige and protect it from the destructive influence of the dominant language, i.e. to reverse the language shift. Different measures can be taken to attain this purpose, and they can lead to different results, depending on the peculiarities of the linguistic situation.

Galician is a language spoken in the Spanish province of Galicia, which is situated in the northwestern corner of the Iberian Peninsula. It belongs to the Romance language family and is closely related to Spanish and Portuguese. Like Spanish and Portuguese, it has a long history and literature; however, until recently, it has been dominated by Spanish almost all the time. It has lived through a long period of oppression, revival in the 19th century, total prohibition during Franco’s fascist regime and another revival after Franco’s death. Now, it is used in Galicia alongside Spanish and, like Spanish, it enjoys official status in the region. But the actual relation between the two languages is not one of complete equality; moreover, different attitudes towards the linguistic situation exist among the Galician people. However, efforts are being made to preserve the Galician language and to transmit it to the new generation.

In the present paper, I shall apply Joshua Fishman’s 8-stage model of reversing language shift to the situation in Galicia. This will help to reveal the main problems that impede the preservation and promotion of Galician, and give an idea of the measures that can be taken to improve the situation.

In the next section of the present paper, I shall write about the main events in the history of the Galician language and about the current situation in the region, including legal aspects and sociolinguistic data (statistic on the use of the language and the different types of identity associated with the languages spoken in the region). In the third section, I shall consider the
current tendencies in modern Galician society: Galician politicians’ ideas, organizations and campaigns in support of different language policies, as well as ordinary people’s opinions. In the fourth section, Fishman’s model of reversing language shift (RLS) will be applied; the Galician language situation will be analyzed stage by stage. Finally, in the fifth section, I will discuss the results of the analysis and draw conclusions.

2. Historical background and current linguistic situation in Galicia

In this section, I will give a brief account of the history of the Galician language and describe the current linguistic situation in Galicia in terms of legal framework and statistical data on the use of Galician, linguistic skills in it and attitudes to it.

2.1. History of the Galician language

The Galician language developed from Latin in the northwestern part of the Iberian Peninsula. The first documents written in this language appeared in the early Middle Ages (13th century), although it started to develop long before that: early Galician Romance (a local dialect that evolved from Vulgar Latin) had been spoken since the 8th century in the territory of modern Galicia and Portugal, that is, south and north of the River Minho (Consello da Cultura Galega 2006). Portuguese and Galician diverged from each other in the middle of the 12th century when Portugal became an independent kingdom. By the end of the Middle Ages, Galician came to be used by all the social classes in Galicia, in all spheres of communication (J. del Valle 2000: 107). This was also the golden age of Galician literature: Galician became the language of romantic poetry par excellence of the whole Iberian Peninsula (InternetGalicia.net 2010).

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the Catholic monarchs came to power in Spain, and the Spanish state became more centralized. Leonese and Castilian noblemen and clergy took charge of Galicia and started an aggressive Castilianizing policy. That time marked the beginning of the decline of Galician; the elite saw it as a threat to the purity of Castilian and therefore to the integrity of the Spanish state. The ruling class ceased to speak Galician, and its prestige fell, although the lower classes (peasants, merchants, fishermen, etc.) continued using it. Thus, the language “came to be associated with ignorance and poverty, an association which has lasted until the present day” (del Valle 2000: 107-108). In Galician literature, almost no new works appeared until the middle of the 19th century, although the spoken language and local folklore had stayed alive throughout that time (Consello da Cultura Galega 2006).
In the 19th century, the war against the French invasion aroused patriotic feelings in the people of Galicia, and the spoken language became written again; many political pamphlets and propagandist leaflets of that time were written in Galician. Moreover, that period coincided with the Romantic Era, with its reverence for the past and traditions. That was the time of the Galician Renaissance. Many new poets and writers emerged, such as Rosalía de Castro, Eduardo Pondal, Valentim Lamas Carvajal and Manuel Curros Enríquez. These poets created a romantic image of Galicia, depicting it as a land that had to wake up from its sleep to a glorious future. Some representatives of Galician intellectual elite made an attempt to recover the prestige of the Galician language and culture. They studied Galician folklore and history, and wrote dictionaries and grammars of Galician, trying to systematize and reconstruct the language – and create an orthographic norm (Consello da Cultura Galega 2006).

At the beginning of the 20th century, associations for the promotion and cultivation of Galician language appeared; in order to propagate their ideas, they launched the first magazine in Galician, *A Nosa Terra* (“Our Land”). Galician literature continued to flourish, and many new authors emerged. In 1906, *Real Academia Galega* (the Galician Royal Academy) was founded in La Coruña with the help of Galician immigrants living in America (Loia.org 2006). In 1918, the 1st Galician Nationalist Assembly was held. Its purpose was to give the Galician language official status and make Galicia totally autonomous. (InternetGalicia.net 2010). In 1920, the magazine *Nós* (“We”) was launched, whose main objective was to popularize Galician culture. In the Seminary of Galician Studies of 1923, Galician was used in scientific studies of Galician life. In 1931, *Partido Galeguista* (the Galician nationalist party) was formed (Consello da Cultura Galega 2006). In 1936, the first *Estatuto de Autonomía de Galicia* (Statute for the Autonomy of Galicia) was drawn up. It was supposed to grant official status to the Galician language (del Valle 2000: 108).

However, Franco’s regime, established after the Spanish Civil War that started in 1936 and ended in 1939, put an end to all these efforts. The use of Galician, as well as of all the other minority languages in Spain, was banned from all spheres of life. The magazines in Galician were banned, Galician writers were executed or exiled and many of them emigrated to America (almost all the literary works written between 1936 and 1950 were published in Buenos Aires). After 1950, Franco’s regime was somewhat softened, and Galician intellectuals began to resume their activity. The publishing house *Editorial Galaxia*, founded in 1951, printed books and magazines in Galician. In the 1960’s, associations in defense of the Galician language started to
emerge; in 1965, the University of Galicia opened the Department of Galician Language and Literature, and in 1971, the Institute of the Galician Language was created (Consello da Cultura Galega 2006).

After Franco’s death in 1975, Galician began to be used in a great variety of literary genres: philosophical essays, political analysis, historical novels, books for children, etc. The Socialist Party of Galicia demanded autonomy for Galicia. In 1978, the Constitution of Spain was approved, granting equal rights and protection to all the communities (including the autonomous ones) and languages of Spain. In 1981, the second Statute for the Autonomy of Galicia was approved, and Galician received official status, together with Spanish (Castilian). In 1983, the Law of Linguistic Normalization was passed, stipulating co-official status of Galician and Castilian in Galicia and encouraging the use of Galician in all the domains of life (Consello da Cultura Galega 2006). A year earlier, in 1982, the Galician government approved the orthographic and morphological norms of the language elaborated by the Institute of Galician Language and the Galician Royal Academy. Those norms were revised in 1995 and later, in 2003 (Xunta de Galicia 2010).

2.2. The current linguistic situation in Galicia

Today, Galicia is de jure bilingual and aspires to balanced bilingualism (equal use of both languages in every context). According to Spanish law, Castilian and Galician enjoy co-official status, and Galicians can use either language in any situation. There are three documents regulating language use in Galicia: Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution, Article 5 of the Galician Statute of Autonomy of 1981, and the Law of Galician Normalization of 1983. Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution says the following:

1. Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it. 2. The other Spanish languages shall also be official in their respective Self-governing Communities in accordance with their Statutes. 3. The wealth of the different linguistic forms of Spain is a cultural heritage which shall be especially respected and protected. (Translation taken from the website of the Spanish Congress (Congreso de los Diputados), 2007).

José del Valle provides a critical analysis of Galician laws about language. In the legal text cited above, he points out that it is only Castilian that all the Spaniards are obliged to know, but there
is no such obligation to know any other languages that are spoken in Spain. In the first version of the Law of Linguistic Normalization passed in Galicia, it was stated that all Galicians were obliged to know the Galician language and had the right to use it, but the part about the obligation to know Galician was considered unlawful in 1986 and therefore eliminated from the text of the law (although it is stated that Galician is an obligatory subject at school and at universities in teacher training and public administration courses). The Galician Statute of Autonomy mentions that “everyone has the right to know Galician”, that “the public powers of Galicia will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages and will promote the use of Galician in all levels of public and cultural life, and will provide all necessary means to facilitate its knowledge”, and that “nobody shall be discriminated by reason of language” (del Valle 2000: 110). Thus, in spite of their co-official status, Galician and Castilian are still seen as unequal, because 1) every Galician, as a Spaniard, is obliged to know Castilian, but the knowledge of Galician is not obligatory, there is only a right to know it; 2) Galician has to be promoted, its use encouraged and its speakers should not be discriminated (none of which is said about Castilian!). That means that Galician is seen as an endangered language in need of protection, but not a language that all Galicians HAVE to know – therefore, it is in a subordinate position in relation to Spanish (del Valle 2000: 109-110).

