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THE KOINEIZATION PROCESS
OF CONTEMPORARY GALICIAN AS A FIELD
FOR THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE CHANGE *

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1. It is since Weinreich/Labov/Herzog's 1968 paper concerning the «Empirical foundations for a theory of language change» in particular, and it is also due to Labov's previous and ongoing investigations, that the study of linguistic «change in progress» has become one of the central points of interest in today's linguistic research (see e.g. Bauer 1994). With the rediscovery of the «Actuality-principle», originally devised by Neogrammarian scholars (Osthoff/Brugmann 1878: IX-X; cf. also Labov 1994: 18 and Romaine 1982), and its application to sociolinguistic questions, synchronic studies have increasingly become a basis for the interpretation of language change. What is new in these approaches is that the variations in synchrony are not only regarded as a database to improve historical hypothesis (as used to be the case in the mutual relationship between dialectology and historical linguistics), but that also the centre of interest shifts towards the *processes* which are going on, and that the observation of these processes in present can lead to a «better» theory about change, as Labov (1972: 260) pointed out: «we find ourselves disputing endlessly about bad data instead of profiting from the rich production of new linguistic change around us».

For several reasons, the koineization process of contemporary Galician is a subject of special interest with regards to the study of «linguistic change around us». Primarily, because the recent social and political changes have led to an «acceleration» (Schlieben-Lange 1983: 37) of linguistic changes, as they have made the creation of several new discourse types necessary. Secondly, because the

* I would like to thank Jane Beswick for correcting the manuscript.

contact to Castilian offers a very closely-related «model language» that acts in positive and negative way upon Galician; thirdly because of changing prestige relations between the languages in contact, and finally, because of the fact that the social changes have made a considerable number of speakers with Spanish mother-tongue adapt Galician either partially or generally, and thereby originated several interference processes. In this paper, I will examine such interference and change phenomena in phonetics, morphology, syntax and lexicon. This however will be preceded by some theoretical and terminological reflections.

2. When we try to investigate processes of «change in progress», we have to make—as is always necessary when studying linguistic change—a clear distinction, on the one hand, between individual «*innovation* in discourse (performance) and *change* in language (competence)», and on the other hand, between «*adoption* (of an innovation by an individual), *diffusion* (adoption by several individuals), *selection* (alternating use of the older and the newer tradition), *mutation* (abandonment of one of the two traditions and retention of the other, or establishment of a certain distribution of both traditions in the same 'dialect' or eventually different 'dialects')» (Coseriu 1983: 56-57)¹. These distinctions seem to be evident but remain unclear in many of the current publications about language change. For a clear conception of change we need a coherent theory, and what frequently occurs in fact is that linguistic theory is too partial to be able to interpret change without misunderstandings. Coseriu (1957-1978) offers a theory with an overall interpretation of linguistic change, stipulating in 1977 several aspects about the relevance of interference and language contact for change. This theory will be used here, with a few modifications, as a framework to describe «changes in progress» in modern Galician.

We have to regard the linguistic varieties and their systems and norms as social phenomena and products of historical communities or groups that come into existence in the speech of individuals, which leads to an exclusion of notions like «*idiolect*» or «*individual language*» together with the inclusion of interference among the matters of *speech* or *performance*: Facts appearing in the speech of individuals have to be interpreted as belonging to one or another language².

1 For further details see Coseriu (1957-1978).

2 The common definition of an «*idiolect*» was formulated by Bernard Bloch (1948) as «The totality of the possible utterances of one speaker at one time in using a language to interact with one other speaker» and has been discussed by Coseriu (1978: 63-64). Weinreich/Labov/Herzog (1968: 105 ff.) use similar arguments without concrete reference to Coseriu, whose book is only mentioned by them in the first footnote of their paper. It seems that this was due to the fact that only Weinreich (as author of the first part) knew Coseriu's important contribution, and that therefore the discussion about it was not followed by the other authors when completing the article after Weinreich's death.

