Sociolects in Galicia
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(1) “Le tre dimensioni di variazione non agiscano isolatamente, ma interagiscono e interferiscono in vario modo. Anzitutto, una concreta produzione linguistica di un qualunque parlante avrà sempre una sua collocazione simultanea lungo i tre assi, in diatopia, in diastratia e diafasia. In secondo luogo, tratti linguistici originariamente e primariamente marcati in diatopia possono assumere valore (ancora più) marcato in distratia, e tratti marcati originariamente in diastratia possono assumere valore marcato in diatopia, talché marcatezze diatopica, diastratica e diafasica si presentano spesso inextricabilmente compresenti.” (Berruto 1995, pp. 149-150).

a) The theory predicts that a given text must be inscribed in one syntopic, synstratic and synphasic variety; and diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic variations pre-exist to any analysis of any text in any language.

b) The linguistic items that we employ to distinguish the linguistic varieties don’t normally have an absolute value, but a relative one: an item will usually be a feature which identifies a variety together with other particular items, though obviously there are features which may alone identify a variety. So, the item avó ‘grandfather’ (today supplanted by Spanish abuelo in most of the Galician dialects) accompanied by:

- **gheada** [amiho] ‘friend’ (Spanish and eastern Galician dialects: [amigo]),
- **laminal seseo** [moso] ‘young man’ (standard Spanish and central and eastern Galician dialects [moθo]),
- forms like **irmán** (‘brother’ and ‘sister’; standard Galician irmán ‘brother’, irmá ‘sister’),
- **collestes** ‘you (Sing.) caught’ (colleches in western dialects; colliches in central, eastern dialects and standard Galician),
- **comiu ~ partiu** ‘he ate ~ he broke’ (comeu ~ parteu in some north-western and northern dialects; comeu ~ partiu in the remaining dialects and in standard Galician),
- **núte** ‘night’ ~ **muito** ‘a lot’ (noite ~ moito in most of the dialects and in standard Galician, noite ~ muito and noute ~ myto in the south-western dialects), and
- **quiiras** ‘you want, singular, present, subjunctive’ (queiras standard Galician and the vast majority of the dialects)

could indicate the speech of an old peasant from Carnota (in the northwest of Galicia; Fernández Rei (1990)). The same feature avó in a speech

- without **gheada** ([amiho], not [amiho]),
- without **seseo** ([moθo], not [moso]),
- with forms like **irmán** ‘brother’ and **irmá** ‘sister’ (not irmao ~ irmá or irmán ~ irmán),
- **colliches** (not colleches, collestes),
- **comeu ~ partiu** (not comeu ~ parteu, comiu ~ partiu),
might well indicate the speech of a lecturer of Galician language at the University. So, the item avó can help to identify different varieties.

c) So, the value of the features can, indeed do, change over time.

(2) Proposals of

Álvarez Cáccamo (1989) considers the existence of one continuum that has at one end Standard Spanish and at the other Standard Galician; different sets of mixed varieties exist in between these two extremes, some nearer to Standard Galician and some nearer Standard Spanish... unfortunately, at least in my opinion, there aren’t such sets. Of course, there are various levels of interference in the varieties, but the speakers dominate them (these varieties are their normal way of speaking), clearly classify each of them as forms of Spanish or Galician, and they know which language they are speaking or hearing. The only mixed texts are the interlanguages that monolingual speakers who occasionally try to speak the other language of the community are able to produce; however, these texts can hardly be characterized as sociolects, because their form depends on very personal factors (see (4)).

Monteagudo & Santamarina (1993) speak about six groups of varieties. Four varieties which are said to be stable: Standard Galician, Standard Spanish, Popular Galician and Popular Spanish; and two which are said to be unstable: chapurrao and castrapo. The question is whether these unstable sociolects really exist as possible entities, or whether the are merely interlanguage texts (see (4)).


These latter classifications are clearly inadequate, but interesting because they include a new variety, Urban Cultured Galician or New Urban Galician, which we will see below (4).

(3) My own classification

3a) Features which define the Spanish Acrolects of Galician and which are indicators (not markers, in the sense of Labov 1972) in the Galician speech community:

• the use of Galician grammatical features alien to Spanish: past simple (levanté) in the context where present perfect (he levantado) is required (hoy me levanté temprano instead of hoy me he levantado temprano), Galician verbal constructions, such as using auxiliary dar ‘to give’ in the expression [no dar + past participle] (no dar hecho, ‘can’t / be unable to do’): no lo doy hecho a tiempo ‘I am unable to do it on time’;
• Galician lexical items: pan reseso ‘stale bread’ or coger el niño en el colo ‘lap’, esmagar ‘to crush, to dent’;
• Galician phonological patterns: vèngo ‘I revenge, indicative, present’ vs. véngo ‘I come, indicative, present’; còme ‘he/she/it eats, indicative, present’ vs. côme ‘eat, 2nd singular, imperative).
3b) Spanish sociolects in Galicia (data taken from Muros, A Coruña).