However, it is necessary to distinguish between language policy, linguistic culture, and language planning. José del Valle writes about Harold Schiffman’s definition of these three concepts: language policies can be overt (official) and covert. A covert language policy is implicit and informal, not declared openly but present in people’s minds. Linguistic culture is “a set of behaviors, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language, and religio-historical circumstances associated with a particular language” (Schiffman 1996:5 in del Valle 2000: 106), which serves as the basis for the covert and overt language policies. Language planning “entails some type of action, that is, the implementation of an overt language policy, normally that of the dominant group within a community” (del Valle 2000: 106).

According to José del Valle, the Galician government’s language policy is grounded in the above-mentioned legal base: from Galician nationalists’ point of view, Castilian dominates in all the spheres of life, and the number of Galician speakers is decreasing. More and more Galicians are leaving their hometowns and moving to other parts of Spain. Castilian is more useful for the people because it is spoken in the whole of Spain and in Latin America, unlike Galician that is only used in Galicia. The majority of Galicians associate Castilian with social mobility,
perspectives and prestige, while Galician is linked to poverty, rural life and to a lower social status. As a result, fewer and fewer Galicians speak Galician in everyday life. Moreover, the native speakers of Galician feel “self-hatred” because of the low status of their language (this is also the point of view of various linguists quoted by José del Valle (2000: 111-112)). Therefore, the government sees Galician as an endangered language and invests in the promotion of Galician (del Valle 2000: 110).

Indeed, this tendency of language shift towards the dominant language is present not only in Spain but in many other countries of the world where minority languages exist – and in some cases efforts are being made to reverse it by means of a specific language policy implemented by the state. However, José del Valle claims that the Galician people’s attitude to the linguistic situation (i.e. their linguistic culture) is not consistent with the government’s point of view. He provides data from the Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia (the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia, MSGa), elaborated by the Galician Royal Academy in 1996. The survey included 3 questions that Galician respondents were asked:

**Tables 1 a-c. Language attitudes among Galicians**

**a.** The language of Galicians is… *(MSGa III, p. 362; Table 3.5.1.1.0)*

- Spanish – 1.8%
- Both – 39.9%
- Galician – 58.4%

**b.** If Galician ceased to be spoken, Galician culture and identity would be… *(MSGa III, p. 390; Table 3.5.3.1.0)*

- Lost – 76.8%
- Maintained – 23.2 %

**c.** c. Who is more Galician? *(MSGa III, p. 376; Table 3.5.2.1.0)*

- Someone who lives and works in Galicia – 21.4%
- Someone who was born in Galicia – 62.3%
- Someone who speaks Galician – 16.3%

From these data, José del Valle draws a conclusion that “Galicians clearly recognize the symbolic value of Galician and therefore express their Galicianness through acts of loyalty towards the language. They publicly support the existence, institutional use and protection of an exclusively Galician standard language” (del Valle 2000: 126). However, they “distinguish between the language […] as a symbol of their ethnic identity and their own linguistic behavior” (ibid.) – i.e. they think that they do not stop being Galician if they speak Spanish or non-standard Galician.

In his paper, del Valle also provides statistical data on language use in Galicia in the years 1994 - 1995, obtained by the Galician Royal Academy and reflected in the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia. In the first table, “initial language” stands for the first language the people learn in their life, and “habitual language”, for the language people use in everyday communication. Data from MSGa I were obtained in 1994, and information from MSGa II, in 1995.

Table 2. Initial and habitual language of Galicians (MSGa I, p. 39; MSGa II, p. 94)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial language (%)</th>
<th>Habitual language (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Galician</td>
<td>62.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Galician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More Galician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(del Valle 2000: 114).

Later on, the same data are split according to the informants’ age, and data on languages used with family members are given:

Table 3a. Initial language by age groups (MSGa I, p.71):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Galician (%)</th>
<th>Spanish (%)</th>
<th>Both (%)</th>
<th>Other (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-25</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-40</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-65</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+65</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3b. Language used with different family members (MSGa II, p. 172, 208)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>with grandparents</th>
<th>with parents</th>
<th>with siblings</th>
<th>with partner</th>
<th>with children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-25</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>2.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-40</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>3.08</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-65</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+65</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>3.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(on this scale, 4 is “only Galician” and 1, “only Spanish”. The central point of the scale is 2.5).

Table 4. Habitual language by age group (MSGa I, p. 71):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Spanish (%)</th>
<th>More Spanish (%)</th>
<th>More Galician (%)</th>
<th>Galician (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-25</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-40</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-65</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+65</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>58.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(J. del Valle 2000: 115)

These data reveal two main tendencies: 1) a greater percentage of Spanish as the initial language among younger speakers; 2) predomination of Spanish as the language of habitual use among younger speakers and with children. Among older people and with grandparents and parents, Galician is used more often. This reality reflects the hierarchy of the languages (Galician subordinate to Spanish) implied by the Galician laws; Galician nationalists interpret these tendencies as a sign of shift towards monolingualism in Spanish.

However, in recent years, the “linguistic normalization” policy seems to have influenced people’s views on language. More detailed data about the current situation in Galicia are given below. The Galician Culture Council, Consello da Cultura Galega, provides statistics on the use of both languages in Galicia on its website Loia.org, an open guide to the Galician language (the data were published in 2003):
1) Galician as initial and habitual language:

Table 5. Initial and habitual language of Galicians:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial language (%)</th>
<th>Habitual language (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Galician</td>
<td>55.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galician</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Spanish</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Galician</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These data are also presented in correlation with the informants’ age; however, unlike the data from the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia, they are given in the form of graphs.

Figure 1. Initial language in Galicia according to the informants’ age:

(data from Instituto Galego de Estatística (Galician Institute of Statistics, IGE), taken in 2003; figure taken from the website www.loia.org)
According to these data, young people predominate among those who learn Castilian first. Consequently, Galician as a first language is more common among older people. In modern times, more and more children have started to speak in both languages. As we see, in comparison with the above-mentioned data from the 1990’s, there is an increase in the number of bilinguals and of the people who learn Spanish first, at the expense of those whose first language is Galician.

As far as the habitual language is concerned, the tendency is somewhat different from the one observed in the pattern of initial language learning; on the one hand, compared to the 1990’s, there are more people who use only Galician in their daily lives. However, it should be mentioned that the total amount of Galicians speaking “more Spanish” and “only Spanish” has risen from 31.2% to 36.7%, while the number of those who use “more Galician” fell by 10.9%. More than 50% of all people under 25 predominantly use Spanish as their habitual language.
2) Language used with family members (data from IGE, 2003):

Table 6. Language use among family members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>with grandparents</th>
<th>with parents</th>
<th>with siblings</th>
<th>with partner</th>
<th>with children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 16</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-25</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>2.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>2.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-45</td>
<td>3.08</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>2.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-55</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-65</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+65</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, the same scale as in the MSGa data is used: 1 means “only Spanish”, and 4, “only Galician”, and the central point of the scale is 2.5.

Comparing the above data to the statistics from 1995, we can see a certain decrease in the use of Galician in the age groups under 45, while older people’s language use remained largely the same as 8 years before.

3) Language attitudes (opinions about languages)

According to the data provided by the Council of Galician Culture and reflected in the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia 2004, the attitude to Galician has improved in present times; if Galician was previously associated with backwardness and provincialism, now there is considerably less prejudice towards it. In a sociolinguistic poll, Galicians were asked what language should be taught to Galician children. The results are the following:

Both languages – 72%
Only Galician – 21.4%
Another question was what language was more useful – Castilian, Galician or both, and these are the results:

- Both – 57.3%
- Castilian – 31.3%

Finally, people were asked about the language that Galicians should speak:

- Galician – 57%
- Both – 40%
- Castilian – 3%

As it can be seen from the above data, more than half of all Galicians consider the Galician language to be as useful as Spanish, and the loyalty towards Galician, expressed in answer to the question about the language that Galicians should speak, appears to be the same as in 1996.

4) Language competence

Another study carried out by the Instituto Galego de Estatística (IGE) in 2003 was concerned with Galicians’ competence in the Galician language. Figure 3 below shows the percentage of people in Galicia who can understand, speak, read and write in Galician “well” or “very well”.