Thus, an individual discourse will be regarded as belonging to (or oriented towards) one language, but as frequently containing elements of more than one *noim* or language because of the individual speaker's history or the particular finality of the discourse. This makes it possible to resolve the dilemma between the evidence of «continuous» individual variation and the existence of languages and varieties as discrete units and expressions of social groups already formulated by the 19th century scholar Georg von der Gabelentz³ and controversially discussed during the last decades e.g. among creolists and functional linguists, especially in Italy⁴. For a complete description of interference between closely-related languages, we need to distinguish as a minimum four different types of interference that we will baptise *transposition*, *overlap*, *differentiation* and *hypercorrection*⁵. Between two languages of the same family, A and B, we can distinguish elements that are exclusive to A and different to B, elements common to both languages and elements exclusive of B:

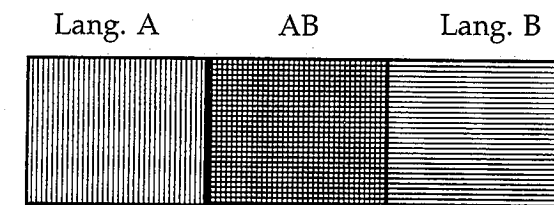


FIG. 1.—Relationship between two closely-related languages

It might be surprising and against structuralist traditions to associate elements to more than one language, but it cannot be denied that elements of different languages can be identified because of common formal aspects. Indeed,

3 «Dass die Sprachgrenzen individuell verschieden sind, haben wir gesehen; dass die Handhabung der Sprache auch unter Sprachgenossen nicht völlig gleich ist, werden wir weiter sehen. Als gemeinsames Verständigungsmittel aber ist die Einzelsprache wirksam und also doch auch wirklich. Als Äusserung, als Rede, gehört sie dem Einzelnen, als Fähigkeit muss sie Gemeingut sein, sonst taugte sie nicht zum Verkehrsmittel» (Gabelentz 1901: 58).

4 See the summary of the discussion in Berruto (1987: 13-19).

5 See Coseriu (1977: 100). It might not be too fortunate to choose terms that already appear in many different classifications. But their traditional use is partially similar, and we insist upon the fact that they are used here as technical terms. The original German terms are *Übertragungsinterferenz* (transposition), *Überschneidungsinterferenz* (overlap), *Unterscheidungsinterferenz* (differentiation) and *Hyperkorrektion* (cf. Kabatek 1995: 24-26).

we are even tempted to believe that such an identification-differentiation-model is a real part of the linguistic competence of bilingual speakers, as can be demonstrated by evidence in their utterances.

Transposition is the most common of the four types and usually figures in the centre of interference-descriptions. It refers to elements belonging to a language A that appear in a B-oriented text, such as a «foreign accent» in B or a syntactic, morphological or lexical loan from A⁶. *Overlap* and *differentiation* are types of interference that Coseriu (1977: 99) subsumed under the name of «negative interference»⁷ and which remain within the possibilities of system B and can only provoke variation in norm⁸. Negative interference is difficult to study and therefore is usually not investigated or only marginally accounted for. The first of the two types, *overlap*, consists in the preference of elements that are common to A and B (e.g. by reasons of economy, lack of further knowledge etc.) and is an especially important factor for second language acquisition, but it is also a well-known strategy of bilingual individuals⁹. Its counterpart is the exclusion (or lesser used) of elements that are distinct in both languages. Above all, it affects the lexicon, however, it can also affect other levels in cases that allow the choice between at least two possibilities¹⁰. The contrary of overlap is *differentiation*, the preference of elements in B that are not common to A, by dint of what is sometimes called «differentialism» as well as by the speaker's fear that the elements common to AB might be exclusive to A and would therefore be transpositions in B¹¹. The counterpart of differentiation is «negative» or «non realization» of elements common to AB. The last type of interference is the so-called *hypercorrection*, and derives from the creation of regularities between elements of A and B and their application even to elements that are common to both languages. The

6 An example would be Castilian elements in Galician texts or discourses, such as Castilian intonation, Castilian clitic position or the use of Castilian lexicon.