I will represent the stratification of the Spanish varieties in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spanish basilect</td>
<td><strong>estábanos allí</strong></td>
<td><strong>voy ver eso</strong></td>
<td><strong>estes</strong></td>
<td><strong>déame</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish mesolect 1</td>
<td><strong>estábamos allí</strong></td>
<td><strong>voy ver eso</strong></td>
<td><strong>estes</strong></td>
<td><strong>déame</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish mesolect 2</td>
<td><strong>estábamos allí</strong></td>
<td><strong>voy a ver eso</strong></td>
<td><strong>estos</strong></td>
<td><strong>déame</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish mesolect 3</td>
<td><strong>estábamos allí</strong></td>
<td><strong>voy a ver eso</strong></td>
<td><strong>estos</strong></td>
<td><strong>déame</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish acrolect</td>
<td><strong>estábamos allí</strong></td>
<td><strong>voy a ver eso</strong></td>
<td><strong>estos</strong></td>
<td><strong>déame</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we were there</td>
<td>I’m going to see this</td>
<td>these, masc.</td>
<td>give me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3B

The features that characterize those varieties (written in bold type) are considered markers (which can be stereotyped):

A) /nos/ in /estabanos/ ‘we were’ is an exponent of 1st Plural properties in the north-western dialects of Galician (in standard Spanish, standard Galician and most of the Galician dialects, the form of the exponent is /mos/: /estabamos/);

B) The Spanish construction [ir + prep. a + Infinitive] ‘go to + Infinitive’ doesn’t contain the prep. a following the auxiliary ir in Galician: [ir + Infinitive]: voy a ver vs. vou ver.

C) The Galician form for ‘these, masc.’ is estes; the Spanish form is estos.

D) The stem for the ‘present, subjunctive’ of dar ‘to give’ in Spanish is /de/ (+personal suffixes): /des/ ‘2nd Singular’; the stem in Galician is /dea/ (+personal suffixes): /deas/ ‘2nd Singular’. (Galician adds the present subjunctive exponent /a/, characteristic of the 2nd and 3rd conjugations.)

3c) Galician sociolects (data taken from Muros, A Coruña)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Galician basilect</td>
<td>moita calor</td>
<td>fan coma Antonio</td>
<td>colle a culler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galician mesolect 1</td>
<td>moita calor</td>
<td>fan coma Antonio</td>
<td>colle a cuchara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>moita calor</td>
<td>fan como Antonio</td>
<td>colle a cuchara</td>
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<td>fan como Antonio</td>
<td>colle a cuchara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish acrolect</td>
<td>mucho calor</td>
<td>hacen como Antonio</td>
<td>coge la cuchara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a lot of heat</td>
<td>they act like Antonio</td>
<td>take the spoon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3C

E) Calor ‘heat’ is a masculine noun in standard Spanish and feminine one in Galician.

F) Galician has a “comparative” preposition coma (more or less like English like: traballan coma escravos ‘they work like slaves, but they aren’t’) and one of “manner” one como (more or less like English as: traballan como escravos ‘they work as slaves’ [they are slaves]). Spanish only has one form, como, for these two functions.

G) The Galician word for ‘spoon’ is culler, but in most dialects (or, rather, sociolects) this word is lost and the Spanish loan word cuchara is used in these cases.
3d) The sociolects of Galicia before the imposition of Standard Galician:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Covered varieties</th>
<th>Roof: standard Spanish(^1)</th>
<th>Spanish acrolects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Galician mesolects 1, 2...</td>
<td>Spanish mesolects 1, 2...</td>
<td>Galician basilect</td>
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Table 3D

3e) The sociolects of Galicia after the imposition of the Standard Galician

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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galician basilect</td>
<td>Spanish basilect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3E

One must remember that Spanish (as much in its standard form as in its different acrolects) continues influencing the different Galician lects (basilects, mesolects and, even, acrolects).

The features that define Galician acrolects include, as well as forms taken from Standard Galician,

- *lusismos*: loan words like *estudo* ‘study’ or *estudar* ‘to study’, taken from Portuguese;
- *castelanismos*: loan words like *averiguar* ‘to investigate / to find out’ (sometimes, only linguists know that they are Spanish words);
- *hipergaleguismos* or *hiperenxebrismos*: invented words like *diviño* (Standard Galician *divino*) ‘divine’, derived from Spanish by an analogical process (if Spanish *vino* > Galician *viño*, then Spanish *divino* > Galician *diviño*);
- *dialectalismos*: forms like *irmao* ‘brother’, taken from the dialects and which don’t coincide with the Standard options (sometimes, these forms don’t coincide with the dialectal form of the speaker: *seña* ‘to be, present, subjunctive’ is a very common example).

(4) The New Urban Galician

This is a variety spoken by people who acquired Galician as a second language, but use it as their daily language (either for political or professional reasons); speakers who have Spanish as their mother tongue but who commonly employ Galician are often known as *neofalantes* (new speakers). The *New Urban Galician* could be considered a sociolect whose origins lie in the fossilized interlanguage spoken by these *neofalantes* (this is the variety of Galician that they usually speak); features of this variety are now being spread among speakers of Galician who have Galician as their mother tongue. Even the sons of the *neofalantes* are acquiring this interlanguage as their mother tongue.

*New Urban Galician* has a lexicon and a morphological structure close to the standard ones, but syntactical and phonological structures close to those of Spanish. These facts suggest that *New Urban Galician* should be studied in the light of the theory of second

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\(^1\) I use *covered variety* and *roof* in the sense of Muljacic (1991).
language acquisition. Because of the kind of its speakers (civil servants, lecturers, lawyers, students…), we should include it into the Galician acrolects.

References