Figure 3. Linguistic skills in Galicia

(data from a research by Instituto Galego de Estatistica (Galician Institute of Statistics, IGE), carried out in 2003; figure taken from the website www.loia.org)
As it follows from the graph, most Galicians can understand, speak and read Galician with ease, but half of the respondents claim that they cannot write well in Galician. This can be partly explained by the fact that the orthographic norms had been revised many times since the 1950’s (CulturaGalega.org 2000); the latest version of the norms was published in 2003.

Figure 4 shows the ability to read in Galician of different age groups of people over 15 years old. The percentages of people who can read “well” or “very well” in Galician are indicated.

**Figure 4. Galicians’ reading skills**

![Bar chart showing reading skills by age group](data from [Instituto Galego de Estatística](http://www.ige.gal), taken in 2003; figure taken from the website [www.loia.org](http://www.loia.org))

These data show that the influence of the educational system upon people’s reading skills has been positive; almost all people under 25 read well in Galician, while in the 26-40 and 41-65 age groups the number of people who read well is somewhat lower. However, only in the age group over 65 is there a considerable percentage of people who do not read well in Galician.

Figure 5 shows the linguistic skills of Galicians in each of the age groups.
Figure 5. Linguistic skills in Galician according to age

![Graph showing linguistic skills according to age](image)

Linguistic skills According to Age. Source: IGE

(data from Instituto Galego de Estatística (Galician Institute of Statistics, IGE), taken in 2003; figure taken from the website www.loia.org)

Here, we can see that while almost everyone in all the age groups can speak and understand Galician, the reading skills are considerably worse in the age group under 65, and the competence in writing is rather low for the whole population.

Figure 6 represents a comparison between people’s competence in Galician in 1992 and 2003.

Figure 6. Evolution of linguistic skills in Galicia (1992-2003)

![Bar chart showing evolution of linguistic skills](image)

Evolution of Linguistic Skills in Galicia. Sources: IGE and MSG

(data from Instituto Galego de Estatística (Galician Institute of Statistics, IGE), and from Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia, (Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia, MSG) of the year 2003; figure taken from the website www.loia.org)
As the graph shows, there has been a considerable improvement in reading and writing skills. This sharp rise can be explained by the introduction of Galician as a compulsory subject in schools and with the growing prestige of Galician.

To sum things up, we can speak about two opposite tendencies in modern Galician society: a shift towards Spanish and a higher status for Galician. But how do these tendencies co-exist with each other? What do politicians, journalists, and ordinary people think about the situation and what are they doing to change it? These questions will be considered in the following chapter.

3. Language attitudes in Galicia: ideas, policies, tendencies, campaigns

In this section, I will discuss the language policy in modern Galicia, as well as organizational activities and people’s opinions related to the linguistic situation in the region.

3.1. Current tendencies in the official language policy of post-autonomy Galicia

Since Galicia was declared autonomous and the Law of Galician Normalization was passed, the main trend in the official language policy has been the promotion and restoration of the prestige (normalization) of the Galician language. In 2004, when Galicia was governed by the Partido Popular (People’s Party, PP) headed by Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the General Plan of Galician Normalization (Plan Xeral de Normalización da Lingua Galega) was elaborated. According to the Galician government, its main goals are: 1) to guarantee everyone the possibility to communicate in Galician; 2) to give the Galician language more social functions and expand the sphere of its use; 3) make rendering services to a client/ a citizen (in stores, public institutions, etc.) in Galician the social norm of courtesy; 4) to promote the positive image of Galician as a modern and useful language and to eradicate prejudices against it; 5) to provide necessary linguistic and technical resources for the use of Galician in the modern society (taken from the website of the Galician local government, Xunta de Galicia).

In 2005, when the Socialist Party (PSOE Galicia – Partido Socialista Obrero Español de Galicia) in coalition with the Galician Nationalist Bloc (BNG – Bloque Nacionalista Galego) took office, galescolas, nursery schools for children aged 0-3 with Galician as the only language of tuition were created. That was a step aimed against Castilianization among young Galicians. In 2007, a decree about education was issued. (Xunta de Galicia 2010). I will return to this in detail later.
Since March 2009, Galicia has been ruled by the Partido Popular headed by Alberto Núñez Feijóo. He is a controversial figure; although he supports language diversity in Galicia, he is disliked for having proposed a “trilingual decree” which implies teaching 1/3 of the school subjects in Spanish, 1/3 in Galician and 1/3 in English (instead of 50% in Galician and 50% in Spanish as proposed by the General Plan of Galician Normalization) – and the parents cannot choose the language of instruction (although Feijóo promised that they would be able to choose the language of the basic subjects, and that students would communicate and write in class in the language that they choose – either Galician or Castilian). By this initiative, Feijóo intended to create a “balance” between languages and help young people to learn English, but also imposed on the people an obligation to receive tuition equally in all three languages. This policy has been denounced as anti-constitutional (because, as it was mentioned before, the Spanish Constitution does not oblige Galicians to know Galician, but only stipulates a right to know it), and there have been a number of manifestations against it (Vilas, 2009).

According to the decree about education of 2007, published on the website of the Galician government, pre-school education had to be in the language that predominated among pupils, and the teachers should help them to acquire knowledge of the other official language of Galicia. In case the predominating language is Spanish, at least 50% of tuition is to be in Galician.

In primary school, the basic subjects (Galician language and literature, science and the social sciences, mathematics, and citizen’s rights) had to be taught only in Galician; physical education and art are taught either in Spanish or Galician; Spanish language and literature had to be taught in Spanish, and English, is taught in Galician, Spanish or English. In secondary school, the situation is similar: all natural sciences (mathematics, physics, biology etc.), the social sciences, geography, history, law and Galician are taught in Galician, whereas the same subjects as in primary school are taught in Galician or Spanish, as well as technology and classical culture. Spanish literature and language, again, are taught only in Spanish; finally, foreign languages (English or French) are taught in Galician, Castilian, English, or French.

At the universities, at least 1/3 of the subjects should be taught in Galician, and the government’s further plan is to raise this share to 50%, according to the 2007 decree on education. In professional education, according to the same decree, all the special vocabulary is to be provided in Galician. Education for adults is to be given only in Galician, with the exception of Spanish classes.
On May 20, 2010, the Galician government issued a new decree on education (its draft was published in 2009). According to its authors, the decree is based on a survey carried out among the families of over 330 schoolchildren; they claim that these families’ answers show that the modern society supports the equal presence of both official languages in the education system, alongside English, the knowledge of which is important as well. The stated objectives of the decree are: to promote active use of Galician, to guarantee full and equal competence in both official languages and to provide knowledge of a foreign language (or languages). The requirements for pre-school education are the same as in the decree of 2007: it is to be given in the language that predominates among the pupils (the prevailing language will be determined by means of asking the parents about the language they use with their children). However, at this level, the teachers should ensure that the children acquire written and oral skills in the other official language of Galicia.

In primary school, the natural and social sciences are to be taught in Galician, and mathematics, in Spanish. In secondary school, geography, history, biology and geology are to be taught in Galician, and mathematics, technology, physics and chemistry, in Spanish. The rest of the subjects, in primary as well as in secondary school, are to be taught in the language decided by each school, provided that the number of academic hours taught in Spanish and Galician is equal. Language classes are to be given in the respective languages.

In university and professional education, each university/education centre should define the language in which each subject is to be taught, but the use of Spanish and Galician in teaching should be balanced so that the students know the special vocabulary in both official languages. The same principle applies to adult education and education of immigrants.

However, the official policy of the Galician government has its opponents. There are various organizations supporting different language policies in Galicia. The most prominent ones are Queremos Galego (“We want Galician) and Galicia Bilingüe (“Bilingual Galicia”).

3.2. Organizations and campaigns

Queremos Galego, created in July 2009, is a nonprofit-making organization aimed at defending and reaffirming the right to use Galician guaranteed by current legislation and at improving (“normalizing”) the situation in the areas where Galician does not yet enjoy equal status with
Castilian. *Queremos Galego* incorporates several associations in favour of Galician, such as *Galego, patrimonio da humanidade* (“Galician, humanity’s heritage”), *Prolingua* (“Pro-Language”), and *Cambia Galicia* (“Change Galicia”). The organization opposes the Castilianization of Galicia and some of the “regressive” measures taken by the Galician government, such as Feijóo’s above-mentioned “trilingual decree”. *Queremos Galego* denounces the current government as “*galegófobo*” (“Galician-o-phobic”) and protests against this decree. The organization published a critical analysis of the new decree on education in Galicia on its website (however, it should be mentioned that this analysis was done while there was only a draft of the decree, i.e. before the final version of the decree was issued). I summarize the organizations’ criticisms below:

1) According to the decree, primary education is to be conducted in the mother tongue of the majority of the children. *Queremos Galego* criticizes this point by claiming that it violates the rights of the children whose language is in the minority; it also points out that, according to the Spanish constitution, the choice of the language of instruction does not follow from the fundamental right to education, and parents can only decide as far as the moral and religious aspects of their children’s education are concerned. The organization maintains that, for proper socialization, children should be educated in both official languages.