7 The term does not refer to categories such as «progress» or «decay» that sometimes appear in descriptions of linguistic change or interference (cf. Aitchison 1991: 210ff and Payrató 1985: 50), but to realization and non-realization («negative» realization) of linguistic facts in a text, as the said term was already been used by Hermann Paul (1920: 34).

8 This term is used in the Coserian tradition as the sum of linguistic traditions, including those that are not functionally relevant, supposing that the virtual possibilities of a system are usually performed according to a «normal» usage in a linguistic community (cf. Coseriu 1952).

9 As an example, in translated Galician texts from Castilian, e.g. in the mass-media, sometimes only a minimal adaptation of the texts to the Galician system takes place, without making use of other possibilities offered by the Galician system.

10 English as a second language is an interesting case. In fact, many foreigners with a Romance mother tongue tend to choose the Latin parts of English whereas e.g. Germanic mother-tongue speakers tend to choose more the Germanic elements.

11 As in the case of *overlap*, translations from Castilian offer frequently examples of the preference of non-coincident-elements which create a certain distance between the source text and the translation.

result is the creation of new forms, nonexistent in both A and B and which can only be explained by the presence of the contact language¹².

One might object that this typology of interferences would only be valid for cases of intimately related languages of the same family or even varieties of one language. It is, in fact, true that overlap, differentiation and hypercorrection are generally the more frequent the more common elements exist between the languages in contact. Nevertheless, even apparently distant languages often have common elements, at least in their vocabulary, and they can provoke such processes: even two languages as distant as —to choose an extreme example— Basque and Russian, are «closely related» in what regards «international lexicon» such as Latin or Greek bookwords.

The quantity of interference-phenomena is regulated by different mechanisms, only a few of which can be mentioned here. We cannot derive the number of expected interferences by mere analysis of the systems and norms in contact. Some authors postulate the existence of interference *per definitionem* wherever there is language contact, and I basically agree with them¹³, but this theoretical affirmation does not help much in practice, in cases of speech analysis or in the historical application of our concepts. Factors such as distance between the languages, the prestige of different varieties, individual and socially different methods of acquisition etc. play an important part, and so does the existence of traditions in one of the languages in contact and their lack in the other. These traditions serve as implicit or explicit models if the other language has yet to create them for itself. Here, we should not forget that interference is a *textual* phenomenon, and that language contact is not disordered contact between languages, but takes place in concrete texts with their particular discourse traditions, sometimes linked to one or another language. This is a well-known fact when we regard, for example, certain strongly re-Latinized medieval romance texts which are marked by the lack of popular traditions in certain text types. An important fact to be mentioned in this context is the passage from spoken to written traditions, which usually favours interference processes and facilitates language change¹⁴, for it is connected with conscious interventions by the speakers, that are more effective in elaborated texts than in spontaneous speech, and that can reinforce the distance between texts of written and spoken conception¹⁵ because

12 An example would be the hypercorrect clitic position in Galician subordinated clauses, where new speakers with low knowledge of Galician sometimes adapt the general main clause rule Cast. proclitic position (*me dijo*) > Gal. enclitic position (*dixome*) and position enclitic generating inexisting forms in both A and B (*o señor que dixome).

13 See e.g. Juhász (1970: 11).

14 Cf. Schlieben-Lange (1983: 89, 138ff.), and Kabatek (1994: 177ff.).

15 Cf. Söll (1974: 11-56) and Koch/Oesterreicher (1985).

of the different intensity of various interference types in the respective texts/discourses.

3. However, let us go back to the concrete case of contemporary Galician. According to Monteagudo/Santamarina (1993: 146), in the actual process of koineization, different groups of speakers are involved:

Standard Galician is a variety in which a few Galicians have active competence. Its use attracts notice and may also have ideological connotations. The speakers of other varieties, and specially spontaneous speakers of popular Galician, will tend to consider a standard Galician speaker as an educated person, from the urban or semi-urban middle or upper classes, and/or someone with an ideological commitment to Galician. In new speakers (that is, individuals whose L1 is Castilian but who have adopted Galician for daily or professional purposes), this variety is influenced by Castilian, especially in phonetics and vocabulary. Many habitual speakers of standard Galician are consistently monolingual, usually alternating the standard with variants of popular Galician.