2) Another criticism is based on the claim that the education system should provide full competence in both official languages, and therefore, the number of academic hours taught in Galician and in Spanish should be equal, and the draft of the decree did not ensure that. It claimed that the students could choose the instruction language of many subjects. In the final version of the decree, however, it is the schools that decide the language in which the subjects not mentioned are to be taught, provided that both official languages are used equally.

3) The third critique is connected with Feijóo’s proposal to teach 1/3 of the subjects in English. This contradicts the Spanish Constitution, which stipulates that teaching in a language that is not the students’ habitual language presupposes that the knowledge of that language is sufficient to master the material properly. In the final version of the decree, only English is to be taught in English, but no other subjects.

4) The organization claims that the decree disrespects the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, in case where Spanish is chosen as the language of instruction in primary school, on the basis of the fact that it is the majority’s mother tongue. This
contradicts Article 8 of the Charter that stipulates the presence of the minority language (in this case, Galician) at all the levels of education.

5) The last criticism concerns the fact that the Galician Statute of Autonomy and the Law of Linguistic Normalization specify that Galician is the language of the regional government, including the education authorities. The decree on education, however, only stipulates that Galician is to be *generally* used by the education authorities and in public sector education centres, without infringing the teaching staff’s rights, and that the use of Galician should be promoted. *Queremos Galego* sees this as a factor that compromises the balanced use of Spanish and Galician in class and can lead to the students’ unequal competence in both languages (Queremos Galego 2010).

**Galicia Bilingüe**, as it follows from the name, defends all Galicians’ freedom to use either language, Spanish or Galician. Its website, [www.galiciabilingue.es](http://www.galiciabilingue.es), is in both languages. The organization originated as a movement of protest against the 2007 decree on education in Galicia; its manifesto for bilingualism and for the right of parents to choose the language of instruction language has collected more than 20,000 signatures. In an interview to the journal *Revista Autogestión*, Gloria Lago, the president of the association, claims that there is no conflict between Spanish and Galician in Galicia and that the government is promoting Galician at the expense of Spanish speakers. She believes that such a policy is creating conflicts where there is no real conflict and that it can only provoke a rejection of Galician by Galicians. She also complains that in many state organizations (especially in schools) the freedom to speak Castilian is restricted, and information is provided (almost) exclusively in Galician (as in the case of the public services). The organization helps citizens to defend their rights when information in the language of their choice is denied to them.

Furthermore, *Galicia Bilingüe* has ideas about how the education in Galicia should be conducted; in 2009, it sent a proposal to Feijóo “so that he kept his promises” (Vilas, 2009). The organization suggests that parents should be able to choose the language in which their children will study the basic school subjects, and that children should be free to use either Spanish or Galician in class; the subjects taught in the language of the parents’ choice should take more school hours than those taught in the other language. At the universities, a free choice of language is proposed: that is, that the teachers use the language of their choice in class, and the students should be free to speak, write and read the university literature in the language that they know best (Galicia Bilingüe 2010).
3.3. Attitudes among Galician citizens

According to surveys and interviews, the general tendency among Galicians is to choose the language that is “useful”. Galicia Bilingüe carried out a survey among the parents of schoolchildren about what language of tuition they would choose for their children: for primary school, 54.3% of the parents chose Spanish or mostly Spanish, and 18.3% prefer Galician or mostly Galician, and 25.05% are in favour of equal use of both languages at school. For secondary school, 48.7% chose Spanish, 26.5% chose Galician, and 24.3% support equal use of both languages. Children themselves also prefer Spanish: only one in every three children in nursery and primary school uses Galician at home or elsewhere outside school. This is the situation that the local government tried to reverse by creating nursery schools with Galician as the only language of instruction (Galicia Bilingüe 2010).

Many of the Galician parents who visit Galicia Bilingüe’s website claim that they speak Spanish to their children at home and therefore see no point in nursery schools where Galician is taught to children aged from 0 to 3. Many Galician parents also complain that, because of the fact that school teaching is mostly in Galician, their children make a lot of mistakes when they write in Spanish, and mix the two languages due to their similarity. The parents fear that when the children grow up and leave Galicia, they will be laughed at for their poor Spanish. Moreover, the parents observe that most teachers themselves have a poor knowledge of Galician, and claim that it is better for their children to receive classes in Spanish than in bad Galician. However, the teachers (who start speaking Spanish when they leave the class), still oblige the pupils to speak and write in Galician, and correct them if they use Spanish. Thus, Galician has turned into an instrument of ideology and even of discrimination, and many parents compare this situation with the state of affairs during Franco’s regime (but with the two languages’ positions reversed). University students make the same complaints: they are obliged to sit some of their important exams in Galician, a language that they do not know well enough. Moreover, they feel that their constitutional rights are violated (taken from the selection of letters to Galicia Bilingüe, published on the organization’s website).

In the above-mentioned interview to Revista Autogestión, Gloria Lago says that the predominance of Galician in the education of adults also has its negative effects upon immigrants. They are people of high geographical mobility and it would be more convenient and useful for them to receive classes in Spanish, a language that has many more speakers than Galician. Many immigrants combine work with studies, and having to learn Galician would be
seen by them as an unnecessary extra task. This situation looks even stranger in the case of immigrants from Latin America, who, coming to Spain, suppose that they will be taught in Spanish: the necessity to speak Galician in class can de-motivate them from getting better qualifications and jobs. Lago believes that people’s well-being is not a priority of the Galician government: it wants to “preserve” and “normalize” Galician at all costs, and more than that, it is making changes to the Galician language that are making it more and more different from Castilian, so that its speakers from the older generation have difficulties understanding “standard” Galician. She says that the regional policy does not take into consideration the real needs of the people, and there is a difference between “academic Galicia” and “real Galicia”.

4. The Galician language in the context of language revitalization

As we see, the linguistic situation in Galicia is rather complicated, and people’s linguistic attitudes are different. Galician is a minority language in Spain, and measures are being taken in order to preserve it and to reverse the language shift towards Spanish, the dominating language. This situation is not uncommon in the modern world and has been studied by many linguists. In this chapter, I will consider the case of Galician in terms of language shift reversal.

4.1. Joshua Fishman’s theory of reversing language shift

One of the best-known linguists who have explored the problems of language shift reversal is Joshua Fishman. Having studied many cases of minority languages, he has developed a theory on reversing language shift that he states in his books *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages* (1991) and *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved?* (2001). He maintains that reversing language shift (for which he uses the abbreviation RLS) is a process that should be tailored individually for each case and involves careful planning:

RLS obviously involves all three levels of social planning: *strategy* (i.e. expert diagnosis as to the most crucial intergenerationally continuous functions that can be tackled given the available resources), *tactics* (the organization and administration of specific projects in specific places with respect to those functions) and *operations* (the ongoing monitoring of results relative to resources) (Fishman 1991: 87).
Fishman gives a typology of threatened languages, for which he uses the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (by “intergenerational disruption”, he means the disruption of intergenerational transmission of the threatened language as mother tongue), which has 8 stages that correspond to the 8 phases of language shift reversal. They go in the reverse order, from Stage 8 to Stage 1. This scale is suggested as a means of “diagnostics” of how threatened the threatened language is, with recommendations given for each of the stages.

Stage 8 on the GIDS scale: “most vestigial users of Xish [Fishman’s designation of the threatened language, its speakers are labeled as Xmen, while the majority language is referred to as Yish and its speakers, as Ymen] are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults” (Fishman 1991: 88)

This stage implies that the speakers of the language have no one to use it with, and the task of RLS is to collect folklore and popular expressions in the threatened language (folk tales, jokes, greetings, benedictions, etc.), record them in audio and written format and, using this material, try to restore the vocabulary, grammar, etc. of the language.

Stage 7 on the GIDS scale: “most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age” (Fishman 1991: 89).

At this stage, it is possible to teach the threatened language and culture to the younger speakers, including adults of child-bearing age, and encourage them to speak in this language to their children.

Stage 6 on the GIDS scale: “the attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement” (Fishman 1991: 92)

According to Fishman, most of the intergenerationally transmitted languages in the world are precisely at this stage, and therefore, it is an important point in RLS which should be attained by all means possible because, having reached it, the languages have the basis for survival. At this stage, the language is used in informal contexts by people of all ages within the family and the community, even though the majority language prevails in the formal domains. The goal of this stage is to consolidate the presence of the language in informal spheres of the community’s life.
Stage 5 on the GIDS scale: “Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy” (Fishman 1991: 95).

This stage is concerned with providing literacy in the threatened language for all the members of the community (but without support on the part of the state education system), so that it is liberated from reliance on the majority language in intragroup contexts:

Stage 5 is preoccupied with the protection of the oral realization of Xish by providing it with at least a somewhat broadened functional periphery and, furthermore, by doing so in such a way as to still depend overwhelmingly on intragroup resources and processes, i.e. by focusing on Xish literacy primarily under intragroup sponsorship, with respect to both its acquisition, its content and its control (Fishman 1991: 96).

Stage 4 on the GIDS scale: “Xish in lower education (types a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws” (Fishman 1991: 98).

This stage implies introduction of the threatened language into elementary school education in two types of schools: “type 4a” are schools mainly under Xish control that provide for children’s better integration into the Xish culture and society, and “type 4b” are public schools under the Yish control where some of the subjects are taught in Xish.

Stage 3 on the GIDS scale: “use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighbourhood /community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen” (Fishman 1991: 103).

At this stage, Xish is introduced into the work environment in two types of situations: companies under Xish control are trying to meet Ymen’s needs, and Yish companies trying to meet Xmen’s needs. In the first case, Xish is the language of communication inside the company, and in the second case, Yish companies are oriented towards Xish clients and provide services in the Xish language. Fishman claims that, given the domination of Yish in the work sphere, it can be difficult to attain this stage of RLS, and sometimes it is necessary to consolidate the presence of Xish at Stages 6-4 and only then proceed to Stage 3.

Stage 2 on the GIDS scale: “Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either” (Fishman 1991: 105).
According to Fishman, not many RLS movements are able to attain this stage, as the Xish community must have enough authority to participate in decision-making on the governmental level and enough control over the mass media. Moreover, the ideology of the Xish community must be constantly restated and modernized in order to remain efficient and attractive for the masses.

Stage 1 on the GIDS scale: “some use of Xish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence)” (Fishman 1991: 107).

The final stage on the GIDS scale implies that the Xish community’s cultural autonomy (but not full independence) is recognized, and that Xmen have as much (or even more) control over the higher spheres of communication in the Xish community as Ymen.

In his book, Fishman also gives some sociopolitical principles on which RLS is to be based:

- “Much RLS can be implemented without compulsion” (Fishman 1991: 82). Fishman maintains that RLS does not necessarily need to be a governmental policy; much of RLS can be carried out by relatively small voluntary groups that do not necessarily have to be dependent on the government’s funds and assistance. RLSers, especially at the early stages of RLS, can work independently from the authorities, and even though the more advanced stages may require governmental support, the basic condition for success is the involvement of the Xish community in the process.

- “Minority rights’ do not need to interfere with ‘majority rights’” (Fishman 1991: 83). Fishman points out that, in many cases, there is much hostility towards the minority language, from some hostile Ymen (speakers of the majority language) as well as from some unsympathetic Xmen that do not identify themselves with Xish culture (Fishman calls them Xmen-via-Yish). However, that does not mean that RLSers should be hostile themselves; they should be democratic and always stress that RLS implies “no infringement of anyone’s rights and no rejection of anyone’s dignity or legitimacy” (Fishman 1991: 83). The minority language group should not become aggressive towards the majority language and culture and turn RLS into power play, generating new power imbalance and sufferings.

- “Bilingualism is a benefit for all, for Xmen and for Ymen alike” (Fishman 1991: 84). Fishman claims that many RLSers see bilingualism as a temporary state of affairs on the way to a
monolingual Xish society. Ymen, on their part, can be against bilingualism because it may imply that they are not masters in their own home and because they associate the minority language with a lower social status (the latter argument may also be used by some Xmen-via-Yish). However, in the modern world, bilingualism is only a benefit for everyone, as no cultural community can be completely independent from its surroundings, and being bilingual broadens people’s horizons and provides them with additional opportunities which they cannot have while remaining monolingual; therefore, Xmen should accept the presence of Yish in their lives. For Fishman, “[b]ilingualism is a bridge […] with great positive utility for both Xmen and Ymen” (Fishman 1991: 85). In addition to that, Fishman believes that Xish and Yish must each have their own functions in society so that they overlap as little as possible, and then, Yish will not represent a threat to Xish in the domains where only Xish is to be used.

- “RLS-efforts must vary according to problems faced and opportunities encountered” (Fishman 1991: 86). This principle means that, having limited time and resources at their disposal, RLSers have to define their priorities by deciding what the strengths of Xish are, i.e. which functions of Xish are most important for its intergenerational transmission and in which functions RLS has chances to succeed (these functions are different in different communities and may even vary across the same community), and start with solving the most urgent problems.

4.2. Joshua Fishman’s RLS theory applied to the situation in Galicia

In this section I will try to interpret the language shift reversal in Galicia according to Fishman’s 8-stage RLS model using the data given in the previous chapter. I will also analyze the current language ideologies concerning the Galician language in terms of RLS.

Stages 8 and 7 on the GIDS scale, as it was mentioned before, involve reconstruction of a language with considerable intergenerational disruption and its acquisition by adults of child-bearing age. Galician was spoken by ordinary people during all the periods of oppression, but its use was restricted to the lower classes of the society, while the ruling class spoke Spanish. The rehabilitation of the language was started in the 19th century, in the age of Galician Renaissance which lasted till the beginning of the 20th century. That was the time when the Galician language became the language of the cultural elite. Galician folklore and history were reconstructed at that time, and many new literary works, in poetry and in prose, were created. During Franco’s regime, the Galician language was, again, still spoken by common people, and the cultural
heritage was preserved by Galicians in exile. After Franco’s death, Galician writers and cultural organizations resumed their activity at home, and the literature in Galician flourished again (Consello da Cultura Galega 2006).

The intergenerational transmission of Galician was maintained during all the periods of oppression, including Franco’s regime, due to the fact that most speakers of Galician have always lived in rural areas, where the presence of official Castilian culture was insignificant (Marino 1973: 612). In the 1950s, 2/3 of all Galicians lived in villages with less than 2000 inhabitants (Consello da Cultura Galega 2006). However, with the advent of the mass media, even the rural areas became exposed to Castilianization. In 1973, the Galician linguist Xesus Cambre Marino expressed apprehensions about Galician being in danger of extinction, claiming that “the intellectuals amuse themselves with the use of Galician while the people forget their mother tongue and replace it with Castilian” (Marino 1973: 611). However, that did not happen. The increasing social mobility and the need to learn Spanish did not prevent Galicians from continuing to speak Galician at home. As it was shown in Section 2.2., the majority of Galicians, apart from the youngest age group, have Galician as their mother tongue and their habitual language. Therefore, there has been no intergenerational disruption until recent times, although the share of Galicians who have Spanish as their first language is increasing. This increase can be connected with the fact that parents want their children to know the language that would give them more opportunities in the future.

In sum, it can be said that the requirements of Stages 8 and 7 of RLS in Galicia are satisfied. Almost all Galician adults of child-bearing age know the language. However, in order to avoid disruption of intergenerational transmission, parents have to be encouraged to speak Galician to their children. According to the data obtained in 2008 by the governmental research centre Observatorio da Lingua Galega (Observatory of the Galician Language, OLG), 59.2% of all Galician parents of schoolchildren speak Galician to their children, but the distribution of this percentage among the big cities and the country is uneven; while in the big cities of Galicia, only 33% of the parents speak Galician with their children, in the rest of the region this percentage is as high as 70.9% (OLG 2008: 49-50). Although the Galician government is making efforts to improve the image of Galician by trying to incorporate it into all the spheres of life in Galicia, parents in urban areas still believe that knowing Spanish is more useful for their children because it gives them more prospects in life than knowing Galician. Apparently, their children’s future is more important to most of them than the transmission of the Galician language.
**Stage 6 on the GIDS scale** implies consolidation of the presence of the threatened language in informal contexts within the family and the community. This is a rather difficult task (as less and less children have Galician as their first language, and their parents associate language with usefulness rather than with identity), but the Galician government is taking measures to attain these goals. One of its main steps at this level was the creation in 2007 of *galescolas*, nursery schools where children aged 0-3 are educated exclusively in Galician. An important point is that no imposition is involved here, as these schools are not the only option available. The current decree on education provides that the language of tuition in nursery schools is to be chosen according to the mother tongue of the majority of the pupils.