We can divide thus the Galician standard speakers into two basic groups: speakers with Galician mother-tongue and «new speakers» with Castilian mother-tongue. Among the new speakers, we should distinguish between different degrees of passive Galician knowledge in the past, actual Galician competence and the percentage in which each of the contact languages is used in the present. For a detailed study of the koineization process, we have chosen a combination of different methods applied to 30 informants: a comparison of biographical data, characteristics of their own speech, their attitudes towards general and detailed linguistic questions and spectrographic analysis of four read texts¹⁶.

Our informants, who all have to deal with Galician for professional purposes (broadcast speakers, Galician teachers and linguists) and who seem to play an important part in the koineization process as multipliers of the standard language, can be more or less divided into the following three groups¹⁷:

¹⁶ A similar method, with less importance placed upon metalinguistic questions, was used by Labov (1963).

¹⁷ We have given importance to *qualitative* aspects; our informants do not correspond to any representative percentage of the population. But I believe that it is at least as important to investigate the quality of the processes going on as might be the study of their quantity. The present and future evolution of Galician can in fact depend on a very small group of speakers leading the processes, and this is sometimes ignored in studies that only look for quantitative data.

- Informants with Galician as their mother tongue and as the language mostly present in childhood.
- Informants with Spanish as their mother tongue but with presence of Galician in the context of the family during childhood.
- Informants with Spanish as their mother tongue and little (or no) presence of Galician in the context of the family during childhood.

At present, some informants use Galician only for professional purposes and some, especially within the second group, have undergone a conscious change to the use of Galician for everyday purposes, and hardly use Spanish or try to avoid using it as far as possible. Among the different groups we can observe different tendencies of interference processes¹⁸.

3.1. Phonologically, the most important tendencies among «new speakers» with little contact to authentic Galician are neutralizations of the Galician phonemes /ŋ/ and /n/ and /j/ and /s/ due to Castilian influence (transposition): since there does neither exist a velar pronunciation of /ŋ/ nor a palatal /j/ in Spanish, these phonemes are neutralized to their closest neighbours, which both have a correlate in Castilian. As far as our interviews are concerned, these neutralizations can be observed among some extremely Castilianized speakers and show some typical characteristics of second-language-acquisition processes: some informants realize systematically the velar [ŋ] in the most frequent cases (e.g. in the indefinite article *unha* [uŋa] or in final position), but have difficulties in special cases like when the final position is followed by a clitic or an article and traditional Galician pronunciation is alveolar (*non o fago* [nonofago]).

Generally, the tendency to avoid interference above all in elaborated speech shows an orientation towards the traditional Galician system with sometimes imperfect knowledge or at least imperfect performance of it. If this tendency is not corrected, it could lead to a change in competence especially in second-generation learners.

A well-known phonetic tendency is the avoidance of «gheada» and «seseo» in standard oriented texts by speakers who dialectally show these characteristics, even if the language planners do not proscribe these features directly. Most speakers' consciousness of these features characterizes them as part of «intimate»

¹⁸ The 30 informants were asked about their general linguistic attitudes towards both contact languages and about detailed questions concerning phonetic, morphological and syntactic features. They filled out a questionnaire of biographical questions and read out two Galician and two Spanish texts which were analyzed in the speech laboratory. The complete interviews, of about 30 minutes of duration each, were transcribed and analysed with regard to both primary and metalinguistic characteristics.

speech not adequate for common speech levels¹⁹. At the same time, even if the autochthonous speakers tend to avoid these pronunciations, a very small group of highly committed speakers show the opposite tendency: consciously, they introduce «gheada» into their discourses even if they originally did not use it and sometimes did not even encounter it as a feature of their surroundings. When asked about the reasons why they do so, some speakers show a strong attraction towards authentic Galician phonetics and often mention «gheada» as its most characteristic feature. This kind of solidarity with dialectal Galician has two goals: firstly, it guarantees acceptance and integration of the speaker among the «real» speakers, and secondly, it marks a distancing of this speaker from other new speakers: those new speakers who truly want to be accepted as authentic Galician speakers often find themselves stigmatized by their Castilian «accent». But these are only very marginal cases, and they are frequently rejected by autochthonous speakers because of their inauthenticity: «Gheada» is not accepted as an isolated feature but only as part of an overall dialectal pronunciation.