Besides that, the Galician government is organizing various campaigns for the promotion of Galician among children, which includes publication of children’s books and magazines in Galician, lecturing on the Galician history and culture, staging plays in Galician, etc. The presence of Galician in the popular mass media (including websites on culture and leisure) also helps to attain the purposes of Stage 6 and contributes to a positive image of Galician as the language of cultured people (although the situation in the Galician mass media still needs improvement; this problem will be considered in the section referring to Stage 2). Folk music in Galician is also awakening young people’s interest in their roots and Galician culture (which has much in common with the Celtic culture that is now very popular in the whole world) (Consello da Cultura Galega 2006).

**Stage 5 on the GIDS scale** is concerned with literacy acquisition by people of all ages within the community. At this stage, the situation in Galicia is improving rapidly; since Galician was introduced by the local government as an obligatory subject at school, everyone’s competence in it improved significantly, as was shown by the research described in Section 2.2. The current decree on education (published in May 2010) provides that schoolchildren know both official languages well enough, the main principle being that of equal presence of Spanish and Galician in the education (see Section 3.1). The same principle applies to adult education, although some adult students see it as imposition of Galician upon those who do not need it (as did those who sent letters with their complaints to Galicia Bilingüe). On the whole, there is no problem with literacy in Galician; though the younger people tend to use more Spanish in their daily lives, they still are quite competent in Galician, as was shown in Section 2.2.

**Stage 4 on the GIDS scale** implies introduction of the threatened language in schools of “type 4a”, i.e. those that are under the Xish control and aimed at better integration into the Xish
culture, and of “type 4b”, i.e. public schools under the Yish control but with some subjects taught in Xish. In the case of Galician schools, there is no division between these two types of schools. As was mentioned before, in primary and secondary education, some subjects are taught in Galician and some in Spanish, and, according to the decree on education, the number of hours taught in each of the languages is to be equal.

According to the data obtained in 2008 by the governmental research centre Observatorio da Lingua Galega and published in their 194-page report on the use of Galician in academic environments, the use of Galician in class by the pupils in infant schools amounts to 56.7% in oral communication and 59.5% in writing. The respective percentages for primary school are 63.2% and 64.7%, and for secondary school, 57.8% and 59.0%, i.e. the pupils apparently speak and write in class predominantly in Galician (OLG 2008: 58, 60).

However, these data are for the whole of Galicia, and when the research results are split according to the geographic location of the schools, the situation appears to be more complicated. In the schools of the seven largest Galician cities (Vigo, Santiago de Compostela, La Coruña, Ourense, Lugo, Pontevedra and Ferrol), Spanish is used more than Galician. The use of Galician in written communication in the seven cities constitutes only 31.5% in infant school, 44.7% in primary school and 44.8% in secondary school (OLG 2008: 61). For oral communication in infant school, the figure amounts to 56.7% (OLG 2008: 59), and in secondary school, to 41.7% (OLG 2008: 66) (for some reason, no data on the languages of oral communication in primary school in the seven cities and the rest of the region is given in the report). Meanwhile, in the rest of Galicia, infant school pupils speak Galician 66.9% of the time (OLG 2008: 59) and do 69.1% of their writing in Galician (OLG 2008: 62). For secondary school students, the respective percentages are 65.9% and 66.3% (OLG 2008: 67). Primary school students outside the seven cities write in Galician in 73.1% of cases (OLG 2008: 62). The difference in language use by schoolchildren in informal communication (outside the class) between big cities and the rest of the region is even more striking; in the cities, the share of Galician in secondary school students’ informal communication is only 18.8%, while in the rest of Galicia it is 59.8% (OLG 2008: 64).

Apparently, Galician seems to predominate mainly in rural areas but not in the big cities. Another study, published in the 2001 regional dossier on Galician from Mercator-Education (European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning, http://www.mercator-research.eu), confirms this. The authors of the dossier present the data on the first language that
Galician children and young people under 25 write and read in. Here is the data table given in the document; the first two lines represent the percentages of the respondents’ mother tongue.

**Table 7. First language of Galician students in urban areas and in the whole of Galicia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Galician</th>
<th>Galician/Spanish</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students under 25 (general)</td>
<td>39 %</td>
<td>17 %</td>
<td>44 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students under 25 (in urban areas)</td>
<td>12 %</td>
<td>19 %</td>
<td>69 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First language they write and read in (general)</td>
<td>17 %</td>
<td>15 %</td>
<td>68 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First language they write and read in (in urban areas)</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>96 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Mercator Education 2001: 11).

These data confirm the difference in language use between rural and urban areas. The authors of the regional dossier point out that since the predominant mother tongue of young people in urban areas is Spanish (and, as it was mentioned before, the language of instruction in infant schools is chosen according to the majority’s mother tongue), children in the big cities of Galicia “do not start their education in Galician […] As a result, the less numerous Galician speakers suffer an immediate language shift” (Mercator Education 2001: 11). This leads to an unbalanced language-learning situation, in which only those who have Galician as their mother tongue become active bilinguals, while the young people whose initial language is Spanish learn to read and write in Galician, but do not use it actively enough in oral communication (Mercator Education 2001: 11-12).

Therefore, there is a need to promote the active use of Galician at school. According to the authors of the 2008 report by *Observatorio da Lingua Galega*, one of the measures for achieving that could be the promotion of the social model of a successful person that speaks Galician (OLG 2008: 138).

**Stage 3 on the GIDS scale** deals with the use of Xish in the lower work sphere in interaction with Ymen outside the Xish community (i.e. in Xish companies that serve the Yish needs and Yish companies that serve Xish needs). In the case of Galicia, it is difficult to single out from the work sphere the interaction between the Galician community and Spaniards beyond it, as the real situations are more complicated. For example, it is difficult to think of a Galician company that serves strictly the needs of Spaniards outside Galicia. However, there are studies considering language use in the Galician companies. In 2007, the *Observatorio da Lingua Galega* conducted an extensive survey on the languages of communication in Galician enterprises, retail
companies, and banks. The researchers asked the respondents about the languages used in internal (inside the company) and external (with clients, suppliers, partner companies, etc.) communication, about the linguistic guidelines applied and the language attitudes existing among employees, as well as about some other things, such as the linguistic resources the employees use. In the context of Stage 3, the relevant factors are language use in external and internal communication, the linguistic norms and language attitudes.

In the first part of the study, language use in 14,419 Galician enterprises with 6 to 249 employees were surveyed (OLG 2007: 28). The use of Galician in external communication is represented in the chart below:

**Figure 7. The use of Galician in external communication by enterprises**

![Chart showing the use of Galician in external communication](chart.jpg)

(Source: Observatorio da Lingua Galega 2007)

As we see, Galician is most used in face-to-face and telephone conversations (43.2%) and in conversations with the public in general and with suppliers (39.0%), while in written communication (letters to clients, emails, and publications) its share is much lower – 16.3, 13.5 and 16.5% respectively. The lower percentages of written communication in Galician, in this case (as well as in other cases that will be mentioned later on) can be explained by lack of terminology and of standard models of business correspondence in Galician. In smaller companies, there is a tendency to use more Galician than in larger ones (companies with more than 50 employees use Galician in face-to-face and telephone conversations only in 31.1% of the cases) (OLG 2007: 33). On the companies’ websites, only Spanish is used in 82.1% of the cases (OLG 2007: 35).

In internal written communication, Galician is not used much; only 17.9% of the directives and notes, 10.5% of the forms, 6.7% of the computer programs, and 12.1% of the staff training
course materials are written in Galician. As to the oral internal communications, most of the employees use Spanish and Galician more or less in equal proportions, although subordinate personnel speak Galician in 60.3% of the cases. Finally, the internal meetings and the management personnel’s communication with the mass media, suppliers and clients are carried out in Galician in only 32.2% of the cases (OLG 2007: 38).

As far as the language guidelines are concerned, only a very small percentage of Galician enterprises have them; only 6.4% of the companies have guidelines concerning oral communication with clients, and only 4.0% have such guidelines for written communication (OLG 2007: 41). The prevailing practical guideline in oral communication with the public was to use the interlocutor’s/ addressee’s language (that was the case in 50.7% of the enterprises), while 27.5% speak Galician by default, and the remaining 21.7% speak in Spanish by default (OLG 2007: 42). In written communication, 48.8% of the companies use Galician by default, 27.9% write in Spanish by default, and 23.3% write in the correspondent’s language (OLG 2007: 43).

As far as the attitude towards Galician is concerned, only 7.1% of the enterprises appreciate the knowledge of Galician by their staff, and among these companies, only 25% have Galician on the list of the required skills of the new employees (OLG 2007: 46). While 22.5% of the enterprises based in towns with less than 50 000 inhabitants consider Galician to be an advantage, only 16.5% of the enterprises in bigger towns and cities think so (OLG 2007: 55).

The researchers conclude that the use of Galician means an additional effort for the enterprises that are more concerned about their competitiveness, although some enterprises think it would be a good strategy to use Galician (OLG 2007: 65).