Even more attention is to be paid to interference and change phenomena that lie beyond phonological relevance, but jar with traditions of the Galician norm. They usually escape language planning, generally concentrating on systematic aspects due to the tradition of formal grammatical description. Regueira Fernández (1994) placed the initial emphasis on suprasegmental pronunciation differences between authentic Galician traditions and «new speakers», above all those in the mass media²⁰. On several occasions, he has demonstrated that the prosody of novice professional speakers shows completely new tendencies which have been adapted from Castilian pronunciations. If we choose one of the several analysed examples from our reading test, the pronunciation of the vowels in the word *parlamento*²¹, we can see three important tendencies that differentiate strongly Castilianized informants from those with stronger Galician models: if we regard the quantitative relationship between the stressed vowel and the final vowel, the intensity of the stressed vowel with relation to the final vowel and the relationship of the basic frequency of both vowels, we can observe completely different tendencies among different speakers:

19 Álvarez/Regueira/Monteagudo (1986: 27) consider «gheada» as a possible element of standard pronunciation: «[o fenómeno da 'gheada'] foi recollido no galego estándar, como pronuncia alternativa ó sistema de non gheada». Later, one of the authors stressed the importance of social acceptance of the standard and, therefore, seemed to consider «gheada» as not conforming with the standard: «é un feito que a xeneralidade da poboación ten unha mellor consideración da pronuncia con /g/, e parece claro que un modelo exemplar de pronuncia ten que estar asentado no recoñecemento social» (Regueira Fernández 1994: 54 ff).

20 «[N]on hai que perder de vista o feito de que as diverxencias que causan perturbacións na recepción do galego oral actualmente son as producidas por descoñecemento do idioma e, fundamentalmente, por interferencia co castelán» (Regueira Fernández 1994: 57).

21 The example appeared in a short lecture of a text extracted from radio news.

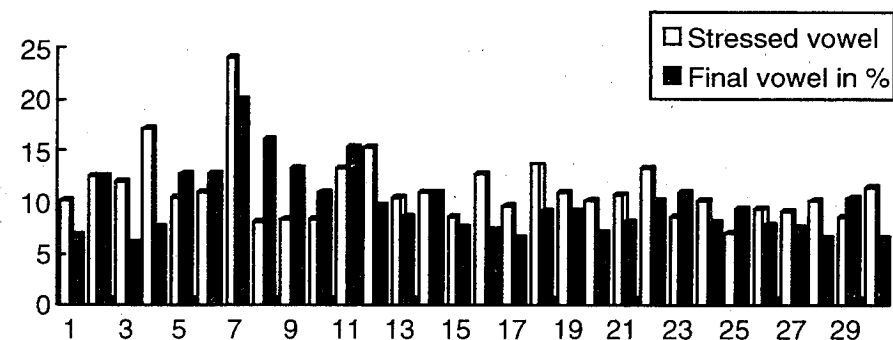


FIG. 2.—Relationship between the duration of the stressed vowel and the final vowel in the example *parlamento*

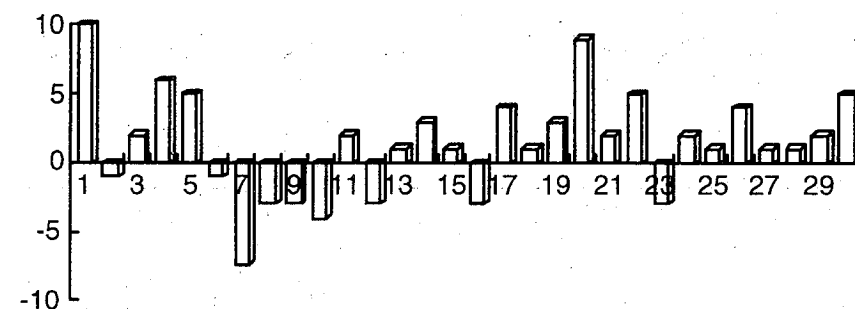


FIG. 3.—Intensity of the stressed vowel minus intensity of the final vowel in dB

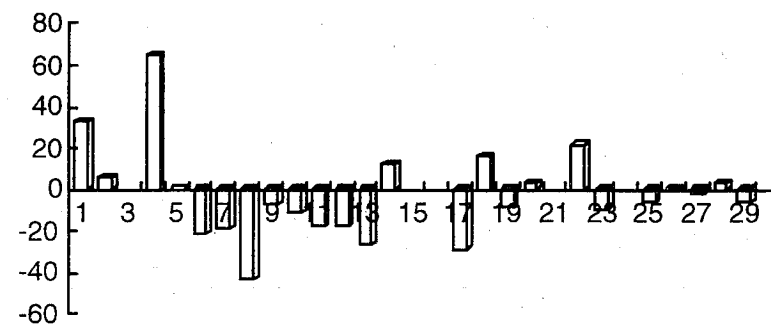


FIG. 4.—Basic frequency of the stressed vowel minus basic frequency of the final vowel in Hz²²

22 In the case of N.º 3, N.º 15, N.º 16, N.º 24 and 30 the computer did not measure any data, in some cases because of an almost silent final vowel or because what rested from the final vowel was in some cases only an aspiration of the *t* (above all N.º 3).

The intensely Castilianized informants N.º 6-10, 12 or 23 show a completely different intonation than authentic Galician speakers such as N.º 1, 4, 22 or 30, who show a typical Galician intonation and vowel pronunciation as was described by Blanco Carril²³ or Porto Dapena²⁴ in the Seventies. The «Castilian» accent was strongest among the informants who work as speakers in Galician Radio and TV (N.º 5-11). Some of these «professional speakers» use Galician only in front of the microphone and normally speak Spanish²⁵.

3.2. In morphology and syntax, there is a general tendency towards overlap in all groups of speakers, with a strong anti-tendency to produce differentiation and even sometimes hypercorrection among «new speakers». It is important to mention that for speakers who speak standard and dialectal Galician, the language contact exists between the dialect *and* with Spanish, whereas some of the professional new speakers, firstly those who only use Galician for professional purposes in radio and television, speak standard Galician as their only Galician variety and are, therefore, only exposed to Spanish interferences. But all speakers show stronger Spanish influence in higher elaborated texts, above all in the written language, where the models for all of them are generally Spanish, whereas in spoken spontaneous speech the interferences differ strongly according to the degree of individual Castilianization. The higher the grade of elaboration of a text, the more clearly the speakers tend to differentiation. Asked about different cases where the Galician system allows more than one solution, the speakers generally prefer, if possible, the form that differs from Castilian. In cases such as clitic position, use of the inflected infinitive, use of the definite article with possessive pronoun etc., conscious intervention makes the speakers create texts that are obviously different from Castilian²⁶. This kind of conscious intervention can be

23 «El rasgo principal que caracteriza la entonación gallega es un considerable aumento cuantitativo de la vocal sobre la que se manifiesta la inflexión tonal. Al producirse normalmente en el mismo segmento estos dos factores —mayor duración y variación de tono— infieren sobre él una puesta en relieve peculiar, que es la que marca la característica más comúnmente conocida de esta lengua» (Blanco Carril 1973: 96-97).

24 «la tendencia a abrir y alargar las vocales tónicas, las cuales con frecuencia coinciden asimismo con cúspides tonales; es decir, el acento de intensidad viene normalmente reforzado por un aumento de la cantidad, una mayor abertura en el timbre de la vocal y una elevación en el tono» (Porto Dapena 1977: 42).