In the second part of the study, 31 849 retail companies were surveyed. As it can be seen in the chart below, retail companies appear to use more Galician in external communication than enterprises, especially in oral communication and in publications.
The researchers also observe that retailers in smaller towns tend to use more Galician, and that the most Galician-speaking retail companies are those which sell food and materials (OLG 2007: 96-97). 77.5% of the retail companies’ websites are only in Spanish (OLG 2007: 99).

The internal documentation in retail companies is mostly in Spanish. Only 22.1% of the directives and notes, 14.1% of the forms, 5.2% of computer programs and 22.0% of the course materials for personnel training are in Galician. Oral internal communication between the employees and at internal meetings is carried out in Galician in slightly more than half of all the cases, while the management personnel uses Galician in the communication with external contacts in 37.8% of the cases (OLG 2007: 102).

29.6% of the retail companies surveyed have guidelines for language use in oral communication, and 16.0% have such norms for written communication (OLG 2007: 104). The practical guideline for oral communication, for 72.7% of the retail companies, is to use the interlocutor’s/addressee’s language; 16.2% of the companies speak in Galician by default, and 11.1%, in Spanish by default (OLG 2007: 105). As far as the guidelines for written communication are concerned, 66.7% write in Spanish by default, 14.3%, in Galician, 12.7%, in both languages, and 6.4%, in the correspondent’s language (OLG 2007: 106).
The attitude towards Galician in the retail companies is largely the same as in the enterprises; only 7.3% of the companies consider employees’ knowledge of it as a valuable skill, and only 4.6% require a knowledge of Galician from their potential employees (OLG 2007: 107-108).

The authors of the report conclude that the retail companies prefer to use the language of their clients, and that the difference between language use in small and large towns is very striking (in large towns and cities much more Spanish is used). Nevertheless, although the companies need more Galician-speaking staff, the employees themselves do not have much interest in learning Galician (OLG 2007: 122).

Finally, the researchers studied language use in 30 banks that have offices in Galicia. Here is the chart representing languages used by the employees of banks in external communication:

Figure 9. The use of Galician in external communication by banks

Here, the pattern is fairly similar to enterprises and retail companies. Galician is used most in oral communication (the first two categories). In publications, its share reaches 27.7%, and in letters and e-mails, this percentage is quite low. In towns with less than 50 000 inhabitants, bank employees use Galician in face-to-face and telephone conversations in 68.2% of cases, while in towns and cities with more than 50 000 inhabitants, this figure is only 32.5%. 57.6% of the banks have their websites only in Spanish, and the remaining 42.4% have them in both languages (OLG 2007: 153).
Like that of enterprises and retail companies, the internal communication of the banks is written mostly in Spanish; only 14.2% of the directives and notices, 21.6% of the forms, 4.2% of the computer programs and 6.5% of the course materials are in Galician. As far as oral internal communication is concerned, the management personnel uses Galician in 48.3% of the cases, the technical staff, in 41.5%, and administrative personnel, in 44% of cases. However, the operators and the subordinate personnel speak Galician in 79.4% of cases. 35.1% of the internal meetings are held in Galician, and the directive personnel’s external communication is carried out in Galician in 33.6% of cases (OLG 2007: 156).

Only 2.3% of the banks have linguistic guidelines for oral communication, and 1.2%, for written communication. As these percentages are very low, the researchers did not include charts for the guidelines for oral and written communications, but it is stated that in oral communication, 62.5 of the banks that have such guidelines use the interlocutor’s language, and in written communications, there were equal percentages for the options “in Spanish by default”, “in Galician by default”, “in both languages” and “in the correspondent’s language” (OLG 2007: 158).

Only 12.9% of the banks appreciate their staff knowing Galician, and only 15.4% require this knowledge when recruiting new employees; the researches mention that this 15.4 constitutes Galician banks only – none of the non-Galician banks has a knowledge of Galician on their list of required skills (OLG 2007: 159-160).

The researchers state that the banks, in general, are not interested in the use and acquisition of Galician; for them, it means additional expense, inconvenience and even a risk (some Spanish-speaking clients of the banks are intolerant of the use of Galician, while Galician-speaking clients normally do not object when they are addressed in Spanish). Moreover, the banks do not see the promotion of Galician as one of their tasks (OLG 2007: 172).

Analyzing the data concerning Stage 3, it should be said that Galician companies prefer to adapt to the needs of their clients, but they are more interested in being competitive than in promoting Galician; they do not see a knowledge of Galician as something essential, as Spanish provides much more opportunities for them. Galician is used mostly in smaller towns where it is the habitual language; in large towns the population is much more heterogeneous and the companies have to speak and write in Spanish much more often than in Galician. Thus, Galician is not normally used outside the community, and the ideal situation described by Fishman (Galician
companies serving the Spanish people’s needs and with internal communication in Galician, and Spanish companies serving the Galician people’s needs and speaking Galician with the clients) does not reflect the real situation in Galicia. The internal communication, as we have seen, is carried out in Galician about as often as in Spanish, while in the majority of cases language use in communication with clients is not regulated by any guidelines. In conversations, the general practice is to use the client’s language (mostly Galician in rural areas, mostly Spanish in large towns), and in written communication, there is a clear predominance of Spanish. The *Observatorio da Lingua Galega* proposes improving the image of Galician as a symbol of quality and modernity, but the implementation of this strategy in large Galician towns and cities will require additional efforts.

**Stage 2 on the GIDS scale**, according to Fishman, deals with the promotion of Galician in lower governmental services and in the mass media, but not in the higher spheres of either. This stage involves control over the world of politics. As linguistic normalization in Galicia is being carried out on the governmental level, in the governmental services (lower and higher) Galician is promoted very actively, among clients as well as among non-governmental organizations. However, in the lower governmental services (which Fishman defines as “those that have direct, daily contact with the citizenry” (Fishman 1991: 403)) there are still some problems with linguistic normalization. According to the *Observatorio da Lingua Galega*, the tax administration uses Galician only about 46% of the time in oral external communication, and in written external communication, the share of Galician is below 8%. The police use Galician about 50% of the time in oral external communication, and no more than 13.5% of the time in written external communication. In the social security services, the share of Galician in oral external communication is about 56%, and in written external communication, it constitutes 18.4%. (OLG 2007).

Moreover, the situation still needs improvement as far as the mass media in Galician are concerned. The *Observatorio da Lingua Galega* conducted a study on the use of Galician in the mass media in 2007 (periodicals, radio and television). The study shows that the radio stations and TV channels sponsored by the Galician government use much more Galician than the rest. The only TV channel that broadcasts 100% of the time in Galician is the *Televisión de Galicia*; the first channel of the *Televisión Española* has a 25-minute program in Galician broadcast from Monday to Friday. All the other channels broadcast only in Spanish, although there are many commercials in Galician; all the commercials by the Galician government and the local
administrations of Galician cities are in Galician, while 72.2% of the commercials by private companies are in Spanish (OLG 2007: 82-83, 86).

As far as the radio is concerned, the government-sponsored Radio Galega (Galician Radio) and the Galician affiliate of the Radio Nacional de España (National Spanish Radio) broadcast only in Galician, while the other stations use Spanish for as much or more time than Galician. In total (the researchers analyzed language use by the six most popular radio stations present in Galicia), Galician is used for 55.3% of the time, while 42.9% of the broadcasting is done in Spanish, and the remaining 1.8%, in both languages (OLG 2007: 57-65).

Among the six most popular periodicals in Galicia, the use of Galician is very scarce; the newspaper that uses most Galician (8.8%) is El Progreso, while in the other newspapers, the share of Galician is even lower. Most of the articles published in Galician are from the spheres of culture and education. As far as commercials are concerned, only 14.7% of all the commercials in all the mass media analyzed are published in Galician (OLG 2007: 25-29).

Another study, a detailed analysis of the consumption of Galician-language resources in the mass media, carried out in 2003-2004 by the Consello da Cultura Galega, shows that in many spheres of the mass media the percentage of people that use the resources in Galician is rather low. Researchers analyzed the popularity of Galician-language resources in 7 types of mass media: books, newspapers, weekly magazines, radio, television, cinema, and the Internet. The results of a poll among 1203 respondents showed that the most popular Galician-language resources are radio and television; 30% of the respondents listen to the radio in Galician, and 62% of them watch television in the language. The situation with books and newspapers is much more problematic: they are read in Galician by 10% and 18% of Galicians respectively. Finally, only 5% visit websites, 2% read weekly magazines, and 0% see films in Galician (Consello da Cultura Galega 2004: 3). Nevertheless, the majority of the respondents (over 50%) call for a greater presence of Galician in all spheres except radio and TV (where its presence is already sufficient) (Consello da Cultura Galega 2004: 4). Thus, the presence of Galician in the mass media is an aspect in which much can be done without imposition, because people want Galician in their lives.