25 One informant (N.º 9) spoke about a curious code-switching tendency: she said that the presence of a camera made her switch automatically to Galician and that this even happened to her once during a program of the Spanish TV in Madrid. She said to use Galician only during her work and switched to Castilian everytime I stopped the tape during the (Galician) interview.

26 In written, elaborated texts speakers tend, e.g. to use clitic positions that are different from Spanish (e.g. *teño que o dicir* and not *teño que dicilo*), frequent use of inflected infinitive (cf. Gondar 1978: 155), use of the definite article with possessive pronoun also in cases of parentage (*o meu pai* and not *meu pai*), etc.

analysed by direct questions, where the more Castilianized speakers will usually refer to the contrast from Castilian and choose the more distant form, whereas natural speakers often make reference to their home dialects²⁷. The different grade of conscious intervention, the predominance of overlap in spontaneous speech and the tendency towards differentiation in elaborated speech creates a stylistic difference between texts of written and texts of spoken conception, marked respectively by one or another type of interference. It can be observed that certain «typical Galician features» that were already disappearing in the spoken language and that had been considered archaic forms of the speech of elder people, such as the inflected infinitive, are revived in the written language and in elaborated texts and therefore become markers of higher style.

3.3. Different tendencies can also be observed regarding the lexicon. Traditionally, spontaneous Galician speech is strongly influenced by the Castilian lexicon, with a large amount of Castilianisms already part of the Galician tradition since the 19th century or earlier. For autochthonous speakers, some of these Castilianisms are markers of natural, authentic speech, whereas new speakers, the products of conscious language planning, generally learn a depurated, decastilianized Galician. When speaking standard-oriented Galician, speakers with Galician models avoid some Castilianisms, but make a selection and exclude some of the «new» Galician words that sound inauthentic to them. They preserve some Castilianisms that sound, to them, as authentic elements of dialectal Galician. New speakers who are in close contact to autochthonous Galician speakers show the tendency to adapt these «authentic Castilianisms» as forms of identification with «real» Galician and as a way of distancing from the «artificial new speech». This leads to an adoption not only of the «real» Castilianisms, but also to the development of a general technique of «lexical Castilianization» as a form of identification, with hypercorrect forms in some cases²⁸. In the written language or in elaborated speech, the tendencies go in one direction: they tend to decastilianization and to an introduction of the purified, new forms introduced by language plan-

27 Whether introspection questions can really give an objective information about spontaneous linguistic behaviour is tentative (cf. Seliger 1983). But we can be sure that, at least in elaborated texts, conscious intervention and attitudes play an important part, and can thus be investigated by introspection, even if this does not explain the relationship between conscious intervention and spontaneous speech or the grade of mutual influence between both.

28 In one of the interviews, a student of Galician Philology with almost purely Castilian background who changed consciously to Galician as everyday language because of their highly committed pro-Galician friendship circles names some of the «inevitable» Castilianisms as *calle*, *carretera*, *acera*, *buzón*, where the forms introduced or revitalized by language planners (*rúa*, *estrada*, *beirarrúa*, *caixa de correo*) are rejected by many of the autochthonous speakers, but she also mentions *cast. perro*, where the Galician word *can* is a generally used and traditional form.

ners²⁹. In some cases, the new introduced forms are used not in their traditional sense, but replace Castilian words or words that have a Castilian parallel form. They become thus inner-Galician calques, because they are used as the word they replace. This tendency can be observed in examples as *acadar* which replaces *conseguir*, *chisquiño* which replaces *pouquiño*, *mercar* which replaces *comprar*, *coidar* which replaces *pensar*, *meirande* which replaces *maior*, etc.

4. In the Galician koineization, we can thus distinguish different processes: in the spoken language, a strong tendency towards transposition interference from Spanish in «new speakers», with Castilian as L 1, which has to do also with the prestige of Spanish and with the lack of Galician standard traditions³⁰. Two different attitudes towards the phonetically Castilianized Galician can be observed: on the one hand, the tendency of dialectal speakers to reject it as inauthentic, and on the other hand a tendency of consideration as highly evaluated prestige variety³¹, which indirectly reflects the prestige of Spanish. Speakers with dialectal models of Galician generally tend in standard-oriented speech to choose phonetic varieties closer to Spanish, products of overlap, with an exclusion of «gheada», «seseo», dialectal intonation etc., but stay inside the possibilities of the Galician phonological system and show typical characteristics in some prosodic features. In morphology and syntax, these speakers show more or less Castilian influence according to the Castilianization of their dialectal models, but generally tend to correct certain features regarded as Castilianisms, like e.g. the periphrastic verbal tempora, and to exclude dialectal markers as e.g. the so-called «solidarity pronoun», even if they evaluate it positively. «New speakers» show sometimes strong tendency towards overlap and towards transposition in different cases than native speakers, as in the position of clitics or in periphrastic verb forms³². The puristic tendency in written language and in elaborated speech is common to all speakers—even if the differentiation is usually much stronger among new speakers—and is evoking a common idea of what the models for written language should be. Some morphological and lexical elements which are different to Spanish and

29 Some speakers in professional context argue with the fact that the «official language» has to be accepted by them because of a professional obligation.

30 «[S]egue estando, aínda que de maneira máis atenuada, o vello prexuízo de lingua galega = lingua vulgar, rural, inculta, pobre» (Regueira Fernández 1994: 58).

31 «[E]l modelo de pseudogalego pode empezar a presentarse como o modelo culto e urbano, por oposición ó galego 'da aldea'» (Regueira Fernández 1994: 58).

32 In dialectal Galician, periphrastic verb tempora appear in plusquamperfect or in subjunctive forms, but not in present perfect, where *indefinido* is used as in dialectal Galician as in the Castilian dialect of Galicia. Strongly Castilianized «new speakers», above all in the younger generations with a direct Spanish influence and models from outside Galicia, use periphrastic perfect in their Spanish, and they transpose it to Galician, using frequently the auxiliary verb «ter» in place of «haber».

archaisms in spoken Galician, are becoming higher style markers as to their high frequency in written texts. The written language is searching its own way different from Spanish difficult to find because of the heavy weight of the Spanish tradition and presence. The conflict between purism and the danger of creating too artificial texts on the one hand and the loss of authenticity and relation to spoken traditions on the other replaces the original Spanish-Galician diglossia and creates an inner-Galician language conflict that is nothing else than the old battle on a new field: what used to be the conflict between two languages has now become a conflict between directly castilianized «new Galician» and dialectal forms of indirectly and differently Castilianized dialectal Galician. But it would be too simple to reduce the conflict to these two tendencies: maybe the most important group in the conflict are the highly committed urban speakers with authentic Galician models and conscious intervention against the traditional Castilian influence. They are in contact with both urban «new speakers» and dialect speakers, and have to be considered as the leaders of the koineization process. Nevertheless, the main question for the future of the language will be if they have enough prestige and power to convince the population of the need to create and maintain Galician traditions on the level of a standard language besides the already «normalized» Spanish language.

5. The special interest of these processes in contemporary Galician for the general study of language change is evident: for language planning, Galicia is an interesting field to investigate the possibilities and the limits of conscious corpus and status planning, for the study of languages in contact Galician offers an interesting situation of interference between two closely-related languages, for historical linguistics the high metalinguistic sensibility of Galician speakers allows to investigate the possible degree of conscious intervention and «planning» of the speaker's discourses, including the difference between the possibilities of intervention in diverse discourse types, above all between lower and higher degrees of elaboration.

But maybe the most important interest for the general theory of historical linguistics is the possibility to investigate in detail the relationship between the different intra- and extralinguistic characteristics of the situation and the different speaker's strategies and processes when confronting the language conflict, processes that can contribute to establish a series of general principles concerning expectable changing phenomena and interferences under particular historical circumstances and that can help us to understand changing processes not only in present, but also in history.

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