**Stage 1 on the GIDS scale** is the final stage of RLS. It implies the promotion of Galician “in higher level educational, occupational, governmental, and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence)” (Fishman 1991: 107). In the sphere of
politics, Galician enjoys vast presence; the current Galician government always stresses the importance of Galician, supports its promotion and, as it was mentioned in the analysis of Stage 2, all the governmental publicity is in Galician. According to the *Observatorio da Lingua Galega*, the general situation with Galician in higher governmental services is better than in the lower ones. Over 60% of the oral external communication of the Galician autonomous government and about 90% of its written external communication is in Galician. In the administration of towns, about 85% of both oral and written external communication is carried out in Galician. However, in the administrations of Galician counties (Galicia is divided into 4 counties – those of La Coruña, Vigo, Ourense and Pontevedra), Galician is used somewhat less than in town administrations – about 60% of the time in oral external communication and about 56% of the time in written external communication. In the Administration of Justice, Galician is used only about 33% of the time in oral external communication, and in written external communication, its share is about 16%. Finally, in other statutory organizations in Galicia that were created under the protection of the Statute of Autonomy (Tax Council, Advisory Council, Ombudsman, the Parliament of Galicia and the Galician Culture Council) Galician is used more than in any other organizations; their use of Galician in both oral and written external communication is very close to 100%. (Observatorio da Lingua Galega 2007).

In university education, although the 2010 decree on education stipulates equal use of Spanish and Galician, the real situation is far from the ideal model. Studies conducted at the University of Santiago de Compostela showed that Spanish is still the predominant language of instruction in the university’s graduate and post-graduate courses. The following two pie charts show the time distribution of languages of instruction in graduate and postgraduate programs in the academic year 2009-2010.
According to these data, Spanish is used as the language of instruction for about 70% of the time at the University of Santiago de Compostela. The other two Galician universities, the University of Vigo and the University of La Coruña, do not have these data on their respective websites, but the data from the 2008 report on the use of Galician in academic environments published by the *Observatorio da Lingua Galega* showed that teachers in Galician universities speak Galician in class only 24.2% of the time, and write it in only 25.3% of the cases. As for the university students, the respective percentages are almost as low – 28.6% in each case. The researchers add
that the university where Galician is used most is the University of Santiago de Compostela (2008: 109-110).

Nevertheless, all three universities have their own plans for linguistic normalization in the academic environment. The plan of the University of La Coruña, for example, includes such measures as the development of courses in Galician for teaching staff and students (including those of non-Galician background), the promotion of the use of Galician in the university administration and in scientific publications, the translation of important documents to Galician, the development of Galician-language versions of the software, trying to make Galician the habitual language of communication within the university, and generally promoting it as a useful and modern language but at the same time supporting multilingualism (Plano de Normalización Lingüística da UDC, December 2006).

The main obstacles to the promotion of Galician in the university environment are, most probably, the greater “usefulness” of Spanish in combination with the ever-increasing social mobility of teachers and students, who are oriented towards working not only in Galicia but also outside. Furthermore, non-Galician students see studies at a Galician university only as a stage in their life and do not plan to stay in the region, and therefore they do not have strong incentives to learn Galician. Some of the students even see the need to use Galician in their studies as an imposition and infringement of their rights.

5. Conclusions and discussion

The story of the Galician language is similar to that of other minority languages in Spain: it has survived long periods of oppression without ordinary people ceasing to use it in everyday life. Nevertheless, since the Middle Ages and until now, Spanish has occupied a superior position in relation to Galician (as well as to Basque and Catalan). In the course of all that, various efforts have been made to preserve the Galician language and cultural heritage. The language policy for the promotion of Galician has been most actively implemented during the past 30 years, since the Galician Statute of Autonomy was approved in 1981. The current government is investing a lot in elevating the prestige of the Galician language and making its status in Galicia equal to the status of Spanish – in other words, aspiring to balanced bilingualism. However, the real situation is always subject to numerous factors, and the linguistic normalization measures taken by the government can sometimes be insufficient and/or inefficient in a given situation.
Joshua Fishman’s eight-stage model of reversing language shift has been applied here in order to reveal some problems of the current linguistic situation in Galicia. Having considered all the stages, the following can be said:

- The requirements of **Stages 8 and 7** have been met successfully, as no intergenerational disruption has been observed in Galicia as yet. However, as more and more children learn Spanish as their first language, parents have to be encouraged to speak Galician to their children. The analysis of the statistical data in Section 2.2 showed that for many Galicians, language is not the main aspect of their identity as “Galicians”, and this is one of the reasons why many of them prefer to speak Spanish, a language that gives them and their children more prospects in life.

- At **Stage 6**, which deals with consolidation of Galician in informal communication, one of the main obstacles is the above-mentioned problem of a language-identity bond; this stage is concerned with people’s private lives, where governmental directives are not very efficient. This problem has to be solved by more subtle measures, such as the promotion of Galician culture and the awakening of people’s interest in their roots, both of which require a great deal of time and constant effort. New books, plays, TV programmes, etc. in Galician should be really interesting to Galicians of all ages and backgrounds.

- The objectives of **Stage 5**, concerned with literacy acquisition, have been satisfied; the current education system ensures a good knowledge of Galician; the only skill that needs significant improvement is writing, in which competence is rather low for the whole population. Besides that, for some young people that speak predominantly Spanish, their knowledge of Galician, as researchers from the Mercator-Education centre claim, can eventually become passive, and therefore, there is a need for a more active use of Galician at school and especially in informal communication.

- At **Stage 4**, which is concerned with the introduction of Galician in schools, the main problem is the striking difference between the use of Galician in big cities, where Spanish is used much more than Galician, and in smaller towns/rural areas, where a clear predominance of Galician can be observed. The government’s requirements vis-à-vis schools are not very rigorous; the main principle is an equal number of hours taught in Galician and Spanish. According to the current decree, some school subjects have to be taught in Galician, some in Spanish, but there are many subjects that are taught in the language chosen by the administration of each school. This leads to a great imbalance in the students’ use and knowledge of Galician, and can be solved by the introduction of more rigorous laws concerning the languages of instruction. Probably, several models of school education should
be elaborated, with each school having to comply with one of them. The requirements regarding teachers’ competence in Galician should also be higher.

- **Stage 3**, which deals with the use of Galician in professional communication, faces the same problem of city-country dichotomy as Stage 4 (Galician is used much more in rural areas). The other problem is that companies prefer to adapt to the clients’ language, many of whom associate Galician with provinciality and backwardness. This can be solved by the creation of workplaces for which competence in Galician is necessary, as well as by creating models of business promoting a better image of Galician. The extra-communal reinforcement of Galician (according to Fishman’s concept of Stage 3) is a more difficult task, but it can be achieved by making the Galician language really interesting to the people outside Galicia through promoting goods and services unique to Galicia (just claiming that “it is prestigious to use Galician” is not enough).

- At **Stage 2**, which deals with the use of Galician in lower governmental services and the mass-media, the situation needs significant improvement. The increase of the use of Galician in the lower governmental services (those which have daily contact with the population) the language problem is to be solved by enhancing the population’s competence in Galician, which is the objective of other RLS stages. In the mass media, the presence of Galician can be significantly increased; cinema, television and radio companies, as well as publishers, should take the initiative, considering that Galician consumers of the mass media want more information in Galician.

- At **Stage 1**, the final stage of RLS, concerned with the presence of Galician in higher governmental services and in university education, the main objective is a more extensive use of Galician at the universities (in the governmental services, the general situation with Galician is quite satisfactory, although more Galician could be used in some spheres). The universities have powerful resources for the promotion of Galician; they can create interesting and unique projects requiring good knowledge of Galician that would attract students and scientists from inside and outside Galicia, and in this way promote Galician as the language of science and research.

Language shift reversal is a complex process that should involve efforts at all levels; it cannot be carried out only by means of governmental directives, or only by offering goods and services in the minority language. It should, first of all, appeal to Xmen’s identity and make Xish interesting to both Xmen and Ymen. Moreover the promotion of the language should open real prospects and new horizons and awaken people’s interest in learning the language – just saying that it is prestigious to use the language, while it is not the case in reality, does not help, as the people will
not believe it. For modern Galicians (especially for young people), the “usefulness” of a language is more important than the “language as a symbol of identity”. Therefore, a knowledge of Galician should be one of the factors helping them to achieve success in life. This is the key factor without which RLS will be impossible.

References


